THOMAS ADDIS EMMET

—

ROBERT EMMET

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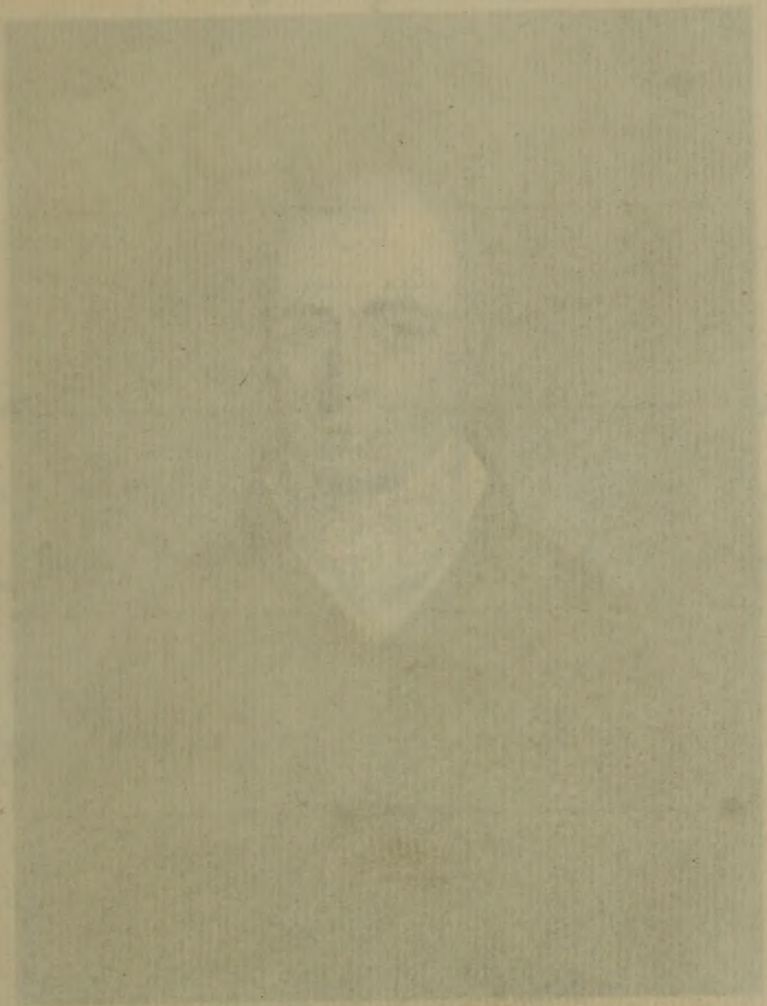

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Thos. Addis Emmet

FROM A MINIATURE BY AUBRY IN PARIS, 1803.

With my love
I dedicate this volume
to my children
and
do so with the hope
that they may realize a just pride
in the record of those who, in the past, have so
honestly filled their places in life.
A sentiment which, if properly
appreciated, must needs bear good fruit
from the example
thus set forth for
emulation.

Thos. Addis Emmet M.D.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

MEMOIR

OF

Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet

WITH

THEIR ANCESTORS AND IMMEDIATE FAMILY

BY

Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D., LL.D.

Member of the Virginia Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of the University of Virginia; President of the Irish National Federation of America during its existence; made Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory by Pope Pius X; Recipient of the Lætare Medal; Fellow of the American College of Surgeons and many professional and historical societies at home and abroad; Author of surgical works—last, Principles of Gynæcology, three editions, Philadelphia and London—with German, French and Spanish translations, together with many monographs, historical and professional, and in addition, The Emmet Family (1898); Ireland Under English Rule, two editions (1903 and 1909); Incidents of my Life (1911).

VOLUME I

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Ireland was old when Greece was young. Before Rome had written her wondrous laws Ireland had established civilization in the emerald isle of the West. Like the pyramids of Egypt the round towers of Ireland stand among the architectural wonders of the world. Pliny and Julius Cæsar assert that Ireland's civilization was the wonder of the East, and Plutarch writes that, compared with the Irish people, other nations are new.

Hon. Martin H. Glynn, New York, March 4, 1914.

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Go into the length and breadth of the world, ransack the literature of all countries, find if you can a single book in which the conduct of England towards Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation.

Gladstone (Morley's Life).

"FAG·A·BEALAC"!!!

What does the liberty of a people consist in? It consists in the right and power to make laws for its own government. Were an individual to make laws for another country, that person is a despot and the people are slaves. When one country makes laws for another country, the country which makes the laws is absolutely the sovereign country, and the country for which those laws are made is in a state of slavery.

Blackstone.

Illustrations

The triumph of England over Ireland is the triumph of guilt over innocence.

John Philpot Curran

Every attempt to govern Ireland has been made from an English standpoint and as if for the benefit of Englishmen alone.

Unknown.

Law in Ireland was the friend neither of the people nor of justice, but the impartial persecutor of both.

Aubrey de Vere.

Had Ireland desired to submit she could not have done so. England did not leave her the choice. Risings, revolutions and civil wars were forced upon the country from century to century. They were provoked by massacres, plantations and persecutions; by the oppressions of landlords, by the injustice of the laws. It was England herself, it was the English in Ireland that made the Irish rebels. But how comes it, one may ask, that after so long an agony Ireland still survives, that the name of her people has not been obliterated from the pages of history? The reason is, that down to the eighteenth century, so vigorous was her race, so powerful the influence of her climate and of her pleasant nature, so great the charm of her soul on the souls of the newcomers, that Ireland always assimilated her invaders. "Lord!" said the poet Spenser, "how quickly doth that country alter men's natures." England, on the other hand, was lacking in the first duty of a conqueror, which is to legitimatize his conquest by the spread of civilization and by works of reparation. This is a truth that none can fail to recognize.

L'Irlande cotemporaire, by L. Paul Dubois,
Tr. Kettle.

It is an irksome and painful task to pursue the details of that penal code; but the penal code is the history of Ireland.

John Mitchel.

Native Irish civilisation ceased, for all practical purposes with the defeat of the insurrection of 1641, and the break-up of the Kilkenny confederation.

James Connolly.

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There is nothing more desirable than that the sovereign of these realms should understand the real nature of Irish history; should comprehend the secret springs of Irish discontent; should be acquainted with the eminent virtues which the Irish nation have exhibited in every phasis of their singular fate; and, above all, should be intimately acquainted with the confiscations, the plunder, the robbery, the domestic treachery, the violation of all public faith, and of the sanctity of treaties, the ordinary wholesale slaughters, the planned murders, the concerted massacres, which have been inflicted upon the Irish people by the English governments.

Daniel O'Connell, M.P., Memoir on Ireland, 1844.

When Englishmen set to work to wipe the tear out of Ireland's eye, they always buy the pocket-handkerchief at Ireland's expense.

Col. Edw. Saunderson, M.P.

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The will of the people is the only earthly authority which can rightfully constitute civil government. This will be absolute and independent of human convention.

Robert Holmes.

The misfitting of ye shirt-maker comes not that she be a Papist!

Unknown Cromwellian Writer in Ireland.

It has pleased the English people in general to forget all the facts in Irish History. They have been also graciously pleased to forgive themselves all these crimes! And the Irish people would forgive them likewise, if it were not that much of the worst spirit of the worst days still survives.

Daniel O'Connell, M.P.
A Memoir on Ireland, 1844.

The Union is not being repealed; the Union is being made perpetual.

Tim Healy, M.P.

Has England ever done a voluntary or gratuitous favour? and if not whither shall we attribute this measure of an union, to a regard for us, or herself?

Wm. J. Macneven, 1799.

Aphorisms

Who could have seriously thought any promise would bind England, a country which even then was notorious all over the world for broken faith and dishonoured treaties?

James Connolly.

The Rebellion of 1798 was wickedly provoked, rashly begun, and cruelly crushed.

Earl Russell.

The last ten years of the eighteenth century will furnish to the historian by far the most important events which have yet marked the progress of the human race. The events which have been crowded into this short period are not only in themselves deeply interesting to the present generation, but will probably be viewed in their effect at no distant era as decisive of the future destinies of every nation upon earth.

T. A. Emmet, 1800.

Do you see nothing in that America but the graves and prisons of our armies? What you trample on in Europe will sting you in America. *Grattan to Pitt.*

My grandsire died, his home beside;
They seized and hanged him there;
His only crime, in evil time
Your hallowed green to wear.
The Voice of the Nation.

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Chiefly on Economic and Historical Subjects

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The following portion of a poem was written by Christopher Temple Emmet, the elder brother of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, who died before the political difficulties of Ireland occurred, and when all in association were loyal to George the Third, "King of the Kingdom of Ireland". He wrote among other poems "The Decree", mention of which will be found in the notice of Temple Emmet.

It is a remarkable prophecy, and although it has not been verified, England's record during the past one hundred and thirty years and more, but the clearer marks the inevitable.

THE DECREE

But should Britain ere forget
What to Sister's claims are due,
Madly, should she ever threat
Tyrant laws, or force, to you;

Should she ever claim a right,
Ireland's commerce to restrain,
Should she ever presume, by might,
Such oppression to maintain;

In that day, her doom is seal'd;
By that act, her charter void,
Heav'n's condition'd grant repeal'd,
Heav'n's intended boom destroyed;

In that day—'tis so decreed,
Letter'd large, enroll'd by Fate,
You to Britain shall succeed,
Yours shall be the rising state.

Christopher Temple Emmet,
Dublin, 1777-1780.

To understand British dealings with Ireland requires a long memory. Who sups with the Devil needs a long spoon. Anyone who thinks that British policy has changed, and that England to-day intends to deal straight with Ireland and grant her a "measure of freedom" for the control of her own affairs, need only study the British handling of the trans-Atlantic mail call at Queenstown to know the truth.

The Irish Review, March, 1914.

While the nations of Europe are rapidly advancing in knowledge, civilization and freedom, why are we alone stationary? Is it because we have no home to be proud of, no flag to fight for, no country to honour, to labour for and to love?

The Voice of the Nation, 1843.

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Let us cultivate a foreign policy and foreign information as useful helps in that national existence which is before us, though its happiness and glory depend in the first instance on "ourselves alone". Ireland has a glorious future, if she be worthy of it.

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Notes and Queries.

Never since the Conqueror, at the head of his Norman robbers, laid in plunder and massacre the first foundation of the aristocracy which crushes the country to this day did the distresses of the people reach such a degree of intensity or their discontent assume so bold and menacing a front.

The Spirit of the Nation, 1842.

God made the Land and all His works are good:—
Man made the Laws, and all they breathed was blood.
Unhallowed Annals of six hundred years—
A code of Blood—a History of tears.

Richard R. Madden, M.D.

Historical Preface

THE author's earliest recollection of any knowledge of Irish affairs is the expression of his father's opinion that Ireland could have no prospect of a bright future until she should have gained full management of her own affairs, and that desideratum, he was confident, could only be attained after a *total separation* from England.

The author, as an American of Irish descent, offers no apology for the views he expresses in this work; his convictions are as the warp in the construction of cloth; the fabric would be worthless were it omitted. He claims little originality and no responsibility for the views held by him, bred as they are in the bone. His utterance of them is but a reflection of what would be said by his father, grandfather, great-uncle and great-grandfather, were they living.

As a foundation to this work it will be necessary to call the attention of the reader to certain historical facts not generally known. The recital may seem out of place in the Preface, but the writer being in possession of all the facts, can alone be the judge of the fitness of this.

In no other country does there exist a condition similar to that in the United States, where many individuals, even native-born, underrate the standard worth of their Government, and their own people, in contrast with England, which is their ideal. Their influence, so far as it can be exerted, is obstructive; like the particles of vagrant dust in the atmosphere which, although worthless in themselves, may obstruct the action of the finest mechanism. Few realize the truth of Aubrey de Vere's statement, that with a free people—"A nation forms its institutions as a shell-fish forms its shell, by a sort of slow exudation *from within,* which gradually hardens as an external deposit, and must therefore *be fitted to the shape of that which it invests and protects.*" England's form of government is best fitted for her people, and would be worthless for any other nation. The shell of the clam would be no more suitable for the oyster than would the oyster's shell for the clam, nor could either be expected to thrive under the protection of that meant for the lobster.

At one time we owed legally such an obligation to England, but it was never merited by the so called "mother country"; she certainly neglected her

American Colonies, leaving them to shift for themselves until through their own effort they had prospered sufficiently to be worth robbing, and the attempt then made to fit us to England's shell, caused our separation. A similar result must follow the attempt in Ireland.

Unceasing efforts are made to prove that we in the United States are an English race, whereas no statement could be more devoid of truth. Those in the world at large, who may find themselves holding very different views from those advanced by the writer, do so through ignorance, as they do not know how great is the power exerted in this country through English influence with the press, in the writing of our school books, and as is claimed to be the case, in the teaching given in our public schools, and all for England's profit alone. A knowledge of the truth of this statement can only be acquired by special investigation.

Since the American colonies gained their independence, England has never for a moment ceased to intrigue and look forward to the opportunity when by some chance she may recover her loss.

If it can be shown that we in the United States are not an English people, and that a majority of the inhabitants of this country are descended from Irish and German ancestors, we, as a rival people, can certainly hold no interest in common with England, once the romance attached to the mythical relation of mother and daughter has been removed.

For the past century or more, England has striven to dominate the world by grasping every commercial advantage within her reach, and has like a bully, by means of her powerful navy, restricted the trade of every other nation to some extent, until she has become as much of a menace as the military spirit of Germany may prove.* She has seized and held as a colony every foot of land she could wrest from a weaker power. By craft and sharp practice she has gained the greater portion of the carrying trade of the world, and has hesitated at no procedure whereby she could aid in placing the centre of the financial world in London. Notwithstanding the fact that she has gained control of the greater portion of the world's wealth, she covets the whole, and will not brook a rival without making every effort for her destruction. Despite her efforts, however, Germany and the United States have proved a check. Consequently, for some years past, there has been a secret effort made by England to gain a close legislative alliance with the United States, by which she would occupy a position enabling her, under the guise of friendship, to reap every advantage. But every attempt to place us in a false position has been frustrated, and this has been accomplished chiefly through the vigilance of the descendants of the Irish and German people in this country.†

*This militarism is claimed to be necessary for self-defence.

†The "Anglo-Maniacs" are alone responsible for all the trouble in this country, due to religious bigotry. Some of the most active among them have not been citizens of the country, and have been besides profoundly ignorant of the situation here. As English sympathisers, they have arrogantly claimed a right, as if it were in England, to denounce the "foreign vote" and the "low Irish". Those among them who were citizens certainly were traitors to their adopted country in expressing a doubt as to the validity of her laws. If the laws of naturalization are complied with, all should be treated alike, and when an individual legally becomes a citizen of the United States, he can no longer be termed a foreign voter. The "low Irish" in this country have proved the equal of any other race by fully demonstrating their worth. The most ignorant individual, if questioned, would seldom hesitate to name some person of Irish or German blood, well known for his

Previous to our Civil War this country commanded to a great extent the carrying trade of the world and her flag was seen in every port. But England made good use of her opportunity and gained what the United States had lost. For reasons which cannot here be considered, this country neglected to make any serious effort to regain her former position until within a recent period, and it has been asserted that this neglect was due to a wish to conciliate England, the "mother country". After the Franco-Prussian war Germany gradually established herself as a serious rival to England's future prosperity, her advantages being a greater average degree of intellectual development of her people, and a greater mechanical skill, joined to thrift and industry. Within the same period this country also made great advances, the result being that at the present time England is dependent on Germany and this country for many industrial products with which she formerly supplied the world. The possibility has already been recognized that with her many threatening domestic troubles she may find it difficult to maintain herself as a first class power.

The English Government, through selfishness, seems devoid of all principle of either honesty or fair play towards a neighbor, so much so that she is always intriguing against other nations with both falsehood and craft until an opportunity is created, without cost except in money, for her puppets to strike an unexpected blow in the dark, and if possible it will be a mortal one. With undoubtedly good men constantly at the head of the English Government, they are, as individuals, helpless to make any change from the accepted policy of centuries.

With every outward pretence of good will, England in truth secretly holds for this country only most malevolent feelings. It has been stated that:— "Great Britain makes friends only with inferiors, never with an equal". As the two countries are destined to be rivals in every respect, and as we have never equalled her in statecraft, it is not to be expected that England, with her well known vindictive character, can honestly hold anything in common with this country. She stands apart in this respect from every other nation of the earth and we have never had any treaty or relation with her that it has not been to her gain alone.

The assertion has been made that about thirty-four thousand families in England represent the descendants of the Normans, who have remained essentially one people in directing the policy of the English government. They form the foundation of the House of Lords and hold among them over seven hundred permanent titles. Thus it has been hidden from the world how continuously, century after century, certain families have filled every office of importance and profit. These are designated the "Upper Classes". The descendants of the Saxons, with a conglomeration of all other races, form the English people, having little intercourse with the "Upper Classes" beyond an occasional intermarriage. It is seldom that any individual of the "Middle Classes", outside of the

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personal contributions to the welfare and development of the country. On the other hand, those most familiar with the history of this country would hesitate, and probably fail in being able to mention off-hand the name of a single man of English birth and education, who had benefited this country by his emigration.

House of Commons, has any connection with the "Governing Class". With full allowance for exaggeration, few persons realize how true is the general statement as to the influence still exercised in England by the descendants of the Normans.

The want of truthfulness and honesty, with many other disreputable traits, claimed to be connected with the working of the English Government, seem a direct inheritance from their thieving and piratical Norman ancestry.*

The writer has had no means of obtaining any accurate or detailed knowledge as to the methods of the British Government, except those practised in connection with Ireland and the colonial management of this country. But it is supposed to be the counterpart of the sixty or more "Bureaucracies" in Dublin Castle, which have existed for centuries, without direct responsibility to any one. This political combination, with no interest beyond their own profit, have remained as a moral leprosy, self-propagating and poisoning the body politic of the country. Lord Dunraven, in his book "The Outlook in Ireland", has fully depicted the working of this system and his showing is well worth the attention of the historical student.

In a paper read† before the American Irish Historical Society, of New York City, the writer claimed that over sixty per cent. of the population of the United States were to some extent of Irish blood.‡ In the same paper he held that there were more negroes in the country who could prove their African origin, than individuals who could establish the fact that they were of English stock. It was also shown that the English people did not come to this country in the seventeenth century, and the reason why they did not was given, while no one can question the fact that the Irish did come, being made to leave from England as English emigrants. Moreover, the Irish were the frontiersmen and Indian fighters from the Alleghany Mountains to the Pacific Coast. The author will cite in illustration an instance known to him. A kinsman by the name of Temple located, after 1719, over ten thousand persons in the course of several years on the "New Hampshire Grants," where he held a large land grant, and on which Temple, Dublin, Mason and other towns were settled, such names showing their Irish origin. Every individual was Irish and a Catholic, from Co. Kerry and Co. Cork, and all spoke Irish almost exclusively. In time, they lost their faith and language, many changed their names, and from the writer's investigation, it is doubtful, if at the present time, a single individual, descended from the original settler, knows anything of the family history. Yet the history of these towns, giving the names of the earlier settlers, does not contain the name of a family of which there cannot be found at the present time a representative of the same stock in Co. Kerry and Co. Cork.

In this connection the Irish legend on the title page—*Fag a Bealaċ*, having

*Elsewhere in this work will be found Ralph Emerson's estimate of the ancestry of the House of Lords.

†"Irish Emigration during the 17th and 18th Centuries", printed in the Proceedings of the American Irish Historical Society, Vol. IV.

‡Subsequent investigations have convinced the writer that the true proportion was even greater, and so continued until, within recent years, the German and Italian emigration began to dominate.

in English the milder meaning "Clear the Way", and pronounced phonetically as one word *Foogabalah,*—is of interest as being the very ancient Irish battle cry. Dr. Thos. Dunn English, an expert, some years before his death, informed the writer that it was referred to by some Roman author, but the authority he mentioned has been forgotten. Possibly it was Tacitus in his Life of Agricola, by whom it must have been heard, for he served for many years during the first century of the Christian era as the Roman coast surveyor, and was the first to make known that Great Britain was not a portion of the European Continent. He likewise urged on Roman authorities in England the advisability of conquering Ireland, at that time a formidable maritime power. This battle cry was also referred to by English writers in Queen Elizabeth's day, and was therefore not "Scotch-Irish", but mentioned in proof of the Irish being a barbarous people. It was heard at Fontenoy, at the battle of the King's Mountain in 1780, and throughout our Civil War. "The Confederate Yell" was the last indication preserved proving the origin of the people who settled the Alleghany Mountain valleys from the southern border of Pennsylvania to the French Broad River in Carolina, and into the mountains of Tennessee. Nearly a million of young Catholic Irishmen were driven out of their country early in the seventeenth century. Those of them who did not enter the service of some European nation, came to this country and, by fighting the Indians on the frontiers, were a shield to the settlers on the coast. The writer is indebted to the editor of "The Spirit of the Nation" for the correct mode of spelling *Fag a Bealaċ;* with the other facts given in the same place he was already familiar.

As those who left Ireland were chiefly from Connaught and Munster, the soldiers abroad were generally known as "The Connaught Rangers", or the *"Fag a Bealaċ Boys"*. Napier in his "History of the Peninsular War" states:

> Nothing so startled the French soldiers as the wild yell with which the Irish regiments sprang to the charge, and never was that haughty and intolerant shout raised in battle, but a charge, swift as thought and fatal as flames, came with it, like a rushing incarnation of *Fag a Bealaċ!*

The English learned to their cost the meaning of the cry.

Nothing is proved by the tradition held by many that their ancestors sailed on some date from an English port, and generally from Bristol, England. No record was kept of the few English who emigrated during the 17th century, while every vessel containing Irish emigrants was throughout this century, compelled to go to an English port, to pay a head tax, and to sail from there as an *English vessel,* its passengers registered as *English emigrants.* Moreover, they were made to change their names and take English ones.

The followers of Raleigh, William Penn and Lord Baltimore, were nearly all Irishmen, as Raleigh and Penn had spent the greater part of their lives in Ireland, where Penn became a Quaker, while Baltimore was born there.

A large portion of western North and South Carolina was settled exclusively by Irish people. As a matter of record it is a noteworthy fact that Cromwell and his friends found it profitable to send many Irish women to

New England! For his purpose the most attractive-looking young Irish girls were kidnapped and shipped to the New England colonies, as well as to some of the West India Islands, where they were sold as *slaves*. This is shown by Prendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland". There were more young girls thus sent to New England from Ireland, than would have given a wife apiece to every Puritan settler in that country. The author has stated* "If we take into consideration the total number of "Puritan Fathers" in New England at this time, it would seem not improbable that these two hundred and fifty young Irish women, with many others sent over from Ireland about the same time, must have all eventually been transformed at least into Irish Puritans. If so, their progeny must in time have given quite a Hibernian tint to the pure blood of the descendants of the *Mayflower*. I have not seen that the New England writers, who make our histories, have noted these facts, but probably they failed to do so, on evidence that they were not "Scotch-Irish women".

It is known that some of these Irish women did not continue among the Puritans, but escaped to their countrymen, who were in the mountains and had a large settlement in the wilderness on the present site of Lowell, Mass., concerning whose assistance to the settlers on the coast, history is equally silent. This Irish settlement, which occasionally is referred to, was, it is stated—"tolerated" by the Puritans, yet they protected those on the coast from the Indians, otherwise the English settlers there would have been exterminated at an early period. But such is our history!

The Irishmen in the "back country" always volunteered to fight the Indians when there was trouble, and on the roll of the soldiers who served, for instance, in the Pequot War, there are over fifty names recorded which no Puritan ever bore. On the contrary the Patricks, Michaels and other names show the Catholic faith of their bearers, and prove conclusively that the Irish were the frontiersmen, as has already been stated.

The history of Ireland is reflected in every step of American history and development of the country from the beginning of the 17th century; this is due to the fact that in every station of life Irish brains and brawn contributed more to the development of this country than those of any other race. There is no country where the Irish people are more at home, than in the United States, and with no other race does there exist a greater veneration, than the Irish hold for this asylum of their people. The Irish take more interest in the development and political condition of the country than any other race, deprived as they were of this privilege in their native land. They also possess a more accurate knowledge of its history than do the native-born, not of Irish descent. The author obtained from his father his first knowledge of the history of his native land, and with it was taught Irish history and some knowledge of the Irishmen who had aided in the development of the country. As a consequence, he may claim without conceit, to be an authority on the

*"Ireland Under English Rule", Second Edition, Vol. I, page 115n.

history of his native land, and he will yield to no one claiming to possess a greater degree of love and patriotism.

The suffering and consequent training to which the Irish race were subjected during past centuries in Ireland made the descendants, as a rule, a better citizen in this country, and the Irish-American with a knowledge of Irish history cannot but have a greater love and veneration for the land of his birth.

Those who are most ignorant of both Irish and American history, are the only persons in this country who are prejudiced against the "low Irish", and who through English influence, even regard them as interlopers in the country, notwithstanding their history. This opinion is held after the Irish have complied with every constitutional requirement, whereby they become legally entitled to the enjoyment of every privilege.

Such people would be astonished could they realize that the greater part of the world outside of English influence regards the Irish as being most worthy of such privileges. Those who are so unwilling to be just in obtaining some knowledge of the truth, are blinded by the influence of England, which country for more than seven hundred years has never relaxed its effort to underrate the truth concerning the Irish people and prevent it being known. This ink-fish procedure has been utilized by England as a political policy, to mislead the world as to the degraded and unworthy condition claimed as a justification of her treatment of the Irish people before and after the alleged English civilization.

Col. Philip Roche Fermoy, of the Army of the French Republic, wrote in his "Commentary on the Memoirs of Tone" (page 62):

> For the character of this brilliant people, where, by having been removed from their native country, they had passed beyond the shade of influence spread over them at home, by "the most humane, generous, and benevolent government upon the earth", another witness may be appealed to, not less worthy of credit than the two former. In a letter from Doctor Franklin's works (Vol. II, page 68, 4th edition) dated 19th of August 1784, and giving a character of the Irish emigrants in America, he says—"It is a fact that the Irish emigrants and their children are now in possession of the Government of Pennsylvania, by their majority in the assembly, as well as a great part of the territory; and I *remember* well the *first ship* that brought any of them over."
>
> On this fact, as related by Doctor Franklin, it may be observed that the scene of action was Pennsylvania—a province colonized by Quakers—the Quakers, a sect, whatever their virtues may be, remarkable for persevering industry, and a rigid attention to order, punctuality and decorum. Could the Irish emigrants without a strict conformity to these Quaker-like observations have got in Pennsylvania so far forward as to have secured, within the short period of the life or rather within the shorter period of the observation of one man, a lead, both on the territorial property, and in the political power of so remarkable a state as Pennsylvania?
>
> Such, on the habits and character of the Irish, was the effect of a riddance from the influence of "the most humane, generous, and benevolent government on the earth".

The reader must not be misled as to what the author has written, but seek to learn the truth by personal investigation. Nothing in this book will be found written more to the purpose, for just in proportion as it can be shown

the United States were not settled by the English people, and that we owe nothing whatever to that Government but mistrust, can it be seen that the history of the Irish people in Ireland and their course in this country are inseparable.

After an exhaustive study of the subject in close connection with family traditions, Thomas Addis Emmet was found to have been an uncompromising advocate for the total separation of Ireland from England. He reached this conviction before he became chief Director, at the head of the affairs of the United Irishmen, and these views he transmitted to his brother Robert, before he had passed his boyhood. During Mr. Emmet's examination before the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Lords on August 11th, 1798, he was asked if he did not think Ireland would do better to continue the connection with England, and his answer was:—"I do not. I think this might be the happiest country in the world if she was established as an independent Republic". But for some cause now unknown he was opposed to the open rebellion of the Irish people in 1797.

The indications are that it was a question of expediency, both as to time and circumstance, in depending upon aid from France. This he wished to obtain only within a limited extent, hoping thus to save Ireland from becoming a French province, a contingency he greatly feared. As a non-military man it seemed to him that any attempt made by the Irish people alone could but result in defeat. With these views, as it has been shown, Mr. Emmet possessed the power to influence every Irish leader except Mr. Arthur O'Connor. O'Connor desired to have the closest relations established between Ireland and France, and immediate action taken, with the hope that, as the heir claimant, he might finally be made King of Ireland by Napoleon. How far the influence exerted by Mr. Emmet was conducive to the welfare of Ireland is not at this point the question, and it must remain one to be determined by others. It is certain, however, that Mr. Emmet alone did exercise this influence, and particularly with Lord Edward Fitzgerald who, although in command of the military branch of the organization, yielded his own judgment in the matter. The outbreak was prevented for fully eighteen months by Mr. Emmet's influence, until finally, to force the issue to one of open warfare, Mr. Emmet and all the other leaders were suddenly arrested and imprisoned by the English Government. The management of the United Irishmen then passed into other hands, and England at once gained her object, which was to force the country into an outbreak, and thus prepare the people to accept the Union as a last alternative to extermination.

With this event Mr. Emmet ceased to be an active leader in Irish affairs. His principles, however, were firmly established and he was able to exercise his influence with his brother Robert, so that their political views were in full accord, and at the same time it is frequently shown that Mr. Emmet had the greatest confidence in his brother's judgment.

So far as the author has been able to understand the principles and purpose of the Young Ireland Party in 1848, and the Fenian Organization later, they

must have had an origin in Mr. Emmet's teaching alone. At least it can be claimed that of all the organizations formed since the Rebellions of 1798 and 1803, the Fenian was the only one with which Thomas Addis, and Robert Emmet could have been affiliated. The movement of Robert Emmet and that of the Fenians were alike, inasmuch as they are judged to have failed in accomplishing anything for Ireland's profit, but to the student of Irish history at the present time, this is clearly a fallacy. Robert Emmet's demonstration and the Fenian movement, with the object of separation from England, were closely related, in being the only attempts ever made against England's rule in Ireland, which came so near being successful as to strike the English Government with terror of the possibilities, should another attempt be made along the same lines. The fear of a Fenian movement is as real today as with the reception of the first shock from their action, and but for this fact the much or little now claimed to have been gained for Home Rule would not exist.

In after life Mr. O'Connor charged Mr. Emmet with cowardice for his course at the beginning of the Rebellion of 1798, but for this course it is certainly unnecessary to offer any vindication. Had he known what Irishmen could do with the pike, and how readily the best soldiers in the world, as the English were considered to be, could be driven out of Ireland in 1798, if the Irish had been able to keep together with an adequate supply of food, he certainly would have advocated and have struck the first blow for Ireland's freedom.

From boyhood the writer accepted his father's teaching, that the regeneration of Ireland could not have a beginning until she became an independent country. He learned in addition from his own investigation, that during the past seven hundred years, England has in no instance observed in good faith a single promise or pledge made to Ireland, nor to the world at large, unless through self-interest or fear. He has never held any ill will against the English people as individuals, for he came of the same stock, and a large proportion of his personal friends throughout life have been of that nationality. But, no word or words exist in the English dialect, by which he could express his distrust of that political machine termed the British Government; and his contempt for its bad faith and other characteristics of the policy which has been employed since the days of the Normans, to the detriment of all but the English people themselves. Consequently, the writer cannot have the slightest faith in any political promise in relation to Ireland made by an English official, from the Prime Minister to the most humble clerk.*

The writer has passed the greater portion of a long life in the service of Ireland, without question as to what was being done, and without regard to his own private opinion. He recalls a meeting of the Hoffman House Com-

*The writer's taste may be questioned in subjecting the reader to a consideration of an individual opinion based, it will be claimed, on prejudice. This might be accepted, were it not that two-thirds or more of the Irish people hold the views expressed by him, and their convictions should, therefore, be placed on record, as part of the history of Ireland. England has only the acquired rights of a highwayman in Ireland; she has been able to hold the country simply by the throat, during a struggle of centuries. Consequently Ireland owes her no allegiance, and will never yield any save to force. All connection with England has become intolerable to the majority of the Irish people, who are not part of the English garrison, and Ireland must become an independent nation in the near future, if her people are worthy to make the effort.

mittee in the early days of Mr. Parnell's career, where he either offered a resolution or advocated the establishment of the principle, that no suggestion should at any time be made from this country to the Irish leaders as to the conduct of Irish affairs, and that resolution has been strictly adhered to. For the past thirty years and more, the views held by the majority of the Irish leaders have received full and loyal support from this country without relation to individual opinion as to details.

Whatever has been accomplished by Mr. Redmond and the members of his party in Parliament should stand to their credit, and they alone will be held responsible in case of failure.

The delay in the effort to obtain Home Rule during the past thirty years has at least been of advantage in preparing the people to take charge of their own affairs, and an even longer period of probation may be necessary. If so it should be utilized, since in the history of a nation, time is of secondary importance. The regaining of their native language is of yet more importance to the Irish people than even Ireland's independence would be at this period, an advantage which independence would certainly follow. Until the Irish language becomes the spoken one of the country, Ireland can claim no nationality, nor can there be perfect union of her people, nor any certainty as to the maintenance of their future integrity. So long as the English dialect is alone spoken by the Irish people they are under subjection, and English influence and corruption cannot be checked.* Many of the Irish people have yet to realize that they are themselves to blame for the fact that their country has not long since been a free and independent nation. Ireland has needed no aid from outside; she has been able at any time within the past seven hundred years to have driven every Englishman out of the country, had she been united and made the effort to help herself. The future lies entirely within her own grasp and only a fighting faith is needed to be at least ready for an opportunity. "Let Ireland do what she can and she will accomplish everything." Until the majority of her people give less thought to the past, and more to the existing conditions and the future, to advance Ireland's interests, England's power will continue. God has done everything for Ireland, but many of her people are unworthy in having done nothing more to advance the interests of their native land than the utterance of so many idle words.

In 1908 the author contributed an open letter to "The New York Irish World", for the issue of June 7th, in which he said:

I have long reached the conclusion that there has been no real failure for many years on part of the Irish people to advance the cause of self-government. The idea is generally held by those who had not given thought to the subject, that each special Irish movement,

*So important did the author deem the revival of the Gaelic that after he had well passed his seventy-fifth birthday, he began the study of the language as an example to others, and within a reasonably short time he, without difficulty, acquired a knowledge of the grammar and obtained a fair reading facility, with the occasional use of the dictionary. But with the deafness of old age existing for some years previous nothing could be accomplished in learning to speak the language. It was a source of great regret that the writer had to abandon the study, and devote himself to literary work which could not be delayed on account of his advancing age. This study is well worth the attention of the educated, and is so for a special purpose. The student who acquires an advanced knowledge of the Gaelic insensibly becomes a learned man, as no other exercise trains the mind so well for acquiring knowledge.

outbreak or rebellion, was a separate undertaking; and as no result was in evidence but the punishment of the participators, the whole was judged a failure. This is not true. As well might it be claimed in war, that it has a beginning with each battle. Every movement made by the people during the past one hundred and twenty-five years, in the nature of resistance to the power of England, accomplished something, and was a step towards the end. Consequently the act of every individual Irishman who made any effort to benefit his country, rendered essential aid, and furthered the completion of that particular step in which he took part. Personally I have always had a feeling of the greatest respect for every individual who has ever made an effort to serve Ireland with the courage of his convictions, and I have maintained the sentiment, without regard to his special political views.

This was certainly a true representation of the situation, for the gain throughout the last century was a steady one.

The final movement of the Irish people, or rather of "the privileged classes", to improve their own condition alone, had its beginning in 1782-83, just at the termination of the Revolutionary War in this country, and naturally failed; but from that time to the present there has existed no inertia among the Irish people at large, nor has the standard ever lacked a bearer.

The action of the "Grattan parliament", composed entirely of Protestants; the efforts of the Presbyterians of the North for religious freedom and Catholic Emancipation; the Rebellion of 1798; the outbreak of 1803; Catholic Emancipation; Daniel O'Connell's efforts for repeal of the fraudulent "Union"; the Young Ireland movement in 1848; the efforts of the Fenians; the Disestablishment of the so-called Irish Church "as by law established"; the first Land Act, and all subsequent ones; the Land League and the breaking-up of the landlord system; the beginning of the redistribution of the land among the people by purchase, with a number of measures equally important in their way,—these were all part of the one general movement for the benefit of the Irish people.

The above stated record was the result entirely of Irish agitation, and not one single point was gained from the English Government through any other incentive than political necessity, backed by the demands of a sufficiently united people.

With each concession thus gained and fitted in its place, as a properly chiselled and squared stone in a well constructed wall, the whole now forms a solid foundation for what is to come hereafter and to be based upon it.

The first step towards bringing about what has been accomplished, was made by Protestants in the Irish Parliament to correct the abuses there existing, which had rendered that body probably the most corrupt in Christendom. With no less zeal was the attempt made through Protestant effort in the Irish Parliament to bring about Catholic Emancipation, against the opposition of the Government, the King, the English people, and especially Irish aristocracy.

When the demand was made for Home Rule by the Irish Parliament in the name of the Kingdom of Ireland, the English Government, through fear of the consequences in case of a refusal, promptly repealed what was a usurpation on the part of the British parliament, namely, the "Act of George the First"—

with the official acknowledgement, signed by the King of England and attested by England's great seal of state, as to Ireland's independence of England, as a distinct kingdom, which had never had its special rights impaired by the dual system. George the Third was King of Great Britain, and King of Ireland, as sovereign of two separate countries.

As Great Britain was unable to afford any protection to Ireland against an expected attack from the French, the Kingdom of Ireland organized its own army under the command of Irish officers through the "Volunteer Movement", and legislative measures were adopted for the purpose of correcting the abuses which had been brought about through misgovernment and the influence of the English Government. During a period of fully six hundred years, and until a very recent period, the course of England towards Ireland was not upright, just, nor even honest, but that of a cowardly bully; during that period she carefully bided her time to persecute and to punish Ireland, a country she could not conquer, and dared not attack except when Ireland was disabled through dissensions of England's creation.

While England was engaged in strife with France she acquiesced in their demand, and granted what the Irish people asked in justice, doing so with the most attractive promises and good wishes for the future.

Henry Flood, held by many to have been the ablest man Ireland ever produced, was at this period active in public affairs of the country. In one of his speeches in the Irish parliament and in relation to the reputation of the English Government, he said:—"When have you negotiated that you have not been deceived? When have you demanded, that you have not succeeded?"

A most remarkable body of men, both as to numbers and talent, now became prominent in Ireland, and in Dublin particularly, to direct her public affairs. But by law they were all of the privileged class and advocates of "Protestant Ascendancy". They advocated the unrestricted right of worship for the Catholics, and many other political changes, where they themselves would be chiefly benefitted. Catholic Emancipation was a measure of policy; as Protestants of the Church of England, their motive was political gain; but as Protestants they were blind as to any necessity for changing the political condition of those not of their faith. They were Irishmen by birth, but Englishmen in all their sympathies, with no thought for the political right of the Catholics, who were in the proportion of about six out of eight of the total population. During fully two hundred years these people suffered from a religious persecution to an extent never equalled in any other part of the world. They had not a legal right in the land of their birth, even so much as was concomitant with the existence by law of a dumb beast.

The bounds of the civilized world resounded in echo, responsive to the eloquence of Grattan and his associates, but no claim in justice was made for the Catholics beyond their nominal religious emancipation, simply to permit the public exercise of their religion, which, as was well known, was fully practised in private, and which during two centuries the Government had been unable to suppress.

Universal suffrage was unthought of, except by a limited number who sturdily advocated the right of full citizenship of the Jew, Catholic and Protestant Dissenter. "Protestant Ascendancy", from a political standpoint, advocated only a limited suffrage with a local vote for the serf, to be controlled by the thus increased power of the Protestant landlord.

Yet, Ireland began to prosper from the brilliant prospect set forth for her future. Henry Grattan led the Parliament, as well as all those holding the power and wealth of the country, so that there was no opposition to the attainment of every reform needed for the full regeneration of the country. Yet, he and his party accomplished nothing throughout the greater part of a generation. Grattan spent his life in the utterances of promises and platitudes, eloquently put forth with the most irridescent coloring, but based on as little substance as an *ignis fatuus*. The vacillations of his followers as to purpose, their want of union, and, above all, cowardly neglect of opportunity for benefitting their country, gave both time and indication to Pitt as to when to bring about the Union; a consummation hoped for by the English from the days of Elizabeth.

Grattan and the "Opposition" leaders acting with him, through their policy of considering Ireland's needs of secondary importance in comparison with England's interests, were thus responsible for the sacrifice of the lives of over one hundred thousand Irish men, women and children, by legal murder, massacre and strife, to accomplish Pitt's purpose of the Union. A political and illegal result which, so long as it exists will be a bar to any real union between England and Ireland, and which can only be maintained by force. Moreover, until repealed it must defeat legally every effort for the gain of true Home Rule, as two entirely distinct provisions for the government of Ireland cannot exist legally at the same time. Will not a neglect to repeal the "Act of the Union" furnish England with the legal power at any time to wipe out all that Ireland may gain from opportunity for Home Rule, whenever it may be to England's interest to do so?

The course of Grattan and his friends of English sympathies led to the formation of the Society of United Irishmen. Lecky, who has written the "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century", the only exhaustive work on the subject, was necessarily familiar with all the historical details connected with the Rebellion of 1798. He has stated (Vol. III, p. 174) :—

> The name of Grattan was still so great, his eloquence was so transcendent, his character was so transparently pure, that few open murmurs were heard against him, but from the "Opposition" as a body, the United Irishmen were wholly separated. Wolfe Tone wrote that he had long entertained a more sincere contempt for what is called The Opposition than for the common prostitutes of the Treasury Bench, who wanted at least the vein of hypocrisy.

And Lecky continues:—

> Emmet, who was perhaps the ablest member of the party, declared that "the United Irishmen and their adherents thought the Opposition had forfeited all pretence to public

confidence by consenting to the measures for the repression of disaffection,—at least before any advance had been made to correct the acknowledged radical vice among the representation in Parliament."

Emmet and Tone were very close friends. Tone and Samuel Neilson organized in Ulster what was to be the first branch of the Society of United Irishmen. Emmet, however, for special reasons, did not become a sworn member of the organization for several years after. It is not now known with which of these three men the general plan originated, but the credit is generally given to Tone, while Emmet, throughout his connection with the Society, was essentially the organizer, in which work he had the efficient aid of others. Tone and Neilson often sought his advice and were guided by their friend's opinion, but there is no instance on record in which either Tone or Neilson directed Emmet's course.

In some respects Tone had the advantage of Emmet, as his manner was such that he attracted attention as soon as he began to speak, but all were finally convinced who listened to Mr. Emmet's argument, and with this power he was unequalled as an organizer. He commanded from the beginning the profound respect and confidence of the Catholics, and of all others who knew him. He had more sincere friends in all ranks of life who were devoted to him personally, than any other Irish leader, with the exception of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, while many had but little confidence in the latter's judgment as a leader.

Thomas Addis Emmet, withal, was regarded as the head of the Society of United Irishmen, and especially by those who wished Ireland's wrongs redressed without resorting to arms; with so much accomplished they believed that separation from England would for a time be unnecessary, but he never lost sight of absolute separation as a final essential. In these views he was supported by Samuel Neilson, Thomas Russell, Dr. James Macneven, John Sweetman, and every other leader of importance in Irish affairs, with the exception of Arthur O'Connor, who had no confidence in any one but himself.

While Tone and Fitzgerald agreed with O'Connor as to the necessity for a military organization of the Society, with the ulterior object of a separation of Ireland from England, the friendship of these men for Emmet never weakened. They continued to act under his advice, until finally Mr. Emmet became convinced that nothing could be obtained for the relief of Ireland without a separation from England. This change in the character of the organization was known at once to England, as she was fully informed by her spies in the society, and the arrest of the leaders who, acting under Mr. Emmet's influence, were delaying the outbreak, at once forced the country into open rebellion.

This work has been the result of over fifty years devoted to study and collecting material. It was at length written to show that full justice had never been rendered to Mr. Emmet, owing to the want of adequate knowledge as to his services in the Irish cause, and which England had done everything

to underrate. From these circumstances it was natural that the reputation of the elder brother should have been overshadowed by the romance attached to the memory of Robert Emmet.

At the request of the early leaders in the Society of United Irishmen, Mr. Emmet was for nearly two years engaged in forming new branches of the Society throughout the country, while he was on circuit in the practice of his profession. So quietly did he carry on this work that his friends were unaware that he took the slightest interest in politics. That his work should not be suspected he apparently took no part in the trials of those under arrest, yet his private advice aided those who had charge of the defence. During all this time he was fully trusted, notwithstanding its being known among the leaders that he had never taken the oath of association. At length he joined the organization regularly, and shortly after he became a member he was elected to the Directory with Mr. O'Connor, Dr. Macneven and two others who never served. Arthur O'Connor was a man of the greatest ability and he had rendered most important service to the Irish cause before he and Mr. Emmet met for the first time in Dublin, when they became members of the Society of United Irishmen.

On being placed in a position of responsibility as a Director O'Connor proved himself unfit to direct. Actuated by jealousy he at once refused to advocate any plan which did not originate with himself, and his only purpose while in office seemed to be to lead by intrigue, or to destroy the work of others. When he found that he could not weaken the influence of Mr. Emmet, who was supported by the full co-operation of his other colleagues, he made every effort among the members until his arrest, to have Mr. Emmet removed from the position of supreme executive.

It can be claimed that by means of this work an exhaustive effort has been made for the first time to bring together all the material known to exist in connection with the lives of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, and no other writer except Dr. Madden, has succeeded by an individual effort in offering so great an amount of original material as will be found within these pages.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that few but the close students of Irish history have ever read in full or had access to all the documents in connection with the political course of these men. On account of the length of the official papers and the penurious spirit of the publishers, only a portion or a synopsis of the papers has ever been printed except in official form and these have not always been accessible. For the first time, so far as the writer is informed, the trial of Robert Emmet is herein given with the full text of the testimony of each witness, as to questions and answers, with every document in its full integrity, and incorporated in its proper place with the text, or else the portion there omitted is to be found in the Appendix. The only other place where the evidence, in connection with the trial of Robert Emmet is printed in full is Ridgway's official report, where it appears in the same volume with other trials; yet even here in three instances, where the witness has given the same testimony in another trial, the reader of Emmet's trial is referred

back to the first presentation. The trial of Robert Emmet as given in this volume is therefore the only published instance where every feature can be found in consecutive order.

Almost every circumstance in the life of Thomas Addis Emmet as first given to the public, was based on the sketch written by Mr. T. A. Emmet, Jr., and placed at the disposal of Dr. Madden, who embodied the whole in his "Lives of the United Irishmen". The information then possessed by the son, however, was comparatively limited, and in the absence of other material it often misled. Through the effort of the writer much has been gained from the collection of Mr. Emmet's scattered correspondence, and through study of the official records. Unfortunately Mr. Emmet seldom made in these private letters any reference to the historical portion of his life, but he partly supplied this want by his own writings, the existence of which was largely unknown to his family or the public. His letters and essays on the political situation of the country, which were printed chiefly in "The Press", a Dublin newspaper and the official organ of the United Irishmen, are most valuable, and for the first time these papers have been published collectively in connection with his life.

Previous to the printing of "The Press", "The Northern Star" was issued in Belfast by Neilson and Tone until destroyed by the British troops, but it is not known that Mr. Emmet made any literary contribution to its columns.

Arthur O'Connor, as part owner and for some time editor, issued "The Press" with great ability, and to the annoyance of the Government, which did not dare suppress it until Grattan and his friends furnished the opportunity by showing that they would offer no resistance. During the issue of "The Press" there appeared a number of letters from Mr. Emmet's pen, written annonymously and signed "Montanus". These letters were outspoken on the condition of the country and attracted the greatest interest. Numbers of "The Press" are now seldom to be found, as they were destroyed by the Government and consequently even their existence was known to but few. A still smaller number were aware that Mr. Emmet was the author of these letters signed "Montanus", or of the extent of his services in the management of this paper, of which he frequently acted as editor, or of his influence at the same time in the Society of United Irishmen. All of these letters have been copied for this work, and reprinted directly from a file of "The Press" itself, with a copy also of Emmet's last and scarcest letter, which was to have been issued and was in type when the paper was seized by the Government. Fortunately, "Extracts from The Press", in book form for reference, with all these letters and other articles of interest, both in this country and abroad, were reprinted just after the rebellion, but without giving the names of the authors; nevertheless these volumes are now almost as difficult to obtain as a perfect file of the original newspaper.

While imprisoned in Kilmainham, Dublin, Mr. Emmet wrote some contributions to Irish history which fortunately were preserved by the family, who, however, were unaware of their value, and these are now given all

together for the first time. A portion of contributions was printed in New York by his friend Dr. Macneven as "Pieces of Irish History". These essays have also been reproduced in this work.

The general impression held by the public was that Mr. Emmet wrote but little, whereas, as a matter of fact, no other Irish leader placed on record so much with which he was personally associated. In proof of this the reader will find at the head and end of many chapters a quotation, generally on some economic subject, taken from his political writings and given as an aphorism.

The extent of religious prejudice and race hatred among the Irish people previous to the existence of the United Irishmen, cannot now be realized. All of this had to be removed by personal influence, a condition not existing in our day. A larger proportion of the people were reconciled and enrolled by Thomas Addis Emmet and through his personal influence than through all other means. In the beginning the difficulty was greatest with the Protestants in consequence of the special privileges enjoyed exclusively by them. Their ignorant prejudice was fostered by falsehood issued through the influence of the English Government with the object of maintaining its own influence and strength in the country. As an inheritance from his father and mother, Mr. Emmet from early manhood labored to effect the emancipation of Catholics, and was fully trusted by all of that faith. At one time while he was at the head of the United Irishmen, over one hundred thousand men were enrolled and in active service, Catholics and Protestants being associated in the closest bond of membership. Some one warned Mr. Emmet of his danger and of the certainty that information would be conveyed to the English Government concerning his connection with the organization.

Mr. Emmet's reply was: "I am fully in the power of over twenty thousand men, and am well known to a greater number, yet I do not believe one will inform on me". Such proved to be the case, as the Government was never able to obtain any legal evidence on which he could be brought to trial. Yet at that time the organization was permeated by the spy and informer in the English interest, men who joined at the beginning and were not suspected, and they held responsible positions throughout. Fortunately for Mr. Emmet these informers were chiefly from the higher walks of life, persons with whom he had but little intercourse, his work having been among the masses of both Catholics and Protestants, with whom his influence was great.

At the suggestion of Mr. Emmet, Tone began his wonderful work for Catholic Emancipation and to bring about the needed reconciliation with the Protestants, but unfortunately Tone was often absent on other service. After Tone's death Mr. Emmet had to take up this work and, whenever he was engaged with tasks temporarily of more importance, direct others in its execution. What Mr. Emmet taught in the letters of "Montanus" has been transmitted to the present day, and has exercised its influence from time to time, long after the source was forgotten. Among Mr. Emmet's teachings can be found almost every expedient utilized from the time his service ceased down

to the present, and which rendered possible Catholic Emancipation and Home Rule for Ireland.

In comparison with what has been collected in relation to the life work of Thomas Addis Emmet, that gained for the better elucidation of Robert Emmet's plans and work, is equally important.

A study of this work will show that Robert Emmet's plans of action were far-reaching and well digested, so far as the execution rested with him. Unfortunately he had not James Hope with him at the end when, of all men associated with him, this man's personality would have been invaluable. Emmet's efforts failed because he was unsupported by many leaders at a time when he most needed assistance, and although he was unaware of it at the time, it is probable that not a single order was carried out, or reached the person for whom it was intended. When we consider Robert Emmet's project and the close attachment which existed between him and his elder brother it is inconceivable that his plans and purpose were not influenced by the judgment of that brother.

In truth, the influence of the service rendered by these two men to forward Ireland's regeneration, will remain as one and indelible. When Robert Emmet's epitaph can be written, for the same reason that of his elder brother will be needed, as their purposes were inseparable.

The investigation for collecting the material bearing upon the life of Thomas Addis Emmet shows two instances apparently reflecting upon either his honesty of purpose or his ability,—his course with Arthur O'Connor and that with Rufus King. The following was Mr. Lecky's opinion as quoted from his "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century" (Vol. IV, p. 253), and there need be advanced no additional authority, as no one could be found who had less sympathy for Mr. Emmet's work. He states:

> Emmet and Arthur O'Connor were perhaps abler, they were certainly more conspicuous men than their colleagues, and the first is one of the few really interesting figures connected with the rebellion. He was a respectable lawyer, an excellent writer, a very honest and disinterested man, and he had certainly not embarked in treason either through motives of selfish ambition, or through any mere love of adventure and excitement. He became a United Irishman in order to obtain a radical parliamentary reform and Catholic Emancipation; he found that these things were never likely to be attained except by force, and he at last succeeded in persuading himself that if Ireland were only detached from England she would soar to an unprecedented height of prosperity.
>
> Nature had intended him much more for the life of a man of letters than for the scenes in which he is often found in the earlier stages of a rebellion, but is usually discouraged or eclipsed in blood, long before the struggle has run its course. His writings and his examination before the Privy Council are singularly interesting and instructive, as showing the process by which a humane, honourable, and scrupulous man could become the supporter of a movement which was the parent of so many crimes. Grattan knew Emmet slightly and admitted his integrity, but he had a profound contempt for his political understanding. He described him, somewhat unceremoniously, as a quack in politics who despised experience, set up his own crude notions as settled rules, and looked upon elections and representations as if they were operations of nature, rather than the work of art. Anyone, Grattan maintained, who could bring himself to

believe that a country like Ireland, in which the people were so destitute that one-third of them were exempted from the payment of hearth money on account of their poverty, could be safely or tolerably governed. must be politically mad, and have forfeited all right to be considered in Irish politics. Emmet afterwards rose to considerable distinction in America and became Attorney-General of New York. Grattan, perhaps unjustly, thought his success was much beyond his talents, and such as he would never have attained if he had remained at home.

This is perfectly true, as the Government would have made every effort, as in the case of Robert Holmes, to retard his advancement. The public will learn for the first time that Pitt, to bridle Mr. Emmet's political influence, offered him the position of Solicitor General of Ireland before he had reached his twenty-ninth birthday. This bribe Mr. Emmet promptly declined, and thereby incurred the implacable enmity of Pitt and Castlereagh, and suffered from the consequences to an extent never known to the public.

In a footnote Lecky writes:

See a curious conversation of Grattan in his *Life* (IV., 360, 361). Grattan acutely added:—"England should take care. She transports a great deal of hostile spirit to that quarter."

Judge Story (of the United States Supreme Court), however, than whom there can be no higher authority, said that Emmet was "by universal consent in the first rank of American advocates," and he speaks with much respect, both of his character and his talents. See his sketch of Emmet in his own published Life by his son, and in Field's "Irish Confederates" (New York, 1851, pp. 335-339).

Lecky continues:

Arthur O'Connor was a different type. . . . He now believed the organization [when he became a member of the Directory with Emmet and Macneven] to have become sufficiently powerful for independent action, and in conjunction with Fitzgerald, he strongly advocated it. The dispute ran very high and it made O'Connor a bitter enemy of Emmet, whom he accused very unjustly of cowardice.

It is not necessary to offer any defence for Mr. Emmet. Time has rendered a verdict on which his reputation firmly rests, and it will not suffer from any comparison with that now held by Mr. O'Connor.

The first judgment likely to be passed by the superficial reader will be to the effect that this work is to a great extent a compilation. This is not correct, as the student will find. Few books of its character can ever be written without being necessarily based on the evidence of others, and at the same time it will be found that few works have been issued of a biographical nature and not contemporary, which contain more original material.

The mason in constructing his building selects each brick needed, and when completed, the result certainly cannot be claimed for a single one of the different brick-makers, nor for all of them. The structure is all original, due to the judgment and knowledge of the mason, who was able to establish the value of each part of all the material he needed. The judgment exercised by the writer or the mason, is based on the knowledge obtained from study of details.

Much of his knowledge the writer acquired directly from his grandmother. This was supplemented by many explanations which came almost directly from Dr. Macneven himself, and he gained a knowledge of family tradition from those who were cotemporaries with the events here related, and who, from childhood, would often recollect many trivial details of more value in forming a consistent narrative than the possession of a few isolated facts. He also was fortunate in gaining access to material which had been forgotten, or was not known to exist before the writer began his investigation. He may therefore justly claim to have written, as well as compiled, an original work.

At some future time another may recast this material into a more attractive form, but certainly the claim is valid that for the first time the political life of Thomas Addis Emmet and of his brother Robert, has been written in more than outline. The fact must now be accepted that Thomas Addis Emmet, more than any other leader in the early part of the movement of 1798, left an indelible and individual impression on Irish affairs, which is followed to the present time, although the source has been forgotten. Robert Emmet, although he failed from adverse circumstances, was the originator of everything in the Fenian movement which made it most formidable, and he established the necessity for securing Dublin as the first step in every revolutionary movement, although the idea was not strictly original with him.

The purchaser of this work is to be congratulated, as it is the first work of the kind ever published where his interest has been consulted to a like extent. Apart from their priceless value and number the illustrations are unique from an historical standpoint. They certainly represent all that the skill and good taste of Miss Anna Frances Levins, the artist, could accomplish. There are, moreover, many other special features of great interest: the prophecy of C. Temple Emmet, to be found after the list of aphorisms in the first volume; the reproduction from the only known copy of a work by St. John Mason, bearing on the treatment of English political prisoners; most important of all is the unique portrait of Robert Emmet, which is likely to be accepted in the future as the only perfectly reliable portrait, inasmuch as every opportunity for securing a good likeness was enjoyed by the artist. A priceless memento of the poet, Shelley, is found in the heretofore unpublished portion of his poem to the grave of Robert Emmet. This was obtained through the efforts of Frank J. Sullivan, Esq., of San Francisco, Cal. But two verses of the poem were ever allowed to be published, so that in the pages of this work this poem reaches the public for the first time as it was written and in its entirety.

There were few voices more influential in the national councils than that of Thomas Addis Emmet. Humane, disinterested, warm-hearted, zealous, he glided through the meetings of the Irish Unions remonstrating with some, suggesting to others, and advising all.

William J. Fitzpatrick.

England and Ireland can never prosper together. It is as impossible to bring about such a result, in defiance of the attributes of nature, as that the mixing of oil and water should ever blend into a homogeneous product. The experience of seven centuries has proved this. The two nations have nothing in common. They need a different civilization and a different language, as every aspiration of life is at variance between them. Could England divest herself of the greed for gain, she would advocate a total separation to the gain of both countries.

Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D.

Armed resistance to tyranny is justifiable and a duty on every citizen.

A. Bonar Law,
"Against Imposing Home Rule on Ulster", Bristol, 1914.

Ireland may some day be justified by Ulster's course in fighting for her independence.

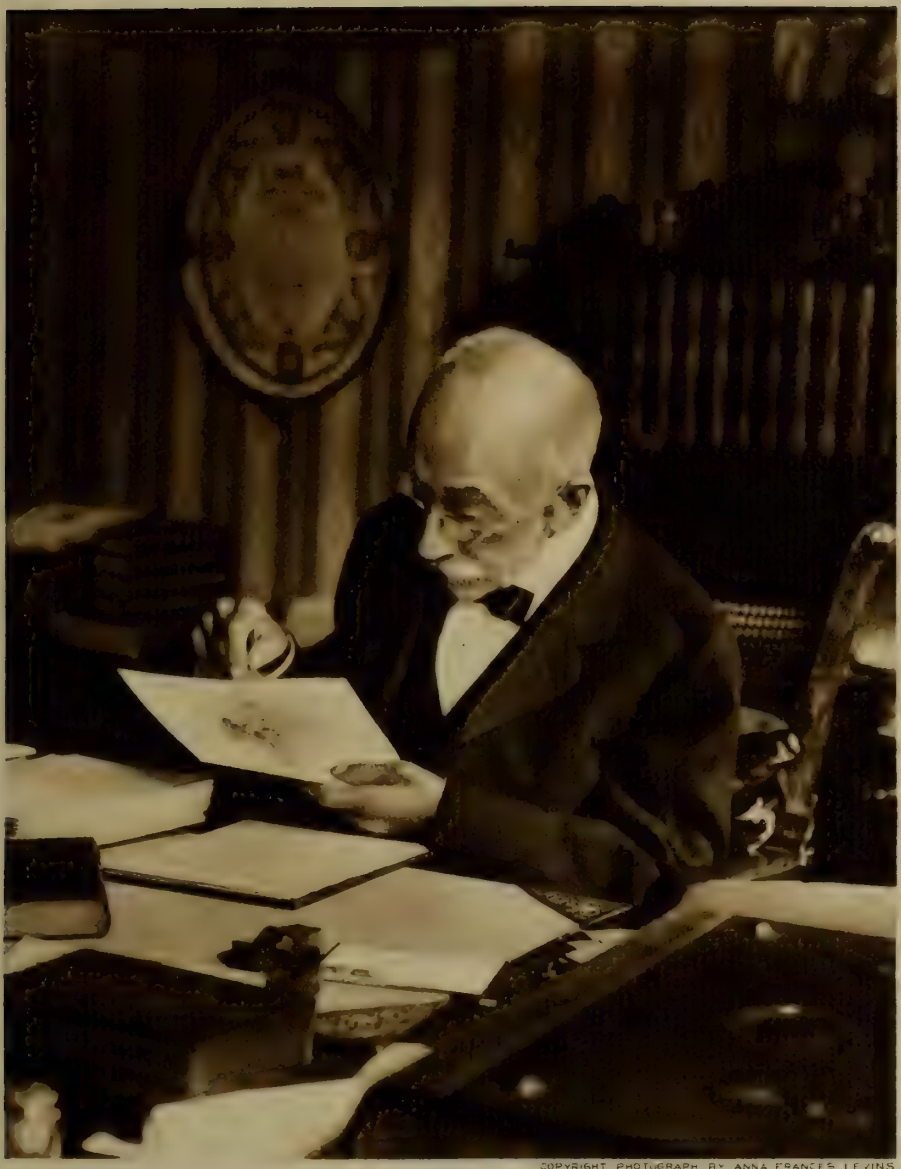
Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D.

Through the grace of God individuals are sometimes regenerated and the change may be possible for nations, after the millennium. Home Rule may be granted and every other concession, yet the locked ball and chain of the prisoner will still be there. The experience of the centuries has taught that England alone will prosper by any union with Ireland, as she can never be satisfied with even the lion's share, but must have all profit. I should like to see England and Ireland good friends for their mutual advantage. But I have Ireland's welfare too much at heart to be satisfied with any relation between them short of absolute separation and Ireland an independent country. An orange devoid of its contents is of no value but in recollection of that derived from it, and England may find the analogy applicable.

Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D.

Marry, so there have bin divers good plottes devised and wise councells cast already about the reformation of that realm, but they say it is the fatall destiny of that land that no purposes whatsoever which are mentioned for her good will prosper or take effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soyle or influence of the starrs, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be knowne but yet much to be feared.

Edmund Spenser, State of Ireland, 1596.



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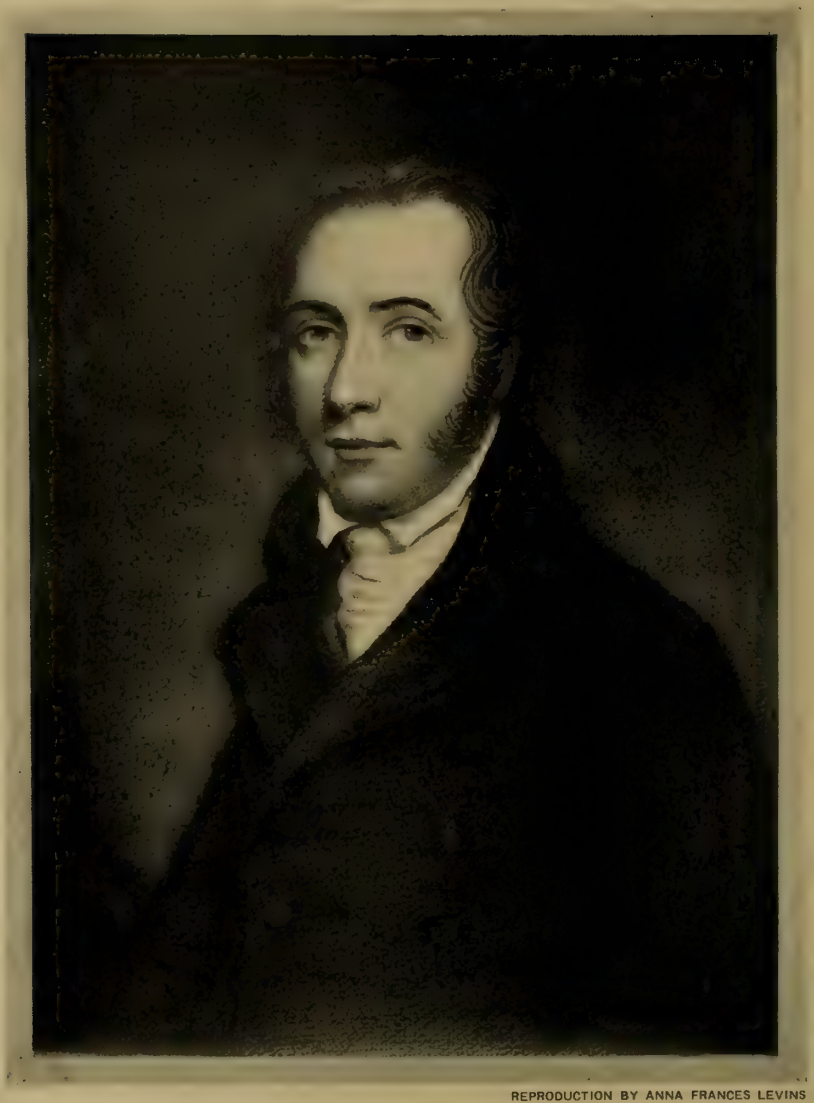
Thos. Addis Emmet, M.D.



REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Thomas A. Emmet, from Madden, by Herbert

Let them look at their own deserted harbours and bays which never viewed a sail, and let them shed a tear over their unhappy country. She had been too long misruled by cruel men; but by the exercise of that morality which forbade a crime, which shuddered at it as the pestilential gale of mephitic cholera, they should be rescued from the tyrant and despot. Ireland ought, should, and shall be free.

O'Connell—Repeal meeting, Connemara.

Historical Essays in connection with Ireland

WRITTEN BY

T. A. EMMET

The nations are fallen, but thou art still young;
Thy sun is but rising, whilst others have set;
And tho' slavery's gloom o'er thy morning hath hung,
The full moon of freedom shall beam round thee yet.

Davis.

A military invasion, or a combination of hostile fleets, united to deprive her of command of the sea, not to enumerate any other events to which the chances of an hour may give birth, would render England helpless, unless she was sustained by the hearty support of Ireland.

William Smith O'Brien, The Nation—Nov. 13, 1847.

The minister Pitt confessed a truth, which the complicated wretchedness of ages loudly proclaimed—that the constant object of the policy exercised by the English Government in regard to Ireland had been to disbar her from the enjoyment and use of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the interests and opulence of Britain.

T. A. Emmet.

OBSERVATIONS

on the

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

of the

CONQUEST OF IRELAND BY BRITAIN

from

1171 to 1789

WRITTEN IN KILMAINHAM GAOL,

DUBLIN

By

THOS. ADDIS EMMET

and

INTENDED TO BE PRESENTED IN MANUSCRIPT

to

The Right Honorable Charles James Fox.

Three things for a man to avoid: the heels of a horse, the horns of a bull and the smile of an Englishman.

An old Connaught Proverb.

We have somewhat else against you; for compacts broken and frauds displaced by frauds.

Aubrey De Vere.

It is difficult to believe that either Grattan or Flood could have seriously thought that any promise would bind England, a country which even then was notorious all over the world for broken faith and dishonored treaties.

James Connolly.

There is no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the union between Great Britain and Ireland.

Gladstone.

There was one man engaged in that struggle who possessed all the elements of greatness, and whose judgment could alone check the violence of insurrectionary success, and bring all within the limit of order,—that was Thomas Addis Emmet.
"The Truth Teller". August 17, 1842.

Observations on the Conquest of Ireland

Part I

State of Ireland previous to introduction of English power—An object of boast by natives, of derision by malicious foreigners—One harmless in effect; the other intended to justify wrong inflicted by oppression—Invasion under Henry II begins the era meriting the deepest recollection as a starting point—Its record calamitous and sickening—Education of a people not in change from one form of polity in social customs and laws to another, but in the progressive formation of its moral and political character and in a common principle called *Country*—The proud feeling of an independent national existence, the State and its members acting reciprocally on each other—Where this is wanting and one country bound to another its character and conduct will betray invariably the vileness of its conditions—National Independence incompatible with provincial subjection in every sphere—Slavery in every form destructive of the virtue, the genius and the spirit of man.

THE state of Ireland at a remote period, previous to the introduction of the English power, has been a subject of unmerited panegyric, and of still more unmerited abuse. The vain or indignant native boasts of ancient heroes, literature, political institutions and refinements. The ignorant or malicious foreigner denies every pretension to early fame, and draws the darkest picture of barbarism and crimes. The national vanity which emblazons doubtful pretensions in the splendid coloring of fancy, is not malignant in origin, and is harmless in its effect, but the deliberate calumny, which blackens the character of the injured in order to justify the wrongs of the oppressor, deserves a harsher epithet than falsehood and a severer chastisement than contempt. However, Milesian antiquity or Milesian fame, is, to the present question, a barren boast and a melancholy alleviation of the closing scene of the eighteenth century. Curiosity may be

amused and vanity gratified by the real or fancied attainments of primitive independence; but in those events alone, by which his present condition has been determined, or may be changed, is man seriously concerned.

The invasion of Ireland by Henry the Second is the first era in its annals which merits the deep recollection of the present times, and it is an era which may be remembered long. From this era the progress of events in Ireland may be traced and connected as essentially affecting the character, the fortune and the hopes of the present and succeeding generations.* But, however important such events may appear as illustrative of the actual state of things, or as pregnant with speculations on the future, the detail will be found, until a very late period, rather calamitous than interesting. The reader is sickened and fatigued with uniform repetition of the same policy, the same crimes and the same suffering. The mind is seldom enlightened or elevated by examples of genius or magnanimity, either in the conquerors or the conquered. The imagination is not dazzled by the splendor of victory, and the misfortunes of the vanquished seem hardly to excite even the pity of the generous and humane.

That the subjugation of a country, superior in almost every natural advantage to the country by which it was subjugated, should produce neither glory in victory nor sympathy in defeat, is a singular historical phenomenon.

Uninterested in the detail of facts, the inquisitive mind becomes interested in accounting for the very apathy which it feels, and, while the annals of Ireland are perused with indifference or disgust, as a particular history of events, they become important and engaging in the abstract investigation of cause and effect. Perhaps, too, from this view of its history, while the philosophic temper is gratified by observing the influence of moral causes counteracting the physical destinies of nature, producing weakness and want and ignorance, emasculating and debasing, where all the outlines of creation seemed traced for happiness, the feeling mind may be led to sympathize with the fortunes of a people, brave, generous and intelligent, subdued and enslaved without even the consolation of many a hard-fought field.

Had the liberties of Greece perished with Leonidas at Thermopylæ, Spartan glory would have been the same. Had the days of Marathon, Salamis and Platæa been days of defeat, instead of victory to Greece, the orator might still have sworn by the sacred memory of the dead. When a nation which refuses to bend is broken by the tempest, its fame is measured by the storm. But in the sad picture of her destruction, Ireland exhibits not the majestic ruins of a nation. Before Ireland could be a nation, she became a province;

*Mr. Emmet cannot be accepted as an authority on early Irish history, as he had no other source but what the English published. This the Irish people themselves had accepted through ignorance of their own history, as was England's purpose. The Germans, since Mr. Emmet's death, have given authentic proof that the English tribes were in their breech-cloths when Ireland was already a civilized country, as early as that of Rome. This has been proved by the manuscripts found in the early Irish monasteries of the continent. By this means, also, it is known that to Ireland is due all of our present knowledge of Greek and Roman literature, after the fall of Rome, and possibly the preservation of Christianity itself after the inroads of Attila, at the end of the fourth century, for a hundred years later the Irish missionaries converted the invaders and rechristianized Europe. The Irish people, after the invasion of Henry the Second, lost all knowledge of their early history, as England, from the beginning, systematically destroyed every evidence of Irish civilization, and it is now taught *as history* that Ireland was civilized by English precept and example!

before Ireland could be a people, her inhabitants were made slaves, attached not to their country, but to their soil.

As individuals or as clans or as septs, they have wandered for long centuries through a dreary existence, without any central principle of attraction and light and warmth. For six long centuries Ireland has been schooled as a province, and she betrays all the vices of her education.

Civilization has frequently been diffused by conquest, and even imposed by force. But such civilization can be relative only; above the barbarism which it has succeeded, far below the standard of independent, voluntary improvement. When civilization is imposed, it will be fashioned by the habits, the prejudices and the interests of conquest to form a society of slaves, not a community of freemen. Civilization imposed in an age of barbarism has its use, it might preserve or propagate what might be otherwise lost or only partially known, but it never can generate a nation. Man may be comparatively civilized by conquest, may be raised above the brute, but, in order to attain the true dignity of his nature, he must shake off the conquest, he must dare to think as he pleases, and to speak as he thinks. The education of a people must be its own work, the spontaneous effect of its own genius, roused by accident or example, enriched by all that it can invent, and all that it can borrow, leading or led by the knowledge around. But Ireland has not received her education from herself, she has been educated by another country, which for a long time had but little to bestow, would not communicate even that little, and at length, studied to check the growth which it feared. Ireland, to have been well educated, ought to have been left to herself, to work her way in the world of science and government and trade, by her own talents, her own spirit and her own industry. But, instead of this, she was rudely seized in an age of barbarism, and thrust out of the sphere of light. She could neither create nor imitate. She could neither give birth to a Solon, nor send for her twelve tables to Greece.

The education of a people is not the changing of its garb, nor the allurement of its chieftains to a Court; it is not the substitution of English for Brehon law, the gibbet for the epic; it is not to be found in Protestant charter-schools, nor in Catholic seminaries, in the university of Dublin, nor in the college of Maynooth. The education of a people is the formation of its moral and intellectual and political character, measured by its advancement in government, in laws, in manners, in science, in arts, in manufactures, in trade, in the general diffusion of knowledge and virtue, and of the comforts, the conveniences and the refinements of life. Nature is the volume, and experience is the school. The benefits of law and policy, of manufactures and trade, of arts and science, are the effect of individual talent, and of united labor. But genius and industry, the powers of a few and the labors of the many, combining toward a common end, can only exist where there is some common, invigorating principle of life and motion. This common principle is country, the proud feeling of an independent national existence, by means of which every action is reflected from the individual to the State, and from

the State to the individual, and fame and emolument are enjoyed in the two-fold capacity of man and citizen.

The State and its members act reciprocally on each other, the public and the private energies are intimately connected. A sense of national glory, of high national character, acquired and maintained by self-exertion, a love of the common weal (the fertile source of noble nations and ingenuous sentiments), inspire and animate and dignify the individual, exalt the soul above selfish affections, develop the powers of the understanding, give birth and vigor to the sciences and arts, and, if they sometimes rouse the ambitious and destructive, they more uniformly call forth and exercise the generous and useful passions of the human breast. But where this common invigorating principle is wanting, where a people is reluctantly bound to the will, subservient to the interests, and attached to the fortunes of another State, its character and conduct will invariably betray the vileness of its condition. National independence by no means necessarily leads to national virtue and happiness; but reason and experience demonstrate that public virtue and general happiness are absolutely incompatible with a state of provincial subjection.

Added to the sufferings peculiarly attached to such a condition, the very consciousness of dependence on another power for advancement in the scale of national being, must weigh down the spirit of a people, manacle the efforts of genius, repress the energies of virtue, blunt the sense of common glory and common good, and produce an insulated selfishness of character, the most certain marks of debasement in the individual and mortality in the State.

The industry of man arises not from the mere impulse of instinct. The industry of man arises from instinct and reason, from feeling and from experience, from a sense of duty and a love of fame. The industry of man embraces the material and the intellectual world; is impelled by the sordid, and animated by the generous affections; is connected with everything mean and everything noble in the human breast; it grovels on the earth and it ascends to heaven; the gross portion of its nature may exist in any clime where the animal can breathe; but every celestial particle will perish where the mind dare not think. The soil of Attica is still visited by the same sun, yet "the Athenians walk with supine indifference among the glorious ruins of antiquity, and such is the debasement of their character, that they are incapable of admiring the genius of their predecessors". The soil of Attica is still visited by the same sun, but his beams no longer illumine a land of liberty, whose alchemic power transmutes whatever it touches into gold. The republic of Athens is no more, and the genius and the spirit and the virtue which once covered that scanty and rugged soil with glory, now only live in the records of her fame. "Nothing can be more advantageous to the commonwealth than what Themistocles has proposed," said Aristides, "but at the same time, nothing can be more unjust". *It must be done,* was the instantaneous and unanimous resolution of a free people. Will the actions of a free people be always just? No, but the actions of an enslaved people will never be sublime. Slavery in every form which it can assume is destructive

of the virtue, the genius and the spirit of man. The subjection of one people to another is of all species of slavery incomparatively the worst, and the history of human calamity has not yet exhibited such an instance of complicated and long-continued wretchedness, of forced and mortifying debasement, as the subjection of Ireland to the English power has produced.

Ireland—"Her virtues are her own—her vices have been forced upon her".
Robert Holmes.

Part II

Causes and consequences of British Conquest—Invasion found Ireland in a state of internal disorder favorable for the invader—Had invasion not taken place, evolution would have effected a radical and salutary change in conditions—England an example of the value of independence since departure of the Romans—England only changed King—The principle of national life was destroyed before Ireland could renovate herself—England seized moment Ireland was weakest—*Divide et impera* became the policy of the foreign government—Parliaments and charters too often the trappings of the slave—Long after doom of country was fixed some provincial or *sept* chief rebelled, but no national effort—The system of Pale and Plantation, at first one of national antipathy, culminated finally in antipathy of religion aggravated by England's attempts to impose her religion by force—Religious dissension became permanent basis of English power in Ireland—Ireland never derived advantage from wisdom or virtue of English sovereigns, but has been the victim of their follies and crimes—Elizabeth and James had different policies, but their effects were the same—Charles I and his deputy Strafford laid the foundation of calamities that followed—Loyal attachment of Catholics to Charles caused by fear of Puritans of Scotland and England—Cromwell combining hypocrisy with genius broke Catholic strength and followed it with the most inhuman proscriptions of all of that faith—Progress of events drove Catholics over to Royalist cause—Great anticipations when Charles II was restored—Disappointment followed and things remained as before—James II brought new calamities, though his intentions towards Ireland were benevolent—The will of the people the only foundation of government—Benefit of this principle kept for England—Ireland always governed by a minority—This in time became the Protestant—Three-fourths of Irish people proscribed.—The religious division of the people eventually constituted the solid basis of foreign domination—Dissenters more numerous than Established Churchmen joined in common persecution of Catholics—Both alike shared plunder of the Irish—Protestant atrocities concealed; Catholic magnified—Penal Code at length relaxed, but religious creed remained basis of political degradation—This condition and evils arising out of it inevitable consequences of English rule—Civil commotions in England benefited Englishmen, but never Ireland—English domination not assured by the sword but by policy, which made war on the mind, depressed the genius, broke down the spirit, corrupted the morals and withered the industry of Ireland.

HATEVER may be the truth or falsehood of her early attainments, Ireland, at the time of the expedition of Henry the Second, was in a state of internal disorder, most favorable to invasion, but which, had it not been for this very invasion, must soon, in the natural and ordinary progress of events, have effected a radical and salutary change in the government and manners of this ill-fated island. This will appear in the highest degree probable, whether we reason upon general principles or attend to the strong authority of experience. England herself is a luminous example

of order springing from confusion, liberty from civil strife, and strength from weakness.

No credulity can believe that had Ireland, girt with the Atlantic and embraced within the sphere of European mind, been left as independent in will as in station, she could at this day, exhibit such a miserable contrast as she presents to the strength, the opulence and the policy of her neighbor.

When England ceased to be a Roman province, though successfully invaded, she still preserved national independence. Vastly superior in natural advantages to the countries of the invaders, she invited and fixed in her more genial, more fruitful, more commodious, or more extensive soil, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans. The Saxons and the Danes were enterprising adventurers, seeking a settlement merely in a foreign land, not a provincial dependency to their own. William of Normandy was an adventurer of another kind. He aspired to the throne of an independent kingdom, and Normandy became a feudal appendage to the British crown. But had the Duke of Normandy been King of France, and had the strength of France been consolidated by the union of the great *fiese* to the Crown, Britain might be at this day to France what Ireland is to Britain, a miserable province, without a constitution, without a navy, and without a name.

By what is called the Norman Conquest, England but changed a king. Ireland presented to the ambitious Henry the sole idea of a desirable accession to a feudal crown, and conquest necessarily involved the loss of independence to the vanquished. Before Ireland could, by self-renovation, acquire a new existence, before her scattered and discordant tribes could be united by a sense of common interest, or by the chances of internal war, giving to some chieftain of superior genius and fortune, some Boroume of a later age, the creation of a people, the principle of national life and movement was destroyed. No sense of common interest, no example of other states, no talents and fortune of the soldier, no wisdom and virtue of the sage, could henceforward unite the scattered elements of a people.

There is frequently an interval of repulsion, which precedes cohesion in political as in natural bodies. This interval is a moment of weakness. It was observed and seized. The natives, improvident, turbulent and divided, brave in war, but rude in arms, continually sacrificing to personal or family revenge every consideration of general good and common safety, became the easy prey of invaders more civilized, or rather less barbarous, who could understand and employ the obvious policy of profiting by disunion, and converting the independence of septs into national subjugation.

Divide et impera, is no refinement in the science of conquest and despotism. It is the policy of circumstances, not of any age or country. When a nation is to be governed contrary to its interest and inclination, and when the union of the people would render such a government impracticable, the sense of common interest, and the wish of common liberty must be counteracted by creating or strengthening divided interests and hostile feelings. Nor is the task difficult.

The selfish and malignant passions are so powerful in man, that it requires no uncommon effort of genius, or dexterity of management to make them the instruments of his weakness and dishonor.

The facility with which a number of Irish chieftains submitted to the first English invaders is not surprising, but it was fatal. A firm acquisition of territory, however small, and a formal recognition of sovereignty, however partial, would necessarily be sufficient, under the relative situation of the two countries, to secure to Henry, his heirs and successors, the absolute dominion of Ireland.

It is idle to dispute about the precise terms and nature of the sovereignty with which he was invested. It is idle to appeal to early charters and to triumph in early parliaments. The appeal is delusive and the triumph is vain. Parliaments and charters are too often the trappings of the slave. Evidence, stronger than parliaments and charters, evidence written in the tears and the blood of the natives, exhibits Ireland, from the invasion of Henry, in all the horrors of provincial servitude, as the pure acquisition of conquest, begun, and to be completed and retained, by the sword.

As soon as this conquest had become an object of ambition to the English monarch, and the invaders had secured a footing in the country the annihilation of Ireland as an independent state appeared to be inevitable. The subjugation, however, of the inhabitants was tedious and afflicting. Long after the doom of their country had been fixed, the chieftains of a province or a sept, stung with insult, provoked by injury, roused by indignant feeling, tormented by the bitter recollection of departed power, or impelled by the keen sense of self-preservation, fought for vengeance or for safety, and struggled for local independence with a frequency, and an obstinacy, which prolonged common misery, without the chance, or indeed the design, of effecting common emancipation.

From inability, ignorance, prejudice or private interest, no vigorous, comprehensive system of conquest and civilization was ever adopted by the invaders. Enough was always done to secure national subjection, but not enough to make that subjection, either profitable to the master, or comfortable to the slave. Crude, desultory, unconnected plans succeeded or supplanted each other, according to the leisure, the ability and the temper of the English Court, or the talents and character of its deputies, without a consciousness of the real importance of the acquisition, or an enlightened or liberal idea either of colonial connection, or provincial dependence. The system of Pale and Plantation, founded in the unjust and cruel expulsion of the natives from their possessions, was at first a system of national antipathies, and at length terminated in the more lasting and deadly antipathies of religion.

Owing to a variety of circumstances, which it is unnecessary to detail, while the Protestant religion had become the religion of a large majority of the people of England, the Catholic continued to be the religion of the great body of the Irish. One cause alone seemed to be adequate to the effect. From the very first, the reformed religion appeared in Ireland, not recommended

by reason, but imposed by force, imposed too by a power, whose progress "in the beneficial work of conquering and thereby breaking a savage nation to the salutary discipline of civil order and good laws", could be traced only by mangled carcasses and desolated plains.

The right of private judgment in matters of religion, a right most clearly founded in reason and in Scripture, justified the Protestant in renouncing the tenets and authority of the Church of Rome. But this right, the irrefragable justification of his own conduct, the Protestant respected not in others. The profession of Popery became highly penal and hence arose a religious division of the people, a new and more permanent basis of English power in Ireland.

By means of this religious division the English nation could in future be more easily inflamed against the Irish, and the Irish more fatally armed against itself. The name of Papist became a sufficient apology for any act of injustice or cruelty committed against the person who bore it; and the fury of bigotry was added to the desire of forfeiture, in continuing a system of the most flagrant robbery and the most barbarous extirpation.

It has been the curse of Ireland to derive no advantage from the wisdom and virtue of English sovereigns, yet to be the peculiar victim of their folly and their crimes. Elizabeth is the pride of English annals. But the conduct of Elizabeth or that of her deputies towards the Irish, was savage and impolitic in the extreme. The unceasing and merciless fury of her commanders drove the miserable natives to despair. Mercy was considered as incompatible with the fiscal interests of the crown. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were imposed upon the nation by force or fraud, and its attachment to Popery was confirmed or increased by persecution.

James the First was pedantic, conceited, hypocritical and arbitrary. His favorite scheme of plantation could be carried on only by injustice and cruelty. New severities were exercised in order to produce new insurrection, and consequently new forfeiture. Notwithstanding, however, multiplied provocation and favorable opportunities, no considerable commotion took place in Ireland during his reign.

Yet the nobility and gentry of Ulster were stripped of their possessions without proof of treason, and in the other provinces the design was commenced, which was afterwards so faithfully prosecuted, of seizing on the estates of the natives, under pretense of judicial inquiry into defective titles.

The penal statutes were rigorously enforced by his express instructions, and the most barefaced oppression and extortion were practised in the ecclesiastical courts.

The character and conduct of Charles the First, a miserable tissue of tyranny, duplicity and meanness, were calculated to deceive and abuse the Catholic, and to excite the suspicion and distrust of the Protestant. His deputy, Strafford, haughty, imperious, arbitrary, and systematically faithless, laid the foundation of the calamities which followed. The lords justices,

Parsons and Borlase, connected with the Parliamentarians, the prevailing party in England, aggravated the complaints of the Catholics, and, from the most corrupt motives, endeavored to provoke a general insurrection.

The cause of the Catholics, as a religious sect, contending for the free exercise of that mode of worship, which they preferred, was founded in the clear and inalienable rights of conscience.

As Irishmen, provoked by accumulated wrongs, and contending for the independence of their country, their cause *might* have been founded in rights as clear and as inalienable. But their views were not national. Their connection with Charles, either as negotiating insurgents, or as allies, was incompatible with the idea of national emancipation, and their interests, even as a party, were destroyed by their own dissensions, and the interference of a turbulent, vain and bigoted foreign ecclesiastic.

The loyal attachment of the Catholics to Charles, notwithstanding his extreme duplicity, arose principally from their dread of the triumphant Puritanical party in England and Scotland, which seemed to threaten their religious tenets and worship with a severer persecution than they had hitherto experienced.

That their views and conduct were sectarian and not national, is by no means surprising. But their insurrection terminated, as all former insurrections had done, in extending and confirming the English power. In this respect it was more ruinous in its effects than any which preceded. It laid the deep foundation of that religious animosity and mutual intolerant bigotry which almost destroyed the social sympathies and benevolent affections by which men are held together.

Hypocrisy, genius and courage advanced Oliver Cromwell to command. Appointed chief of the Parliamentarian forces in Ireland, his conduct was marked by vigor and by cruelty. The strength of the Catholics was soon entirely broken, and their discomfiture was followed by the most inhuman proscription of their entire sect, in person and property.

In the progress of events, the Catholic cause had become identified with the Royalist. The Royalist cause embraced at first a number of Protestants as well as Catholics, but they had never united with confidence and affection. The Protestants were, without much difficulty, detached from the party, and joined to the Parliamentarians. Hence the Catholics, who composed the great mass of the Irish people, had alone sustained the wide-spreading and ruthless vengeance of Cromwell and the Parliamentarians.

From the commencement of this insurrection to the restoration of Charles the Second, Ireland exhibited a scene of the most complicated woe. Whatever government prevailed in England, the great body of the Irish were sure to suffer every indignity and oppression; being constantly considered by the English nation as a conquered people, suspected, hated, dreaded and persecuted.

Upon the restoration of Charles the Second to the throne, the Catholics naturally expected an essential alteration in their favor.

In this, however, they were disappointed. The administration of Irish

affairs had always been considered in England a mere subject of policy, never of justice. Whatever system of administration seemed, at the moment, best calculated to secure the dependence of Ireland, was adopted without any regard to the rights of the natives, or any feeling for their calamities. Upon this occasion it appeared politic to suffer the mass of the people, not more as Catholics than as Irishmen, to remain as they were found, plundered and degraded.

From the character of James the Second, Ireland was doomed to experience new calamities. His conduct in favor of the Catholics arose not from the just and enlightened policy of extending the benefits of legislation and government equally to all his subjects without distinction of religious belief. It arose from a bigoted attachment to the Church of Rome, which he had displayed in an intemperate zeal for the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England; also, an attempt, which was connected with his design of subverting the constitution and liberties of that country.

His cause was espoused by the Catholics of Ireland, not because he was a bigot and wished to be despotic, but from a variety of motives religious and political, independent of his mere personal character, some of which influenced them in common with the Jacobites in England, who composed a very large portion of that nation; others arose from their appropriate situation, from a feeling of religious and civil degradation and a desire of regaining that rank and that property, of which, with reason, they deemed themselves most iniquitously deprived. But whatever was its origin, this attachment of the Irish Catholics to the cause of James, was unfortunate in every sense of the word. It is highly improbable that success under such a man could have served any good national purpose, and defeat more than ever confirmed the power of England. The contest increased religious antipathies; victory inflamed the desire, supplied the means, and sanctified the pretext of new religious persecution and the union of a people, whose only chance of independence and happiness rested in a combination of sentiment and strength, seemed more impracticable than at the time, when Ireland was divided into a number of hostile petty sovereignties and discordant septs.

The will of the people is the only rightful foundation of government. On this basis has the English constitution been professedly raised. The English Revolution of 1688 derived its unanswerable vindication from the inherent and imprescriptible government agreeably to its own judgment of the best means of attaining its own happiness. To the practical application of this right, England is indebted for the liberty, the glory and prosperity which she has enjoyed. But the application and its fruits she reserved to herself. Her happiness has been incommunicable. The system of supporting the English government in Ireland has remained the same. A small portion of the people, itself enslaved, fattened on the misery of the nation. The Catholics continued to be the peculiar objects of legislative persecution. The Articles of Limerick, to which the public and royal faith had been pledged were soon shamefully violated, and, in times of profound tranquillity, without even the

pretense of insurrection or conspiracy, new laws of unexampled severity were enacted and rigorously enforced against this devoted portion of the community.

From the period of the capitulation of Limerick, the English power may be considered as completely established, and patiently, or tamely acquiesced in by the Irish. From that period an end *seemed* to be put to the desolation of the sword. The slower, but not less certain, and more consuming desolation of the law remained. The English power had advanced by unequal, and frequently interrupted steps, but its progress could be uniformly traced in blood, and its final triumph was succeeded by a system of provincial administration at once barbarous and unwise.

From the situation of Ireland at the invasion of Henry the Second, from the system of subjugation which had been pursued, and from the event which that system had in its operation necessarily produced, as division had been the great instrument of conquest, so it continued to be the mainspring of English government in the country. Conformably to the general policy of statesmen, and the general constitution of governments, which is almost always framed for the emolument of a few at the expense of numbers, the minority of a people is made the instrument of ruling the majority and of enslaving the whole. If from this cause the minority of the Irish people would become the instrumental government of the nation, enslaving and enslaved, the circumstances of the country, and the train of events, which had long stained its annals and mutilated its strength, confined the minority to a very small number of its inhabitants.

This small number, in the progress of time, came to consist almost entirely of the Protestant sect of the Church of England. This sect had been made the established sect in Ireland also, and its ministers were to be supported at the general expense of the nation. This sect was composed of the Ulster English adventurers, who had been settled on the forfeited lands, of which Catholics had been deprived. Hence from the mighty influence of property, as well as from sectarian sympathy, the interests of this sect and of the English power were soon considered as inseparably connected. And the religious division of the people, from this twofold cause eventually constituted the solid basis of foreign domination.

The Dissenters from the Church established, who were not Catholics, chiefly the Presbyterians, who far outnumbered the established sect, while they reprobated an hierarchical establishment in general, had yet cordially joined in a common persecution of the Catholic. The religious antipathy of the Presbyterians to the Catholics was still stronger than that of the Episcopalians, and under the English scheme of plantation, grounded on the extirpation of the natives, *they* too enjoyed lands, from which the original proprietors had been expelled. However, the conduct of the great numbers of the Presbyterians in supporting the English power was derived from the most disinterested and honorable motives. Owing to events which had taken place in England previous to the revolution, the cause of the English power in Ireland

had become, or appeared to be, the cause of civil liberty, and as such, was warmly espoused, and supported and confirmed by the Presbyterians.

Mere sectarian difference in belief and worship could never, without the co-operation of other causes, have produced in the Protestant mind such lasting hostility towards the Catholic. But the latter wars in Ireland had originated in, and been fatally marked in their progress, by the religious division which had succeeded and absorbed the former divisions among the people. In these wars, particularly in the commencement of the insurrection of 1641, the most shocking acts of barbarity had been committed both by Protestants and Catholics. But the Protestant was finally victorious, and, while his own atrocities were concealed, or palliated, or justified, those of the Catholics were studiously recorded, magnified, and painted in the black colors of bigotry, interest and fear.

The Protestant child imbibed, with the tale of horror, the most deep-rooted detestation of the Catholic, and religious rancor became transmissible by descent. The Protestant was victorious and had divided the spoil. The Protestant was legislator, and, with every prejudice of education and impression of fear, with every selfish and every angry passion engaged on the side of severity. Laws of the most promiscuous devastation, affecting the Catholic in mind, in person and in property, were blindly accumulated, and long rigorously enforced. On this strong and lasting principle of division, the English power in Ireland seemed to rest securely. The Protestant was taught by education and by interest to identify this power with life and property; and the mass of the people, shut out from the social state, and helots in their native land, seemed destined to remain the victims of a penal code, the most cruel, the most singular, and the most impolitic that has ever been exhibited in the legislative annals of any country.

In these religious contests, which so long and so miserably afflicted this unhappy land, the respective merits of the contending parties are of little importance, or rather are altogether lost in the consideration of their common errors and common enormities, and of the advantage which these afforded to the common enemy in completing the subjugation of all. Melancholy is the comparison which arises, not from the emulation of virtue, but from the calculation of crimes. Certain it is that had the delinquency of the Catholic been as flagrant as the most exasperated Protestantism can paint, it never could justify a code of penal laws, affecting a vast majority of the people with such dreadful punishment and such vile humiliation, attached to opinion and entailed upon successive generations. The very idea of such a proscription of three-fourths of a people is utterly incompatible with the idea of civil society. They can not exist together in the mind. The end of civil association is the common happiness of all the members of the State in their various relations and dependencies, and no sacrifice can be necessary or just except that of partial interest to general good. But by this iniquitous system the order of civil association was reversed. The government was radically framed for the exclusive advantage of a few, and the mind, the life, the industry of millions, were

considered as the rightful property of these few, the sport of their prejudice, their intolerance, their ignorance, their selfishness and their fears.

Such a monstrous violation of all the principles of society and all the rights of nature could not last forever. When the fury of persecution had been glutted with extensive confiscation, and the total prostration of Catholic rights, civil and religious, by Parliamentary omnipotence, the cooler reflection, experience and feeling of the Protestant gradually led to a mitigation of the law, not so much of importance in itself as from its being a happy omen of some better destiny. In the year 1778 the severity of the Popery penal code was in some degree relaxed. That code, however, still continued to exhibit a disgraceful monument of bigotry and impolicy, and strong religious prejudice continued to mark the character and influence the conduct of the Irish people.

Though the Protestant, satisfied with vengeance, or softened by time, ceased from active persecution, and had even remitted something of former legislative severity, he still considered the exclusion of the Catholic from a community of rights as essential to the preservation of his power, and, while he boasted of toleration, made a religious creed the badge of political heresy, and the basis of political degradation. On the other hand the Catholic, hated and hating, conscious of debasement, yet unconscious of his rights and his strength, sensible of injury, yet tamely acquiescent in punishment, ignorant and bigoted and spiritless, seemed incapable of understanding and asserting the sacred rights of conscience or of country.

This unnatural and miserable state of religious animosity and civil disunion, by which the great majority of the people was thrust out of the pale of the body politic and the nation was enslaved, arose not from any appropriate characteristic of the Irish mind, from any peculiar defect of intellect or depravity of disposition. It was the inevitable consequence of British conquest and British policy, combined with and acting upon the different successes of the Reformation in England and in Ireland, the conduct and fall of the House of Stuart, the rise and usurpation of Cromwell, and the Revolution of 1688.

The benefits finally resulting from civil commotion in England, by the triumph of liberty and extension of trade, were exclusively confined to that country. The shock had extended to Ireland, but was felt only by the havoc which it had produced. Provincial dependence was the law of her political existence, and every event was essential to the life by which she grew. The disunion of her inhabitants was the original cause of her dependence, and by that disunion alone has the dependence been secured.

The disunion has continued. The causes of disunion have varied. The mutual jealousy of chiefs, the blind vengeance of clans, hereditary feuds, distinctions of colonist and native, had all their respective and proportionate influence in the lamentable work of subjection and desolation and weakness. But all these causes of calamity were comparatively feeble and transitory. They had their day of ruin and they ceased. The cause was forgotten and the ruin might have been repaired. Religious bigotry succeeded and remains, potent and inveterate, blind and unforgiving; it embitters the present with the

memory of the past, loads the living with the crimes of the dead, exalts creeds above practice, admits the evidence of metaphysics, denies the evidence of facts, and promotes hatred and hostility among those whom common sufferings, common interest and common country, should indissolubly unite in sympathy, in affection, in object and in action.

The foregoing rapid sketch, not so much of particular facts as of the general result of facts, may convey some faint idea of the miseries attending the conquest of Ireland by the English power. But whoever traces its progress in detail, with the common feelings of humanity and the candor of an honest man, will say that no general description can paint in colors sufficiently strong the miseries of that conquest. Its devastation was not confined to the ravages of war. The ravages of war may be repaired. Fields may be again cultivated, cities and villages may be rebuilt and repeopled. War is a hurricane which sweeps before it man and the works of man, but it spares enough to cover the face of nature again with new abundance and with new beauty. It does not annihilate the very elements of reproduction. It violates the rules of morality and the rights of mankind, but it does not eradicate the principles on which these rules and rights depend. It does not systematically corrupt the human heart. It rouses all its energies and displays the heroism which saves, as well as the ambition which destroys.

It is not the sword which slaughtered her people, whose ravages Ireland deplores; it is that sword which would have "cut the Charter of King John to pieces". It is the policy which considered charters and parliaments but as instruments of domination, to be granted or withheld, new-modeled or resumed, as best calculated to insure the vassalage of the slave; it is the policy which made war upon the mind, which depressed the genius, broke down the spirit, corrupted the morals, and withered the industry of the land; it is the policy which converted a religion of harmony and peace into a religion of discord and persecution, which dissolved the social sympathies of life, which assailed the principles of morals and the feelings of nature, rewarding ingratitude in the child and honoring the basest of crimes as a conversion to truth; it is the policy which covered the land with petty tyrants, in whatever concerned the poor, knowing no rule of conduct but their own will, which made the protection of law the boon of beneficence, not the inheritance of right; it is the policy which goaded a starving, houseless peasantry to outrage, then murdered them by law; which darkened the intellect, gibbeted the body, and stigmatized the objects of its malignant dispensations as incorrigible barbarians; it is the policy which "brayed the people as it were in a mortar", and affected to wonder at the writhings of agonized nature, which Ireland deplores.

Is not Ireland already traceable in the statute book as a wounded man in a crowd is traced by his wounds? *Robert Emmet*
"My Lords of Strogue"

Part III

English Law—Early Charters and Parliaments—History of English Law in Ireland important—Benefits of English law exclusively confined to English Colonists who had not *degenerated* by intermarrying with Natives and adopting their customs —Also to a few Irish *Septs* who had been enfranchised by special favor—Sir John Davis and Lord Coke testified that no people loved Justice better than the Irish and its equal execution—But English adventurers counteracted this wish and it was no felony to kill Irish in time of peace—English Parliaments and Charters in Ireland were the title to plunder and oppress—England's policy always that of the despot to the slave—It always differentiated between the native and the foreign colonist—An Act of Henry IV ordained that Irish hostile to their foreign rulers could not leave country without special license.

ROM a view of the desolation of law the mind flies for relief to a history of the law itself. That history is important. The early grants and repeated confirmations of English law, and of the privileges of distinct legislation, have been often appealed to as demonstrative of early national independence by compact. Their existence may be indisputable, but the inference is absurd. Had such a compact been really made between the invaders and the Irish nation, the observance of it by England would, indeed, have been a curious anomaly in the history of ambition. Wretched is the people, whose chance of liberty hangs on an indenture of independence.

Whatever compact did exist, or whatever benefits English law and distinct legislation might confer, were long exclusively confined to the English colonists, who had not *degenerated* by intermarrying with the natives, or adopting their customs and manners, and to a few Irish septs, who had been enfranchised by special favors. It is the honorable testimony of Sir John Davis, that "there was no nation under the sun that did love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or that would rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it were against themselves, so as they might have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon a just cause they did deserve it". The celebrated Lord Coke also declares that "there was no nation of the Christian world that were greater lovers of justice than the Irish, which virtue", he adds, "must necessarily be accompanied by many others". Yet for the space of three hundred and fifty years at least, from the commencement of their subjugation, the benefit and protection of English law were not communicated to the Irish,

though they frequently desired to be admitted to that precarious privilege. The wish was counteracted by the English adventurers, that their cruelty and injustice to the natives might be indulged without restraint. The Irish were reputed aliens and enemies in their native land, it was adjudged no felony to kill them in time of peace; "the law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death."

When Henry the Second had once secured a firm footing in the country, whatever compacts he may have formed, either with his own haughty and licentious barons, or with the native chieftains, can never be seriously viewed in any other light than as the elements of domination, which, from the relative situation of the invader and the invaded, was destined to comprehend both colonist and native in one common dependence. The most solemn engagements with the natives were sure to be violated, whenever the violation appeared necessary to the extension of dominion; and, with respect to political privileges, the proud invaders soon became a feeble and dependent race. Parliaments and charters were to the Englishman in Ireland but precarious evidences of an unhallowed title to plunder and oppression. The insolent and rapacious foreigner was doomed eventually to feel, in common with the native, the humiliation of provincial servitude. He was first instrument and finally the victim of conquest.

Every internal distinction among the people was mutable in its nature and controllable by events. But the internal connection with England afforded a necessary relation of rule and dependence as permanent as the connection itself. On this relation of a superior and a dependent state, every change in the destiny of the people immediately or remotely depended.

Measures of legislation and measures of policy were either purposely devised with a subserviency to this principle of imperial authority and provincial subjection, or naturally took their tone and tendency from its powerful impulse. The policy of England towards Ireland, even as a dependent State, was unwise, illiberal and unfeeling, but it was uniformly the policy of the despot to the slave.

To represent the existence of early parliaments in Ireland as a proof of early national independence, is a solemn mockery of sufferings unexampled in extent and severity. The memorable Statute of Kilkenny, said to be long quoted with reverence on account of its salutary provisions, is an illustrious record of the nationality of such parliaments, which, instead of wisely and humanely embracing the colonist and native within the protection of equal law, studied to mark more strongly the fatal line of distinction between them. Even the desire of the Crown to impart, as well as the native to receive the protection of English Law, was long withstood by these parliaments. Yet the people, whom they refused to incorporate into the body of subjects, whom in peace they would not govern by the law, and in war could not root out by the sword (such was their matchless injustice), they endeavored to prevent from seeking refuge in another country from the miseries of their own. By an Act passed in the reign of Henry the Fourth it was ordained, that no Irish *enemy*

should be permitted to depart the realm without special licence, and that the person and goods of an Irishman (an enemy) attempting to transport himself without such licence, might be seized by any subject, who was to receive one moiety of the goods, the other to be forfeited to the King.

England wouuld banish commerce from yoour coasts, would sap the source of industry if she did not know, that to her resulted all the advantage.

Miss Emmet.

Part IV

Origin and Nature of Poynings' Law—Distinction between English by birth and English by blood began in reign of Edward III—The English adventurers of English birth affected to despise the English by blood—The English by blood espoused cause of House of York—When Henry VII had borne down all opposition he reduced both factions to insignificance—Made Irish Parliament mere court of record of Royal edicts—This was effected by Poynings' Law which was insidious in its operation—Its details—Ireland became a country without a Constitution or Trade —Its people, impoverished and divided, and its Parliament a compound of pride, bigotry and meanness.

HE famous distinction between the English by blood and the English by birth commenced in the reign of Edward the Third. The English by birth, the later adventurers, as they successively came over, affected to despise and degrade the descendants of the earlier invaders, or the English by blood.

The English by blood, from a long tenure in the country, were more numerous and more powerful than their adversaries, though the latter were favored by the Crown as being more immediately devoted to its interests. The English by blood were attached to the House of York. They even warmly espoused the cause of the impostor Simnel, and afterwards showed a disposition to favor the pretensions of the impostor Warbeck. But, when Henry the Seventh had borne down all opposition to his claims, he took advantage of the dismay attending an abortive attempt and disappointed wishes. He new modelled a Parliament, which had been too much under the influence of powerful deputies, and too much the instrument of turbulent factions to be a ready and useful instrument of the Crown and of English supremacy. This politic prince seems to have been determined to reduce all factions to a state of common insignificance, and to simplify the exercise of foreign domination, by making the Parliament a mere court of record for registering the edicts of the sovereign.

This was effected by the celebrated law of Poynings, which concealed its purpose under the fair appearance of correcting some acknowledged abuses, and disclosed not at once its full and decisive effect on the future powers of Parliament.

Previous to this period the Irish Parliament, such as it was, had claimed and exercised the right of legislation, though interrupted by some usurpations on the part of England, in the same manner as the right of legislation was enjoyed by the Parliament of that country. The Irish Parliament passed laws

for Ireland with a negative power merely vested in the Crown. But by this law of Poynings, as afterwards explained and enlarged by the third and fourth of Philip and Mary, the order of legislation was reversed, the original and efficient powers of legislation were essentially vested in the Crown, and to the Parliament was left but a negative voice on the ordinances of the prince. Upon the construction of the statute of Poynings and the explanatory act combined neither Lords nor Commons in Ireland had a right to frame or propose bills. A bill was first framed by the Deputy and Privy Council of Ireland, afterwards transmitted for approbation to the King and Council of England, who had a power of alteration and of really making it a new bill unalterable, by sending it back under the great seal of England, and lastly it was presented to the Irish Parliament, to which remained the single insignificant privilege of agreeing to the whole of the bill or rejecting the whole, as thus modelled and returned by the Crown. This practice was strictly observed until the reign of James the First, when the Irish Parliament assumed the privilege of being humble remembrancers to the Deputy and Council of what bills were to be transmitted to England.

Hence arose the custom of framing in either House what were called heads of a bill, which was carried to the Council, from thence transmitted and in the form of a bill laid before the King and Council of England. Here it might be suppressed or altered at pleasure. If it was returned to the Irish Parliament, the power of that Parliament extended only to the simple acceptance or rejection of the bill in the very form in which it came back, however changed from its original nature. Thus the high court of Parliament, the supreme deliberative assembly of the nation, was in truth little more than a court of enrolment for the imperial rescripts of the English monarch.

The importance of Poynings' Law did not appear in its full magnitude for a considerable time. The ministers of the Crown in Ireland even contended on some occasions for a suspension of its provisions, as they happened to be influenced by a desire of extraordinary dispatch, or some other temporary motive. Yet such was the miserable state of the people, such its dread of the power of a deputy, supported by a small parliament composed of his own creatures, that every attempt of this kind excited alarm, and a strict adherence to the Law of Poynings was long considered as the great security on the subject. But, when by the extension of the English conquest in Ireland the business of Parliament grew more important, and the number and weight of the Commons had increased, the ideas of the Government and the people changed. In the reign of Charles the First, the artful Strafford, who well understood the value of such an engine of power, admonished his royal master that "the previous allowance of laws to be propounded in the Irish Parliament, should be held as a sacred prerogative, not to be departed from, in no point to be broken or infringed."

A prerogative held sacred by a Strafford could only have derived its sanctity from a profanation of the rights of the people. In England, the Crown and the people, equally oppressed by the overbearing tyranny of the feudal lords,

had conspired in its destruction. Restrictions on alienation and feudal dependence were gradually abolished, commerce increased, the Commons rose first into wealth and finally into power, which in its paroxysms subverted the monarchy, and in its more moderated efforts established British liberty on the basis of the revolution. But no change of circumstances could give lasting life and spirit to the Irish Parliament as constituted by the Law of Poynings. The Commons might increase in number, in wealth, and in knowledge, but must still remain obscure and impotent. Such abject, mute submission to a foreign yoke debased their sentiments and paralyzed their powers. The law indeed might be done away; some passing shock might restore the palsied energies of nature. But, while the law remained, no permanent vigor could ever mark the existence of that assembly. In England, with the revolution came liberty, and strength, and science, and glory. The miserable province exhibited the most humiliating contrast of servitude and weakness, without constitution, without trade, its people impoverished and divided, its Parliament a motley compound of pride, bigotry and meanness.

Persecution has made many martyrs; but it has never made one convert, and never will —the nature of man resists it; the feeling implanted by the God of Justice revolts against it.

Miss Emmet.

Part V

Power of binding Ireland by its laws usurped by English Parliament—The Poynings' Law left a simulacrum of liberty to Irish Parliament—That was ended by an express declaration of a right by the English Parliament to bind Ireland by its laws—Protests were of no avail and the exterminating colony of lawless invaders eventually became the dupes and victims of their own injustice—Ireland's right to Liberty—Instances of direct exercise of dominion from year 1641 to the Revolution frequent and flagrant—Policy toward Ireland invariable no matter what bigotry and meanness.

THE Law of Poynings may seem sufficiently to have marked the inferiority and secured the dependence of Ireland. It was an absolute surrender by her own Parliament of its best powers.

However injurious to the interest and degrading to the spirit of the nation, it had become the rule of legislation, and the acknowledged bond of subjection. But it presented the idea of a distinct Parliament legislating for a distinct country, claimed as a right, not held by sufferance. It, therefore, appeared to British pride a species of domination too subtile and refined. A formal undisguised exercise of sovereignty alone could fully display the relation of imperial rule and provincial obedience.

The policy of a Cæsar condescended to leave to an enslaved people the image of a free constitution. The policy was prudent. It was a sacrifice of pride to wisdom. But the individual despot will often stoop to appearances, to which the despot nation will not bend. That England should govern Ireland by the Parliament of Ireland was not enough. It remained to close the scene of conquest by a mortification of the feelings as well as a triumph over the liberties of the conquered. This was achieved by an express declaration from the Parliament of England of a right to bind Ireland by its laws.

The English Parliament, at a very remote period, had occasionally exercised the power of legislating for Ireland, particularly as to foreign trade, and some distinction had even been taken, though it does not appear to have been practically adhered to between external and internal legislation.

This occasional exercise of legislative authority on the part of England, however, had been generally protested against by the Irish Parliament as a manifest usurpation.

Indeed, the formal adoption by that Parliament, from time to time, of laws previously enacted in England and considered as expedient in Ireland, seemed

to be a virtual declaration that no law of the English Parliament, as such, could have force in Ireland; but that the sanction of the Irish legislature was necessary to give it validity; and that the English Parliament was followed as an example, not obeyed as an authority. Thus much may be stated as matter of fact with respect to the exclusive legislative power of the Irish Parliament and the ideas which that Parliament entertained of its own independence.

But in investigating the political relation between England and Ireland, we must not be led away by any formal grants of liberty, by any formal conveyances of constitution, by any pompous claims of right, by any solemn protests against wrong. A country always suffering, though always complaining and deprecating its sufferings, affords but an odd idea of independence. The relation between England and Ireland must be appreciated by attending to the general tenor of facts; and facts must be appreciated with a due regard to the probable effects of certain general causes, existing throughout the whole time of that relation and constant in their operation. Undoubtedly no anticipation, however specious, of probable results from given relations between nations or individuals ought to hold a single instant against the actual result of well authenticated fact. But as no evidence can satisfy the mind of the existence of facts whose existence is demonstratively impossible, so it is certain that general probabilities ought always to be attended to in estimating the nature and evidence of any alleged particular existence.

If, contrary to all the conclusions of experience, the invasion of Ireland by Henry the Second should be said to have introduced into that country a distinct national legislature, mystically united to the Crown of England, and by that mystical union, rendering it an independent imperial kingdom, merely subject to the Crown of England in the same manner that England is subject thereto, and pursuing its own happiness according to its own will, the philosophic mind, well acquainted with the history of man, with the relative condition of England and Ireland at the time of that invasion, with the state of European opinions and manners, with the ideas entertained by the invaders of themselves and of the people whom they invaded, with the pious professions and real intentions of Henry, would no doubt wonder most exceedingly that such an independence should be the result of that invasion, but would, at the same time, be prepared impartially to consider the nature and proofs of that independence, and, however antecedently sceptical, would be ready to yield to the force of truth.

But if a view of the history of Ireland for a period of six centuries from the time of that invasion should exhibit a scene of calamity and debasement, which even a knowledge of the general nature of ambition and its conquests could have but faintly anticipated; if the conduct of England throughout the whole of that period should be marked by the most unfeeling cruelty and contemptuous pride towards the nation; if, instead of the English colony carrying with it liberty and independence, every successive band of invaders should appear to come solely for the purpose of plunder, affecting to despise

their predecessors as contaminated and degraded by their residence in a barbarous and conquered land, thus proclaiming aloud the opinion which England entertained of the object of colonization; if, during the progress of a long protracted conquest, Ireland should appear covered with blood and desolation, and, at the end of ninety years of uninterrupted peace after that conquest was finally achieved, should still appear wasted and impoverished, without manufactures, without trade, with a people ignorant and starving in an age of science and in a land of the happiest soil and climate, if such should be the record presented by indisputable facts, some future historian, who will not seek to build a claim of right to liberty on parchment precedents, but to investigate truth by every species of evidence, will know how to appreciate the value of musty records of independent legislation transmitted by an exterminating colony of lawless invaders.

He will observe these invaders to be themselves the dupes of parliaments and charters, destined finally to suffer the penalty of their own injustice. He will observe England actually exercising, under various appearances, the preeminence of dominion, and Ireland enduring the wrongs and the contumely of oppression; and he will conclude that, if Ireland can not produce a better title than precedent, to independence, she is of right enslaved.

But she can produce that title. The title of man to liberty is derived from heaven, from the bounty of that Providence which made him the piece of workmanship he is, "noble in reason, infinite in faculties, in action like an angel, in apprehension like a god." She can produce the immortal record of independence traced by Deity on the mind of man. A charter of liberty is but evidence of an agreement to enjoy liberty according to certain forms; it can never be evidence of a right to enjoy. Even as evidence of that agreement it derives its whole authority from the will of the people, which prescribes or consents to the mode. The charter of John was to the barons at Runnimede but a record of the manner in which they wished to be governed by their kings. Their title to liberty rested not on the charter, it rested on the *rights of man*. Yet man considers his title to liberty like the title to an estate, and anxiously inquires if his ancestors have registered the deeds.

Man looks to antiquity for a right to be free. As well might he look to antiquity for a right to breathe. Man looks to antiquity for a right to be free, and is a slave by precedent when he could not be made a slave by force.

But be the precedents in favor of the exclusive legislative sufficiency of the Parliament of Ireland as they might, England respected them not. From time to time, as it gratified her caprice or served her policy, she legislated for Ireland. She regulated the commerce, she disposed of the territory and of the people of Ireland, and affected to regard the Irish Parliament but as a subordinate assembly, subject to the interference and control of the superior State. It may also be observed, not as anything extraordinary, but merely as an historical fact, that in proportion as Ireland increased in importance to England by the progress and final completion of conquest, and in proportion as England succeeded in her struggles for liberty, so did her direct and open exercise of

dominion over Ireland advance to its full and formal avowal. The instances of this direct exercise of dominion from the year 1641 to the revolution, were frequent and flagrant. Whether England was ruled by a king, by a parliament, or by a protector; whether her government was a government of prerogative or of privilege, founded in right or in usurpation, her conduct to Ireland was the same, unvaried in the despotic principles from which it flowed, varied only by the different notions of expediency, which her rulers entertained.

When at last, by the revolution, the political dangers of England seemed at an end, when her constitution seemed to repose securely after all its storms, when the triumph of liberty after long and doubtful warfare might have inspired the just and generous sentiment that it was as dear to others as it had been to herself, a change of system with respect to Ireland might not unreasonably have been expected. It might have been expected, not that England would abdicate her sovereignty, but that she would exercise it with more justice, and with more feeling, that she would pay some regard to the wants, if not to the rights of the province, and advance its industry while she secured its dependence. It might have been expected that she would prefer the security of that dependence through the indirect and less offensive means of its own Parliament, than by a haughty assumption of direct legislative supremacy, which insulted the slave without exalting the despot.

If such expectations were entertained, they were miserably disappointed. That revolution which gave liberty to England, seemed to increase the disposition as it increased the power to oppress. The English Parliament continued to legislate for Ireland. It not only legislated for Ireland, but it ruined her by legislation. It assailed her manufactures and trade, and as it diminished the value, so it not inconsistently, destroyed the means of life.

Have you ever tried conciliation; have you ever attempted amelioration?—Never. From the first moment that an English foot pressed this ground, to the present, the system has been a system of cruelty, untinged with mercy.

Miss Emmet, Letter to the Irish Parliament.

Part VI

Molyneaux's "Case of Ireland"—Was member of the Irish House of Commons—Roused by legislative interference of English Parliament in Irish affairs, published his *Case* not long before Revolution in England—He demonstrated that conquest gave England no rightful domination over Ireland—His definition of conquest—Molyneaux erred, not in his definition of conquest, but in its application to historical fact—His perversion of fact lay in maintaining that submission of chieftains turned body of Irish people into loyal subjects of an English King—The work of extermination had left in Molyneaux's time only one in a thousand of the original natives in Ireland—England made Ireland a province, and the province made its people slaves—Ireland not governed by the King and Parliament of Ireland—It was the King and Council of England that governed the King and Parliament of Ireland—The King of Ireland was a mere metaphysical abstraction—Parliament of Ireland a body without a soul—Molyneaux befogged himself in a mysterious confusion of ideas, and burned his book.

OT long after the revolution, Molyneaux, a member of the Irish House of Commons, roused by some recent instances of legislative interference by the Parliament of England, highly injurious to his country, published his celebrated "Case of Ireland". This production challenges one or two observations.

The author demonstrated (the demonstration was easy), that conquest could, on no possible supposition, give to England a rightful dominion over Ireland. But England held Ireland by the *fact* of conquest, and cared little about the right. Molyneaux, it is true, denied even the fact of conquest, but the denial is altogether unworthy of his talents and his cause.

He defines conquest to be: "an acquisition of a kingdom by force of arms, to which force likewise has been opposed". Now this definition is evidently erroneous in not being sufficiently comprehensive. Certainly no peaceable acquisition of a country by the free and voluntary submission of its inhabitants is, in the present argument, to be called a conquest. But the acquisition of a country by the terror of force, without any exercise of force, is upon every principle of reason, as much a conquest, as an acquisition by force, to which force likewise has been opposed, can possibly be. It would not be easy to distinguish between the acquisition of the robber, who with a pistol at your breast, makes you deliver up your purse at once, and the acquisition of him, who cannot compel you to surrender it until after a struggle in which you have been worsted. Molyneaux doubts not but the barbarous people of the island were

struck with *fear* and *terror* of King Henry's *powerful force,* and yet, according to him, all was transacted with the greatest quiet, tranquillity and *freedom* imaginable. He talks of the easy and *voluntary* submission of the natives though struck with *fear* and *terror* of a *powerful force,* and concludes that "there was no hostile conquest, for where there is no opposition, such a conquest can take no place". His conclusion *might* be true, if his definition was just.

But the great error of Molyneaux lies not in his definition, it lies in his application of the definition to historical facts. He admits that some of Henry's vassals, by his *licence* and *permission,* but not by his particular command, having landed hostilely in Ireland, vanquished the natives in several engagements and by that means secured an establishment in the country. Upon this Henry, though he had not *commanded* the expedition, yet finding that his subjects had made a *very good hand of it,* went himself into Ireland with an *army,* where he obtained from his successful subjects the fruits of their very good handy-work.

Then comes the *free* and *voluntary* submission of the kings, princes, chiefs, archbishops, bishops and abbots of all Ireland, swearing allegiance and submitting themselves and their posterity for ever to Henry and his heirs as true and faithful subjects, and here, according to Molyneaux, terminated the acquisition of an entire kingdom, with the greatest quiet and tranquillity and freedom imaginable.

Whoever reads and believes that Henry, long before this magical acquisition of the Kingdom of Ireland, had meditated the conquest of it, that he only waited for an opportunity and a pretence, and that, when the pretence was offered, being engaged in more urgent affairs, he permitted his subjects in the meantime to embrace the opportunity, which he had anxiously desired, will not find it very easy to form a clear idea of the difference between such a permission and a command. Henry took advantage of the actual force of his own subjects, to which force had been unsuccessfully opposed, and of the fear and terror caused by the presence of a powerful army, which he had brought with him, the formidable nature of which the success of the first invaders had taught the natives fully to comprehend, and it will not be more easy to perceive the distinction between the acquisition of a kingdom by such means, and the "acquisition of a kingdom by force of arms, to which force had likewise been opposed". Had the matter even terminated here, and had the acquisition been in this manner completed, it never could be called a peaceable acquisition by the voluntary submission of the natives; it would have been to all intents an hostile conquest.

But the grand perversion of facts consists in maintaining that the submission of the native chieftains, which Molyneaux describes, is to be considered as a conversion of the entire body of the natives of Ireland into liege subjects of the King of England; that the scene of acquisition closed here; and that every subsequent conflict between the English invaders and the native Irish is to be viewed, not as a link in the chain of "acquisition of kingdom by force

of arms, to which force likewise was opposed", but as a contest between a lawful prince and his rebellious subjects. Subjects! whom these rapacious and blood-thirsty invaders persisted for centuries in denominating the "Irish" *enemy*, that the law might neither protect their lives nor revenge their deaths, that they might be extirpated without restraint as without mercy.

So well was the work of extirpation carried on that, by the calculation of Molyneaux himself, but a mere handful of the ancient Irish remained in his day, not one in a thousand. He urges this very extirpation of the natives as an argument against the claim of any right by conquest over Ireland in his day, since thereby the great body of the people consisted of the progeny of the English, over whom at least England could not claim dominion by conquest, being the instruments of its settlement, not the objects of its effects.

An attempt to demonstrate that the subjection of Ireland to the English power has not been the effect of force, but of the voluntary submission of its ancient people, is like an attempt to demonstrate the non-existence of matter, the existence of which is proved every moment of our lives by the testimony of every sense. No pompous or politic description of real or affected submission, no representations of ignorant, weak, malicious or prejudiced historians, no sophistry of argument advanced in the service of religious and political monopoly, can ever persuade the candid and feeling mind, that the dominion of England over this devoted land has not been founded in a conquest, as unprovoked in its origin, as hypocritical in its pretences, and in its prosecution and completion as inhuman and inglorious, as ever stained the annals of ambition.

But the victorious invaders and their posterity cannot be called a conquered people. They were not conquered by arms, but they were conquered by policy, or rather they were conquered by the force of moral causes. By the influence of moral causes both conquerors and conquered were equally doomed to dependence. Their fortunes could not be separated. The victorious invaders were undone by their own victory. They conquered not for themselves, they conquered for England. They made Ireland a province, and the province made them slaves. That Ireland, subjugated as she was, could retain national independence seems a moral impossibility; that she did not retain it is an historical truth, irresistibly forced upon the mind by facts which cannot be controverted, and a character which cannot be misunderstood.

Read that character in the champion of her rights; read it in a member of their insulted legislature, read it in a descendant of the victorious invaders, read it in Molyneaux himself, the friend of Locke, whose reasoning he could apply, but whose spirit he could not imbibe; for Locke had a country and Molyneaux had none. "If what I offer herein seems to carry any weight in relation to my own poor country, I shall be abundantly happy in the attempt, but if after all, the great council of England resolve the contrary, I shall believe myself to be in an error, and with the lowest submission, ask pardon for my assumption". What! Appeal from the demonstrations of reason to prejudiced, interested, proud authority, and model belief by the decrees of a Parliament which was robbing

his poor country of her trade, and her legislature of its ancient rights. What! Ask pardon for daring to utter the conviction of his reason and the dictates of his conscience in a cause, which he felt to be the cause of truth and of his country. Molyneaux did live in a conquered country; while he denies the conquest by his argument, he proves it by his example. Molyneaux did live in a *dependent* country; and while he appeals to written liberty, we may appeal to living servitude.

Molyneaux does not prove, he could not prove, the independence of Ireland. He admits the reverse in express terms. "Nor do I think that 'tis anywise necessary for the good of England to assert this high jurisdiction [direct legislative supremacy] over Ireland. For since the statutes of this Kingdom are made with such caution, and in such form, as is prescribed by Poynings' statute 10. Hen. VII, and by the third and fourth Philip and Mary, and whilst Ireland is in English hands, I do not see how 'tis possible for the Parliament of Ireland to do anything that can be in the least prejudicial to England". Such is his reasoning, and beyond all controversy under these laws of its existence, it was not possible for the Parliament of Ireland to do anything, that could be in the least prejudicial to England, or in the least serviceable to Ireland, but according to the will of the superior state. The exclusion of a possibility of injuring England necessarily includes an impossibility of serving Ireland, except as directed or permitted by that supreme will. Both the one and the other could only be founded in the absolute want of independence in the Parliament of Ireland. It was not the King and Parliament of Ireland, that governed Ireland. It was the King and Council of England that governed the King and Parliament of Ireland. Or rather the King of Ireland was a mere metaphysical abstraction, as the Parliament of Ireland was a body without a soul. What then does Molyneaux prove? He proves incontestably that conquest can give no rightful dominion to nation over nation. He proves the early existence of a *distinct* Parliament in Ireland, claiming and generally exercising an exclusive power of making laws for Ireland, considering its own sanction necessary to give Acts of the English Parliament validity in Ireland, and negativing any contrary presumption as an infringement of its privileges. He admits many late instances of interference by the English Parliament, but proves them to be unjust innovations. He proves the existence of early grants and charters of liberty to Ireland, and resists the claim of legislative supremacy in the Parliament of England as contrary not only to precedent, but to reason and the rights of mankind.

It rested with the minister of England to determine the merits of the question. He well knew it was not to be a question of reason or of right, but a question of policy supported by power. He well understood the nature of that distinct parliament, for the privileges of which Molyneaux contends, and how little it was really connected with the independence of Ireland. He well understood the nature of those boasted grants of liberty, which Molyneaux proclaims, on whom they had been conferred, and to what purpose they had been employed.

He well knew how little England need respect the instruments of conquest, now that conquest was complete, that the work of extermination had been but a work of substitution, that success had levelled all distinctions but those, which policy might feel it necessary to create or support. He well knew that England had always exercised a virtual supremacy over Ireland, and was conscious on what little that supremacy reposed. But he did not wish to declare all these things. As England possessed the supremacy of strength, he determined she should exercise the supremacy of legislation. But he did not choose to publish her real title. He wished that to be concealed in the mysterious confusion of ideas, which different intellects, prejudices, passions and interests would infallibly throw around it.

He wished to assume the right of legislative supremacy in England as too evident to be disputed, or too sacred to be discussed. The minister would no doubt have preferred precedent to mystery, and argument to assumption. But the precedents were against him. On the only ground of argument which he could with prudence have adopted, the case of Ireland was unanswerable. It presumptuously assailed by reason what he resolved should be held as an incontrovertible article of faith, and, like Omar, he *burned the Book*.

It may be affirmed that whatever there was of religious rancour in the contest was the work of the Government through its Orange allies, and with the express purpose of preventing an union of Irishmen of all creeds—a thing which is felt to be incompatible with British government in Ireland.

John Mitchell.

Part VII

An enquiry into the causes which determined the policy of England—England's greatness arose from liberty and commerce—Her liberty was her own—Her commerce is a source of greatness depending more on chance and others and less on will and herself—As an object of speculative discussion and partial imitation the British constitution may be calculated to interest mankind—The British policy derived from it but the motives of injustice and oppression—Her power rests upon her external commerce—It is a question whether a people which has never respected the rights of others is entitled to respect of any kind from others—The development of England's tyranny in Ireland—Ireland's Parliament used to destroy Ireland's manufactures and trade—Ireland kept weak by poverty and disunion—England's mistake was in destroying constitutional liberty and at the same time the means of life—Comparison with the empire of ancient Rome—Lord Lyttelton's speculations on what Ireland might have been had Magnus, King of Norway, succeeded in conquering Ireland at beginning of twelfth century—Detestable policy of English statesmen in time of Elizabeth—England's malignant jealousy of Ireland increased with her expanding commerce—Ireland a favorite of nature, a victim of England's policy—*Ireland must not be independent,* is England's proposition—Her extinction a question ever present in the mind of English statesmen—The nation which is feared ought to be aspiring—With strength to be free it is a crime to be enslaved.

HEN the nature of the Irish Parliament, impotent and abject (not only as modelled by Poynings' Law, but as composed of every element of dependence), is considered, an enquiry seems pressed upon the mind why England should persist in a haughty assumption and contemptuous exercise of the supremacy of direct legislation. It appears unnecessary to the support of a supremacy of will, by which she could always govern Ireland through the agency of its own Parliament, and secure its dependence without wounding its pride, or seeming to trench upon real or fancied privileges. It might be unwise to provoke by recent usurpation an examination of ancient *right,* which might itself be found to be indeed but an usurpation of an older date. It might be dangerous to make domination palpable to the most vulgar capacity, and to exercise it in a manner, which might rouse the tamest spirit.

To the slave without hope it may be enough to feel that he is enslaved. To investigate the motives of his ruin might be only adding insult to oppression; but to the freeman, who would be wise, or to the slave, who may be free, an enquiry into the motives of tyranny, which seem to spring not from caprice but design, not from accident but system, not from casual and temporary, but

from necessary and permanent causes, must be useful, and ought to be interesting.

The greatness of Britain has arisen from liberty and from commerce. Her liberty she may peculiarly call her own. Her commerce may have first sprung from that liberty, and may be still intimately connected with it; but it is a source of greatness depending more upon chance and less upon will, more upon others and less upon herself. Commerce is a good, comparative and dependent. Its relations are infinite. It is connected with the ignorance and the knowledge, the wants and the luxuries, the idleness and the industry, with the situations and the governments, with the opinions and with the prejudices of different countries, not only in themselves, but as compared. It depends much upon design and much upon accident, much upon wisdom, and much also upon fortune.

In contemplating the policy of England, we are led to consider her chiefly in a commercial point of view. In estimating her character as a nation we, no doubt, observe the constitution of her government and the administration of her laws as eminently distinguishing her from surrounding States. But it is in the influence, which that constitution, in its practical existence, may have had on her general policy in peace and in war, as connected with other powers, or her own dependencies, that these powers and dependencies are principally concerned. As an object of speculative discussion, or of partial imitation, the British constitution may be calculated to delight, to instruct and to ameliorate mankind, while British policy may have derived from that constitution, but the motives and the means of injustice and oppression.

It is not by her existing power that we are to measure the greatness of England, but by that power compared with her native strength. England possesses not in herself independent greatness from extent of territory, fertility of soil, and consequent population. Her colossal power rests upon external commerce, and other nations are chiefly interested in her constitution, as that constitution has been connected with her commerce, and as her policy has been connected with both. If her constitution and her commerce have grown and must perish together, and if her policy has rested the security of both on the perpetual violation of justice, a respect for her constitution will not protect her commerce. A question may even be excited how far the liberty of a people is entitled to respect, *which has never yet in a single instance respected the rights of any other people, when tempted to infringe them by ambition or avarice, and not restrained by force.*

But an enquiry into the policy of England must now be limited to a view of the nature and motives of her conduct in a haughty assumption of a right to bind Ireland directly by her laws, and in an intemperate depression of the Irish people. The connection between England and Ireland, always a connection of rule and dependency, had been modelled originally by the circumstances of the times. It had commenced in feudal times, and it exhibited in its progress all the uncertainty and inconsistency which marked those times. The manner in which the conquest of Ireland was effected by the intervention

of English settlers, necessarily produced charters and parliaments, and all the forms of liberty and independence in a country which actually experienced the most cruel and humiliating servitude.

The power of England, comparatively strong, but really feeble, rendered a vigorous plan of conquest impossible. A conquest, prolonged from this weakness in England, through many ages of calamity and disgrace, was subject to the vicissitudes of capricious, temporary, unconnected schemes. The original design of conquest, which might have been defeated by a seasonable union among the natives, was obstinately persisted in and finally achieved. But it had been conceived in an age of rude, desultory warfare, in a mere spirit of acquisition, with a determination to subject, but without any precise object in subjugation. Hence the idea of dependency was constantly connected with Ireland in the contemplation of British policy, as it must always be connected with the acts of the conquered in the mind of the victorious people, when the victorious and the conquered continue as before, distinct people in distinct countries. But though the general idea of dependency was immediately and invariably associated with Ireland in the English mind, and though it led to the most unqualified exercise of dominion on the part of England, no clear and accurate idea appears to have been conceived for a length of time of the manner in which England might best fashion that dependency to her wants and wishes.

Before any precise notions of political liberty had been formed in England, the feudal barons carried with them into Ireland such notions as then prevailed, and the *formal* basis of such a constitution as England then possessed. But after some time it was discovered that even in this formal basis too much had been conceded by England in Ireland. When the English settlers had been so long and so firmly established in the country as apparently to secure the acquisition, when retreat seemed destruction to them and their continuance absolutely dependent on England, it was then discovered that a parliament, similar to that of England, was too formidable in the faction to be useful in despotism. Poynings' Law repaired this defect. By this law was introduced a settled form of subjection and an established organ, by which imperial will might communicate its mandates. But, in the occasional paroxysms of domination, or in the confusion of troubled times, even this form of provincial government was violated, and at length the violation of principle, when that violation appeared subservient to the aggrandizement of England, came to be considered by the English Parliament as itself a principle, or, at least as grounds upon an antecedent principle, which it would be presumption to deny or to arraign.

But whence arose this variation in the policy of England? Whence did it arise that England, not content with the *instrumentality* of the Irish Parliament, assumed a power of direct imperial legislation? It arose from that change in the circumstances of Europe, which substituted trade for chivalry and commercial speculation for feudal ambition.

When England, adapted for commercial pursuits and formed for com-

mercial greatness only, had directed her views principally to commercial aggrandizement, it appeared that a provincial legislature, possessing even a negative upon imperial regulation, might be an obstacle to that simple and imperious exercise of dominion, which the interests of trade might require. Did the legislature of neither country interfere, were Ireland left to the free exertions of her native strength, not a doubt could exist of her powers and success. The Irish Parliament, it is true, could not, unless permitted by the British Cabinet, encourage Irish trade and promote Irish manufactures by active beneficence. But, except under peculiar circumstances of depression, commerce, perhaps, flourishes most when least encumbered and enthralled by legislative interposition. Ireland certainly did labor under severe artificial disadvantages, and required the fostering care of a patriotic and provident legislature. Still, however, such is her vital power, she must have advanced rapidly in health and vigor if her Parliament, impotent to create, should not be active to destroy, but by a bare neutrality, leave her to the bounty of heaven, to industry and fortune. Indeed, from such a Parliament neutrality could not be expected, and England might, and did, through that Parliament, carry on active and deadly hostility against the manufactures and trade of Ireland, directly by commercial prohibition, indirectly by religious persecution.

But even such a parliament, however shackled and debased, might form some barrier against the unfeeling policy of a foreign State, considering Ireland at once in the twofold light of a dependent and a rival. A sense of self-preservation, an identity of interest with the country, must in some degree prevent even such a Parliament from entering blindly into the fears, the prejudices, the avarice and the ignorance of the British merchant and manufacturer, and from sacrificing to the ephemeral popularity of a British Minister the fortune and the hopes of the latest generations.

An attachment to country will cling to the basest minds unless counteracted by some powerful personal interest, and hence there would exist the troublesome and expensive necessity of constantly maintaining this personal counteraction. Or, perhaps, an attachment to country is in base minds but an attachment to self, to some personal advantage enjoyed from the country, unconnected with one social feeling or generous sentiment. Such vileness must be bought, and self alone could outweigh self. The Parliament of Ireland, therefore, would be chiefly impracticable with respect to the trade of Ireland. The prejudices of this Parliament were all in favor of the British policy of national division; but its interests were all against the British policy of national depression and impoverishment. This Parliament would persecute the Catholic, but might not wish to destroy the woolen manufacture of Ireland. But the double object was to be secured of keeping Ireland weak by poverty and weak by disunion. The first object could be most certainly and easily attained through the British Parliament, and the latter through a domestic legislature. The prejudices of the British Parliament would be all in favor of British monopoly in trade, the prejudices of an Irish Parliament in favor of the policy

of exciting the Protestant against the Catholic, and thus depressing and debasing the great body of the Irish people.

Indeed by this blind persecuting spirit in the Irish Parliament, that Parliament was made the instrument also of the commercial jealousy of England. Even if the religion of the Catholic was really with the Irish Parliament the only object of the Popery Laws, yet his industry, though indirectly, was much more fatally assailed. A solitary convert might not now and then proclaim the wretched triumph of liberty or terror, while an ignorant, a bigoted and a starving population betrayed the direful and permanent effects of that abominable code.

Thus, by the assumption of legislative supremacy in the Parliament of England, whatever the Parliament of Ireland might wish to spare could be destroyed, and Irish industry could be directed or crushed, as might best promote the commercial ambition, or gratify the commercial malignity of England. The Irish Parliament would answer the subordinate purposes of a provincial legislature, prejudiced and odious, full of apprehension and distrust, limited not only in its virtual but in its formal powers, and exhibiting the appearance as well as the reality of subjection, appearing to act by a delegated authority, and by the very abuses of that authority, securing the dominion of the power, from which it seemed to emanate, and by which it might be controlled.

The right of supreme legislation in England as the supreme State, assumed as a general right, unlimited and undefined, necessarily implied a right of exercising that legislation in every instance, according to the suggestion of prudence or the impulse of caprice; and the Irish Parliament could be considered as existing only by sufferance, and permitted to exist only from policy. That Parliament was destined, in one short moment of passing glory, to alarm the fears and to humble the pride of England; but it was also doomed to perish for ever by the policy, which in that short moment it could disappoint and provoke. Before that short moment of its triumph, and that fatal moment of its doom arrived, England continued to employ it in the domestic drudgery of routine legislation, or in the more vigorous but more disgraceful office of civil and religious persecution.

But why should England thus study to depress and to debase so much more than seemed necessary to her safety, and so much more than seemed even consistent with her interest? Would not wisdom prescribe a more generous policy, must not the extreme weakness and impoverishment of Ireland defeat the rapacity which demanded the sacrifice, and enfeeble the power which triumphed in desolation? When England had subdued the country and had formed the province, why could she not, like ancient Rome, govern with authority but govern without fear, destroy all constitutional freedom, but destroy not the means of life?

That England might, by an enlarged and liberal policy, have secured to Ireland happiness and to herself glory and strength, and have exhibited to surrounding nations a singular union of conquest and moderation was certainly

within the limits of moral contingency. That England would have oppressed with a milder tyranny might have been expected, even upon the cold calculations of common political prudence. But a comparison of the native powers and capacities of the two countries, which loudly proclaimed a competition of native strength, the consciousness of aggravated wrongs, the dread of long provoked vengeance, the pride of power, the jealousy of commerce, all conspired to produce on the part of England a policy, narrow, suspicious, selfish and sanguinary. Ireland had been subdued without any settled, preconceived plan of conquest and dominion, and throughout the entire duration of her dependent existence she has exhibited not only an opposition between form and reality, but the more wonderful opposition of rivalship and servitude. By nature a rival, by fortune an appendage to Britain, the bounty of Providence has been her curse, the equal has been punished in the slave. A conviction of what Ireland might do and ought to do seems to have impressed upon the policy by which her destiny has been controlled a character of cruelty and fear, of jealousy and meanness, unexampled in the annals of provincial administration.

The history of ancient Rome, from her humble origin to the zenith of her power, presents an almost uninterrupted scene of conquest, and the imagination is constantly occupied and elevated with the renown of military achievement. We are astonished and improved by the wisdom of their admirable institutions, which gave harmony and strength and permanence to the solid fabric of her greatness, and we ascribe the victories of the republic not to fortune but to genius. The Romans were trained to conquest upon a system uniform and comprehensive. The design of universal dominion could only have been gradually inspired by successive triumphs, but the policy which led to that dominion was early formed and steadily pursued. It was simple and grand, capable of universal application, not depending on individual caprice or talents, nor on the varying impulse of the people. Domestic struggles terminated in a well-construed government, and domestic peace must have given energy to foreign exertions; but their institutions, which were more immediately connected with conquest, continued their uniform advancement and operation, undistinguished by political storms. The imperious policy of war controlled all parties and combined all talents. The unity of conquest was preserved entire. In maintaining the honor, enlarging the boundaries and advancing the glory of the republic the efforts of all its citizens were voluntary, ardent and persevering.

As the surrounding countries were successively subdued, they were deprived of national existence and freedom, but once deprived of independence, they were no longer considered as distinct objects of jealousy or apprehension. By a singular and happy policy universally applied to all the members of the empire, the fortune of the province was almost identified with the fortune of the ruling state, and all seemed blended into one mighty mass, actuated by a common principle of life and intelligence. The provinces were, no doubt, servile and debased. But the liberal and fearless policy of Rome permitted them to enjoy every advantage not absolutely inconsistent with its universal

views, and freely imparted the benefits of a superior advancement in science, laws and manners. The provinces were degraded, and they must have felt their degradation; they were oppressed and they must have felt the oppression, but that degradation and that oppression were only such as seem inseparable from the loss of national independence. They were the necessary incidents of conquest, not the studied aggravations of malevolence. The Roman province was not brutalized and impoverished upon system. The very principle upon which it was governed was not a principle of deterioration. Every vestige of independence was destroyed, but all the fountains of happiness were not poisoned. Industry was oppressed by exaction, but not prohibited by law. Every province was held in subjection by the united force of the empire, and governed by a common rule of domination applied to every part without distinction and without fear. The idea of jealousy arising from a rivalship or competition of interests between the empire and the province could not exist. The despotism of Rome over her dependencies was not the despotism of distrust, suspicion and envy; it was the despotism of a power which, having formed the ambitious design of conquest, was soon taught by success to consider itself irresistible, and which viewed every new acquisition as an accession of strength, not as an object of apprehension.

The vanquished nations, with their inhabitants, their wealth and their capabilities, were embraced within the common circle of empire, interest and protection. In the loss of independence they lost everything most interesting and elevating to man, the ennobling consciousness of a power to be free, but that loss was not embittered by the vexatious, petty, malignant hostility of a suspicious tyranny. The objects of a policy, absolute but wise, consistent and temperate, the provincials were ruled, not persecuted; destitute of freedom, they were not also destitute of ease; they enjoyed without envy and without control all the advantages which can be separated from self-government.

Had the reduction of Ireland to the state of a Roman province completed the extensive plan of Agricola, we might demonstrate by the contrast of facts applied to Ireland herself the difference between the condition of a dependency of Rome and a dependency of Britain. We might demonstrate by the melancholy contrast of her servitude, the superior misery of being subject to a power, strong enough to subdue and oppress, but which, from situation, from circumstances and from character, must ever view with suspicion and dread, a country formed by nature for commercial pre-eminence, and, by the very means employed to enfeeble and debase, instructed in the secret of her strength and in the remedy of her misfortunes. It is a miserable policy, which betrays the fears, while it inflicts the wrongs of oppression. By exposing the weakness as well as the injustice of despotism, a reiteration of cruelty seems necessary to self-defence. When in the sad history of his undoing the slave has been taught a lesson of independence, the tyrant can see no safety but in an accumulated weight of chains, the slave no retreat from suffering but in death or emancipation.

Lord Lyttelton, after mentioning an unsuccessful attempt of the conquest

of Ireland by Magnus, King of Norway, in the beginning of the twelfth century, makes the following observations:

> If this enterprise had been more wisely conducted, and the success had been answerable to what the divisions among the Irish princes, and the inclination of the Ostmen in favor of a Monarch, from whose country most of them originally came, seemed reasonable to promise, it would have erected in Ireland a Norwegian Kingdom, which, together with Man and the other dominions of Magnus, full of shipping and good seamen, might in progress of time, have composed a maritime power capable of maintaining itself perhaps for ever, against that of the English, and disputing with them the sovereignty of the sea. It may indeed be esteemed most happy for this nation [England] that no King of Denmark or of Norway, or of Sweden, nor any prince of the Ostmen settled in Ireland, ever gained an entire dominion of that isle, for had it remained under the orderly government of any of these, its neighborhood would have been, in many respects, prejudicial to England.

The conclusions of the noble historian appear to be indisputable, and as important as they are probable. He might, too, with equal sagacity, though not, perhaps, with equal prudence, have made another supposition, and might have drawn conclusions as instructive and as irresistible. He might have said, had Ireland, breasting the Atlantic, been left to the fortune of her native independence, unassailed by foreign ambition, she might, in progress of time, have composed a maritime power capable of maintaining itself for ever against England, and preventing the growth of that inordinate domination, which has oppressed with its crimes the east and the west, the African and the Hindoo; and he might have said, that should Ireland ever be restored to the independence which she has lost, Britain might resign, and resign forever, the empire of the seas.

The formidable aspect of Ireland, as an independent state, appears, indeed, to have made a strong and fatal impression on the councils of England at an early period.

In the reign of Elizabeth the unfeeling and detestable policy of ruling Ireland by means of her intestine divisions, her barbarism and her poverty, was openly avowed by the ministers of that princess.

Should we exert ourselves, said they, in reducing this country to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence and riches, the inhabitants will be thus alienated from England, they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps exert themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at their disorders, for a weak and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves from the crown of England.

It is true, Sir Henry Sydney and Sir John Perrot, who perfectly understood the affairs of Ireland and the disposition of the inhabitants, a generous disposition easily won and attached by kindness, both expressed the utmost indignations at such abominable maxims. "Yet this doctrine found its way", says the historian, "into the English Parliament". Certainly that was not the first era of its appearance in that Parliament. From the time that Ireland can be

said to have seriously engaged the attention of the British Cabinet, the doctrine of binding Irishmen, not by voluntary attachment, but by hopeless debility, has uniformly pervaded its councils, while the British Parliament, untouched by individual pity, unrestrained by individual honor, or the feeling of individual shame, has been ready to execute, and even to anticipate, the worst purposes of this vile policy of depression.

This malignant jealousy towards Ireland increased with the increasing commerce of England. It was impressed upon the measures of each successive minister, not merely by his own prejudices and apprehensions, but by the more intemperate fears and prejudices of the people. A minister of genius, intrepidity and virtue, might soar above the hackneyed and barbarous policy of ages. But the fate of Ireland rested not even on the remote and precarious chance of a generous and wise administration. It rested on the passions and the prejudices, or the ignorance, the pride and the avarice of an entire people. The boasted pre-eminence of the British constitution in giving effect to popular will was a source of calamity to the province. In the progress of the commercial system of England, an intimate union was formed between the state and the commercial interest of the nation. The commercial gained a complete ascendancy over every other interest whatever. Trade not only received a peculiar and constant and anxious protection, but the most unreasonable desires and apprehensions of the trading part of the community were flattered by the ministers and the Parliament. The power of the British merchant, manufacturer and mechanic multiplied the wrongs, perpetuated the independence, and aggravated the mortifications of Ireland. The Irishman and the negro were enslaved upon the very same principle. In acts of foreign tyranny the British minister was the servant both of the Crown and the people. In acts of foreign tyranny the British Parliament faithfully represented the wishes of its constituents. To increase the commerce of England seemed a sufficient motive and justification for the foulest injustice and most licentious despotism towards other nations and its own dependencies.

Had Ireland been less the favorite of nature, she would have been less the victim of policy. But her great natural advantages, which impressed the ministers of Elizabeth with the well-founded opinion that, possessed of a good government, she must soon acquire power, consequence and riches, seem to have marked her for destruction. The maxims of the ministers, though not so directly avowed, were embraced by their successors. They have been invariably pursued, and can be easily traced in characters deep and lasting. Had Ireland been less formidable, England might have been less unjust both to Ireland and to herself.

The contracted genius and dastardly spirit of a government, filled with the constant dread of competition or revolt, seem to have marred the fortune of the empire, as well as the fortune of the province. Instead of the wise and magnanimous conception of comprehending Ireland within a common circle of hopes and fears, of interests and wishes, the mean and dangerous principle of exclusion was adopted.

Ireland must not be independent, was a proposition which involved a melancholy train of base and malevolent ideas. It was a maxim which constantly led the mind to jealousy and suspicion. It seemed to put a negative on the communication of happiness, to confine the genius to petty temporary expedients of prevention, and to limit the benefits of conquest to the mere extinction of a rival. And is not that advantage great? Would not the actual physical extinction of Ireland be to England a subject of congratulation compared to the existence of Ireland as an independent separate state? Such indeed does appear to be a question ever present in the mind of British statesmen, and their idea of continuing Ireland impotent, abject and dependent, seems to have bounded their ambition.

A conviction that nature, in assimulating the powers, had contrasted the interests of the countries, seems to have precluded every generous attempt to unite them by sympathy or affection derived from a participation of common advantages, and a consciousness of reciprocal benefaction.

The haughty spirit of conquest could not stoop to equality, the contracted spirit of commerce either could not conceive or would not tolerate a community of rights. The idea of *keeping Ireland down* was the only idea which could satisfy the pride and the prejudices of Englishmen, which could reconcile all interests, allay all fears, please all fancies, indulge all passions, and silence all complaints.

But in this conspiracy of weak, sordid and malignant principles against her peace, Ireland might learn to respect herself—to respect that strength which could excite the jealousy and provoke the persecution of her oppressor. She might learn in her humiliation a lesson of lofty ambition. If nature had not created an opposition of interests, policy, at least, had produced it. If nature had given the means of independence, policy had made it necessary to self-preservation. The nation which is feared ought to be aspiring. With strength to be free it is a crime to be enslaved.

Bigotry . . . it has been a pestilence to the land . . . in the hand of power . . . religion has retired to weep over the horrors committed in her name—and appeals to her Founder, to the Founder of universal benevolence, from the charge of exciting these crimes.

Miss Emmet.

Part VIII

English Declaratory Act—6 George I. Blackstone—From era of the Revolution Irish Parliament presented spectacle of vilest debasement—The Catholics instead of reposing on the bosom of their country, were forced to cling for safety to the mercy of the English crown—By the Act 6 of George I, the Parliament of England sanctified all its past usurpations and Ireland acquiesced—Blackstone justified the "right of conquest".

ROM the era of the Revolution the Parliament of Ireland presented a spectacle of the vilest debasement. Humbled by the Parliament of England to the abject condition of a subordinate legislature, even the limits of its circumscribed authority were not ascertained by any fixed distribution of powers and privileges, but depended on the undefined, capricious and arbitrary inclinations of the superior assembly. Whenever the English Parliament deemed it expedient to interfere either in the legislative or judicial capacity, its will constituted at once the principle and the justification. The transient and feeble complaints of the Irish Parliament were treated with insolent contempt. Yet this Parliament, thus degraded and insulted, became the miserable instrument of the tyranny which oppressed it. More debased by its own passions, than by the despotism to which it bowed, the very period of its greatest servitude was stained by the most unprovoked and senseless persecution. At the very period, when it presumed to feel the infringement of its own privileges and the destruction of Irish commerce, it wantonly outraged the most sacred rights of nature, and assailed the most sacred duties of social life. In a country beggared and debilitated by a foreign parliament, this domestic legislature, blinded by religious bigotry, or moved by baser self-interest, enacted laws ruinous to the peace, the morals and the industry of its people. The Catholics, instead of reposing on the bosom of their country, were forced to cling for safety to the mercy of the Crown. The policy of disunion became completely triumphant. The good sense or pleasantry of a deputy might now extend protection to the *persons* of men deprived of every right, without endangering the power, which rested securely on their ignominious proscription and on the delusion of the Protestant.

This frantic or corrupt persecution of the Catholic seemed to be revenged in the severe mortification of the Parliament. This Parliament, thus powerful

to destroy, and uncontrolled in desolation, was at length formally and expressly declared by an English Act of Parliament to be, what it had long virtually been, the dependent instrument of foreign domination. By the memorable Act 6th. Geo. I the Parliament of England, with imperious despotism, sanctified all its past usurpations, and recorded the high prerogative of strength to tyrannize over weakness.

Whatever ideas of self-importance the provincial legislature might have hitherto indulged, were now completely banished. The dream of independence was at an end, and the Parliament of Ireland awoke to all the meanness of its condition. This wretched assembly now exercised an authority confessedly subordinate and precarious. The same power which had declared its dependence might destroy its existence. That existence could be considered as continued only from convenience. When it was declared "that the British Parliament had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the People and Kingdom of Ireland", it was really declared that the Irish Parliament existed entirely by sufferance, as the instrument of those menial offices, which the British Parliament might consider beneath its dignity and unworthy its regard; or those offices of desolation, which the British minister might think best suited to the interests, prejudices and passions of the provincial assembly. Since by the Declaratory Act 6th. Geo. I the authority of the Parliament of England to bind Ireland by its laws was assumed to be an authority original, universal, absolute and without control, it is demonstrative that the Parliament of Ireland was permitted to legislate from policy merely. As the Parliament of England was declared to have a *right* to legislate in every instance, the Parliament of Ireland could have but a *licence* to legislate in every instance, and could be permitted to enjoy that licence only the better to promote the views of the haughty power which had arrogated the right.

While the friend of freedom disdains to advocate the cause of the Irish Parliament, he must sympathize in the fate of the Irish people, through all the changes of British policy, still doomed to endure the bitter curse of insult and the gloomy horrors of servitude, and still seize every opportunity, which the history of that policy presents, to illustrate its motives, and to reprobate its injustice.

The object of England was monopoly in trade, as the support of present greatness and the source of future aggrandizement. Most of her dependencies seemed, by situation and productions, naturally excluded from competition, calculated to consume the produce of British industry, and to return what British luxury might consume, or British industry might diffuse, either in its original state, or with the additional improvements of ingenuity and art, and what the wants or the luxury of other countries might finally consume. But Ireland in every point of view, in geographical station, in soil, in productions, in people, presented the constant idea of competition favored by superior advantages from nature. Ireland irresistibly forced upon the mind the image of a country, the inhabitants of which would easily fall into the three great classes

of husbandmen, manufacturers and merchants, from whose various and reciprocal connections and labors, wealth, strength and independence would necessarily be derived in the free and unrestrained advancement of her means. Happy in the facility of supporting a multitude of laborious hands, in the means of varied and abundant agriculture, in many productions of nature, the raw materials of art, and in an industrious and ingenious people capable of adding to these materials or to the productions of other climates the incalculable value of diligence and skill, Ireland seemed formed to supply the wants and minister to the convenience and even luxury of numerous other states. Placed on the western skirt of Europe, and three-fourths of her shores washed by the Atlantic, after the discovery of a new world had opened to European ambition new sources of aggrandizement, she seemed destined to connect the intercourse of eastern and western hemispheres. Independently of the discovery of America the situation of Ireland appeared peculiarly fitted for commercial enterprise. She was not only cast between England and the West, but she also possessed a greater facility of communication with the East, and with many regions of Europe. The power of independent competition seemed, indeed, marked in such bold characters by nature that it required the unceasing efforts of an active and malicious policy to defeat the obvious purposes of creation. But, as the fears or folly of England prevented the experiment of excluding the idea of competition between the countries, by cherishing the idea of common interest founded on the enjoyment of common rights, the desperate and cruel alternative was embraced. It was determined to exclude all competition by the impotence of ignorance and the torpor of despair, by insidious artifices to counteract the tendencies of nature, and by open and direct interference to assail the energies, which artifice might enfeeble, but could not destroy. By fraud or by force it was resolved so to mould and fashion the natural advantages of Ireland as to convert the very means of independence into subsidiary instruments of servitude. Hence, among a thousand instances, the unsheltered peasantry and starving manufacturers of Ireland manned the fleets, and recruited the armies which enslaved her.

When England *seemed* to have added strength to her constitution by seating the House of Hanover on the throne, when her commerce and her arms had exalted her power and resources above every other European state, her policy towards Ireland could only be satisfied by the most unequivocal expression of the most unbounded despotism.

By the statute for "better securing the dependency of Ireland", a formal enunciation was made of the vile connection between tyrant and slave.

The grave commentator on the laws of England was now to initiate the British youth in the pride of power and the sophistry of ambition; and the future senator was to imbibe in early life the unhallowed principles of oppression. Ireland was now enrolled in the pompous catalogue of countries subject to the dominion of England. She was now told by high authority that even previous to the 6th. of Geo. I she was bound by Act of the British Parliament, whenever that parliament condescended to have her in its contempla-

tion under general words or particular nomination. She was not only instructed in the rule of her subjection, but in the reason of the rule. "It followed from the very nature and constitution of a dependent state; dependence being very little else but an obligation to conform to the will or law of that superior person or state, upon which the inferior depends." She was also informed of the reason and true ground of this superiority to which she was submissively to bend. It was "what we usually, tho' somewhat improperly, call the right of conquest; a right allowed by the Law of Nations, if not by that of nature; but which in reason and civil policy can mean nothing more than that, in order to put an end to hostilities, a compact is either expressly or tacitly made between the conqueror and the conquered, that if they will acknowledge the victor for their Master he will treat them for the future as Subjects, and not as enemies". When Molyneaux denied that Ireland ever had been conquered, when he supported her rights to liberty by charters, and to independence by her distinct legislature, he only attempted to defend a good cause by means unnecessary or fallacious. He erred through an extreme anxiety to fence his argument from every possible attack. He erred through the vain imagination that precedent might control those whom pity could not melt, whom a sense of justice could not influence, and that men, who wielded the sword of power, would regard the recorded privileges of weakness. When Molyneaux bowed with the lowest submission to the great council of England he only betrayed the involuntary dejection of an honest mind unconscious of its own humiliation.

But when the sanctified commentator on the rights of Englishmen, who breathes a *pious* prayer for their perpetuity, maintains that force can be a just foundation for dominion; when he affirms that Ireland by *right* of conquest continued in a state of dependence, and must necessarily conform to such laws, as the superior state might think proper to prescribe, and that when this state of dependence was almost forgotten and ready to be disputed by the Irish nation, it became necessary in order to bring back these mutinous slaves to a recollection of their condition and a sense of their duty, to declare how that matter really stood, and solemnly to record in the rolls of the British Parliament its own opinion of its own title to subdue, to plunder and to oppress; and when he delivers this with all the gravity of a professor, in the midst of an elaborate panegyric on laws and liberties and constitution, the indignant advocate of truth cannot stoop to refute doctrines so impudent and absurd.

What is the right of conquest, the *original* and *true* ground of the dependence of Ireland and of her obligation to conform to the will of the superior state, according to the definition of this liberal and scientific preceptor of British youth? "It is a right allowed by the Law of Nations, if not by that of nature, but which in reason and civil policy can mean nothing more than that, in order to put an end to hostilities, a compact is either expressly or tacitly formed between the conqueror and conquered, that if they will acknowledge the Victor for their Master he will treat them for the future as Subjects [bound to conform to his will as their only law] and not as enemies". Thus was the ardent and ductile mind to learn the principles of justice in the

practice of nations, to set up the laws of ambition against the laws of nature, and *compacts* of compulsion against the inalienable rights which they infringed, to respect in the sword of Zinges or Tamerlane the just foundation of government, and in the sword of Mahomet the just foundation of religion. Thus the men who were to bind Ireland by their laws, were piously taught that to have stopped short of the crime of extermination sanctified for ever the crime of oppression, and that Irishmen might be murdered as enemies, or must submit to be manacled as slaves.

As well might you seek to stem the impetuous ocean with a mound of sand as hope to confine the current of public opinion, and public wishes, by making it criminal to think, and punishable to wish; as well may you seek to calm the raging winds of heaven by bidding them be still, as hope to limit the human understanding by penal restriction.

Miss Emmet.

Part IX

Free Trade—Repeal of Poynings' Law, and of the Act 6, George I.—In 1778 the wretchedness of Ireland appeared for the first time to interest the English Parliament—Not from sense of justice or generosity, but from fear—England made sacrifices to fear which she refused to justice—But they were insincere—The effect of the American Revolution—It assisted, interested and elevated the Irish mind—The formidable change from feeble lamentation to bold demands and the array of 60,000 volunteers demonstrated to England the necessity of concessions—Something resembling Free Trade was given—Poynings' Statute and the 6th of George I were repealed—The English Parliament renounced "for ever" the right to bind Ireland by its laws—Generous and confiding Ireland, in a delirium of unsuspecting enthusiasm, accepted it all as genuine.

HILE an unjust and unprovoked invasion, which had involved Ireland in centuries of darkness and blood, was deliberately advanced as a rightful origin of British domination; while force, which she could not resist, was made a justification of the servitude, to which she was consigned, her condition exhibited a dreadful illustration of the principles of her dependence.

The policy of depression had been carried to an extremity which seemed inconsistent with the very selfishness from which it flowed. In the year 1778 the wretchedness of Ireland appeared for the first time to interest the British Parliament. But it was not the justice or generosity of that Parliament which the wretchedness of Ireland had moved. It had alarmed its fears. Individuals in the zeal of party, or perhaps in the sincerity of virtue, might seem to feel, or might really feel the truths which they proclaimed, but the mass of that Parliament was actuated by the cold maxims of prudence alone, in a wish to relax in some degree the commercial bondage of Ireland. For some time, however, the people of England, less prudent than the Parliament, could not see that even selfishness was deeply concerned in the demands of justice.

Ireland was not only ruled by the artful temporising policy of the Cabinet of England; she was also subject to the blind, bigoted selfishness of the English manufactory and counting-house, which would not feel or would not confess that Ireland might be sunk too low even upon the base calculations of commercial arithmetic.

The Minister yielded to prejudices, which, however marked by folly and pregnant with mischief, he had not the virtue or courage to resist. The

conduct, which is not founded on the unbending principle of right, but on the pliant maxims of expediency, is often mortified by severer sacrifices to fear than need have been made at first to justice. The Parliament and people of England were soon humbled to concession, which the haughty spirit of despotism could never have anticipated, and which it was impossible could be sincere. The unfeeling and unpolitic exercise of legislation terminated in the entire and absolute renunciation of legislative supremacy. Ireland was at length taught by necessity a lesson she might have long known from reason, and which she ought never to forget. She was taught to look to herself for justice, and to liberty for happiness.

The effect of the memorable war between England and America will long be felt by the nations of Europe. America has triumphed, but the struggle between despotism and liberty has been transferred from the western to the eastern hemisphere. Europe has been convulsed by the shock of contending principles, and the happiness or misery of ages may depend on the final issue of the contest. From the era of the American War, Ireland may be considered as acting in some measure by a distinct individual impulse, as contrasting her existence with that of England, and forcing herself upon the notice of mankind as a country which might one day be worthy of a rank among independent nations. The power, which had enslaved, impoverished, and insulted, was reduced to the mortifying confession that it was unable to protect. Ireland, abandoned and cast upon herself, discovered in the exertions of self-preservation the means of greatness as well as safety. The important discussion, to which the American War had given rise, and the magnanimous struggle of the American people against the arrogant pretensions of tyranny had assisted, interested and elevated the Irish mind. The keen sense of appropriate suffering had produced a much stronger sensation than mere sympathy. The instincts of nature were confirmed by the decisions of reason, and ennobled by the energies of freedom. The events which followed produce mingled sensations of admiration and disappointment, exultation and sorrow.

The extreme distress to which Ireland had been reduced by the policy of England, the extraordinary and formidable change from feeble lamentations to bold demands and active retaliation in a country which had so long languished in obscurity and contempt; the awful sanction impressed on the language of truth by the array of sixty thousand Volunteers; the embarrassed situation of England from a war unjust in its principle and disastrous in its events, at length demonstrated to the Minister the necessity of prompt and decisive concessions to Ireland. But it entered not into his imagination that these concessions should extend beyond a relaxation of the excessive and absurd restrictions on her trade, which had been intemperately accumulated, without even an attention to the obvious maxim of a prudential tyranny.

The concessions proposed as a relief of the distress and a satisfaction of the complaints of Ireland were entirely commercial. Though limited in their extent, and in many respects illusory in their operation, they were important. Contrasted, at least, with the past commercial bondage of Ireland, these con-

cessions might well justify the proud boast of a Free Trade. That there should be some relaxation of that bondage seemed universally acknowledged. That such ample concessions were made arose from the perplexity of fear and the temporising spirit of expediency. While England possessed the supreme legislative power these concessions might be recalled or modified. Perhaps in the very moment of *liberality* the minister anticipated a season of less danger and more arrogance, in which England might resume whatever should appear formidable to her jealousy or humbling to her pride. But the pride of England was soon to experience much severer mortification. The spirit which had demanded and obtained for Ireland an emancipation in trade disdained to submit to the foreign despotism, which had reduced her to beggary and despair. The emancipation of the Irish Parliament from the shackles of Poynings' Law and of Ireland from the supreme control of the Parliament of England seemed from recent experience absolutely necessary to existence. In the delusion of unsuspecting enthusiasm it seemed all-sufficient to the independence and happiness of Ireland.

Poynings' Statute was repealed, the 6th Geo. I was repealed, and the British Parliament renounced *for ever* the right to bind Ireland by its laws. These lofty claims were opposed as long as they could be opposed with safety. The desperate counsels which lost America had been succeeded by more temper and more prudence in a new administration, and the apparent complacency, with which the pretensions of a foreign legislature were finally relinquished, completed the satisfaction of a generous and confiding nation.

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Liberty is the child of oppression, and the birth of the offspring is the death of the parent.
Robert Emmet—Whitty's "Life".

Part X

New Theory of Irish Government—British power was humiliated not subverted by these concessions—The theory of British despotism was unchanged, and the despotism remained—In the *emancipated* Parliament of 1782 Ireland did not obtain an *independent* legislature—*The triumph of* 1782 *was the triumph of the Volunteers*—But it was limited by their objects—In the events of 1779 their first hopes had centered and their best strength had perished—They did not emancipate Ireland from British tyranny—The hopes of Dungannon were soon disappointed—Their plan of reform still excluded three-fourths of Irishmen from the rights of citizens, and from that moment their strength was gone—The efforts of the more liberal, daring and decisive minds failed, and later repentance was vain.

HE humiliation of British pride was not the subversion of British power. The theory of despotism was unchanged; the despotism remained. That the Crown of Ireland was an imperial crown inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain; but that the Kingdom of Ireland was a distinct kingdom with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof, and a negative power alone vested in the Crown; and that on this annexation and distinction the interest and happiness of both countries essentially depended, now constituted the sublime doctrine of Irish independence. The idea of an inseparable annexation of the imperial Crown of Ireland, as a distinct independent kingdom, to the Crown of Great Britain, is a metaphysical subtlety, which the mind, no doubt, can comprehend, but which it also perceives to be totally inapplicable to the solution of a question of fact. The mere power of comprehending an abstract idea can not influence the investigation of general probabilities, nor can it determine the truth or falsehood of any alleged particular existence. The nature of the connection between England and Ireland must depend on historical evidence, and not on the faculty of forming abstract ideas and defining possible contingencies. Yet an acknowledgment of the mental compatibility of ideas, not conceded by the reason, but extorted by the fears of England, was supposed to annihilate her ambition, her injustice, her jealousy, the feelings and prejudices of ancient power, the habits of oppression and the poignant recollection of pride chastised. No, but in her own Parliament, Ireland now possessed her security against the long habits of uncontrolled dominion, against the sordid apprehensions of commercial avarice, against the inveterate principles of jealous policy, against the moral tendencies of the British mind! Ireland in the bold eminence of station,

which proclaimed her as "the best friend or the worst enemy in the world to Britain", possessed a security that Britain, dreading her enmity, would henceforth conciliate her friendship!

Had Ireland indeed obtained an independent legislature, the improbability of being unjust might have imposed upon England the necessity of being wise. But in the *emancipated* Parliament of 1782 Ireland obtained not that legislature.

Her fatal pre-eminence of station had early doomed her to servitude, and the Parliament of 1782 could not rescue her from bondage. That Parliament had even opposed its own elevation. Trained to provincial vileness, it seemed lost to every sentiment of generous ambition. At length swept before an enthusiasm which it could not feel, it presumed to boast of glories which it was unworthy to reflect.

The triumph of 1782 was the triumph of the Volunteers. It is an era in the political existence of Ireland which may be remembered with pride, not because Ireland then ceased to be a province, but because Ireland then displayed the powers which mark her destiny to be a nation. In her Volunteers may be seen at once her strength and her weakness. Endeared by recollection, interesting to the feelings of a gallant, a generous and a grateful people, the name of the Volunteers seems consecrated to eternal praise, but the faithful page of history, which records their virtues and their triumphs, will also transmit their errors and their humiliation. "It was a sacred truth and written as it were in the tables of fate, that the Irish Protestant never should be free, until the Irish Catholic ceased to be a slave." When the Volunteers at Dungannon declared their respect for the inalienable right of private judgment in the matters of religion, their joy in the relaxation of penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and their opinion that it was a measure fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of Irishmen, they uttered a sentiment more honorable to themselves and more interesting to their country than any other contained in the splendid resolutions of their celebrated assembly. Such a sentiment proclaimed in a season of growing energy, where the resistless impulse of an hour might bear down the prejudices of ages, seemed to announce the most auspicious effects. But darkness still rested upon the fortune of Ireland. The principle of energy in the Volunteers was limited by its early objects. In the events of 1779, 1782 and 1783 their first hopes had centred and their best strength had perished. In these events were involved merely the emancipation of the trade and Parliament of Ireland, the trade from extravagant restrictions, the Parliament from Poynings' Law and the direct supremacy of the British legislature. The emancipation of Ireland from British tyranny was a distinct object, demanding new and more difficult exertions, opposed by the most powerful interest, prejudices and passions of the human breast. Healed by the importance of their first exertions, the Volunteers seemed not to have timely perceived how very little complete success in these might be connected with the independence and happiness of their country.

When cooler reflection had succeeded to the ardor of victory, the real importance of the acquisition could be more distinctly ascertained. Reason soon

discovered that much indeed remained to be done. But the spirit of enthusiasm had fled, and unassisted reason was much too feeble for the contest. Whatever hopes might have been formed from the early liberality of Dungannon were soon disappointed.

The extent of that liberality appeared to be bounded by a relaxation of positive penalties against Catholics merely. When the Volunteers, seated in national convention in the capital, announced to an anxious people their memorable plan of reform, by which they would have excluded three-fourths of their countrymen from the rights of citizens, when they thus deliberately recorded the bondage of Ireland and solemnly consecrated the unhallowed policy of the oppressor—from that moment their strength was gone.

In vain did some liberal, daring and decisive minds point out the only road to honor and to safety. In vain did late and magnanimous repentance attempt to repair the fatal error. The ruinous advice to desist from a pursuit which might create disunion among the friends of reform of the Protestant sects, produced or increased the mischief which it affected to prevent, or professed to deprecate. Oppressed by their own dissensions on the question of Catholic Emancipation, by their reverence for the opinion of men of great talents and undoubted integrity who were adverse to that measure, by the artifices of the secret or avowed enemies of reform, who dreaded in the union of Irishmen the certain overthrow of a growing system of foreign influence and domestic corruption, oppressed by the accumulated weight of the fraud and the prejudices of ages, the Volunteers gradually sank into the common mass of an abused, insulted, and enslaved people. The clouds which hung over their descending glory could not obscure the splendor of their achievements. They did not rescue their country from tyranny, but they rescued her from the calumnies of her oppressors. In their virtue they illustrated her title to liberty; in their errors and misfortunes they demonstrated the causes of their debasement. They have left to posterity an illustrious example in victory and a miserable lesson in defeat.

Believe me, you may as well plant your foot on the earth and hope by that resistance to stop the diurnal revolution, which advances you to that morning sun, which is to shine alone on the Protestant and Catholic, as you can hope to arrest the progress of that other light, reason and justice, which approaches to liberate the Catholic and liberalize the Protestant.

Grattan—Irish Parliament.

Part XI

Parliamentary Reform—The Repeal of the Declaratory Act, 6th George I. and the repeal of the Poynings' Act did not in any sense change the dependent character of the Irish Parliament—The Revolution of 1688 had merely illustrated the right of the English people to change their government—It limited the power of the crown, but it left the system of popular representation, which was utterly inadequate to its acknowledged object, untouched—A new method was adopted—Art was substituted for violence and corruption for prerogative—These the crown used freely to evade the limits placed on its direct exercise of power—The constitution and system of election and representation of the Irish Parliament rendered it incapable of regenerating Ireland—To expect it to work for the good of Ireland could only be the baseless vision of a disordered imagination—Domestic corruption became the necessary instrument of foreign domination—The Volunteers bowed to the contemptuous recommendation "to convert their swords into plough-shares". The English government seized the occasion and the result was that a majority of the Irish Parliament was found capable of conspiring against National independence by recognizing the absolute right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland—The downward course of the Irish Parliament to self-extinction is traceable to its failure to legislate for the benefit of the people—Progress of Protestants toward more liberal treatment of Catholics was rapid, but did not reach the point of granting them complete participation in civil and political rights—Impossibility of regeneration by political methods led up to a genuine Irish movement—The name assumed by the men composing it was "The Society of United Irishmen".

REPEAL of the Declaratory Act of the 6th. Geo. I and a renunciation of any right or claim in the British Parliament of legislating for Ireland, together with a repeal of Poynings' Statute, gave or restored to Ireland a distinct legislature, the sole acknowledged authority, by which laws could in future be made, and exhibiting all the *forms* of an independent national legislature. But, while the Parliament of Ireland, from the era of these boasted acquisitions, exhibited the forms of independent legislation, that Parliament remained essentially unaltered. It remained a dependent provincial assembly, neither representing the will, influenced by the feelings, nor identified with the interests of the Irish nation.

The acquisitions which had just been made, however splendid in the attainment, soon appeared to be of importance only as they might be esteemed necessarily antecedent to a radical change in one of the three estates, of which the Parliament was composed. According to the admirable *theory* of the

British Constitution, which the Irish Constitution was now supposed to resemble in its spirit, and the forms of which it now possessed, the House of Commons ought to consist of a number of delegates, freely and frequently chosen by the people, and really representing the general will, so that no law should be made nor tax imposed without the consent of the nation. While a variety of opinions might prevail on the extent and mode of elective suffrage; and the duration of the delegated trust best adapted to produce the desired effect, there was not a man, who felt or who professed a love of liberty and of the British Constitution, who did not maintain that, by the principles of both, the House of Commons ought faithfully to represent the collective body of the people, and be, at least so constituted, that, though not chosen by all, it could not possibly have any other interest than to prove itself the representative of all.

Reason demonstrated that on this representation of the people by the House of Commons the existence of the distribution and of balance of power in the constitution, and the secure and permanent enjoyment of every right which it conferred or guaranteed, must absolutely depend. Experience had confirmed the deductions of reason. The Revolution of 1688 in England had practically illustrated and enforced the natural and indefeasible right in the people of forming a government agreeably to its own will, of deposing governors and new-modelling a constitution. By that Revolution a solemn declaration was made of the rights of the people and new limits were assigned to the powers of the Crown. But the popular representation was left untouched. That representation was completely inadequate to the acknowledged object of its action in the political system. Art was henceforth substituted for violence, corruption for prerogative, and the constantly increasing influence of the Crown from the periods of the Revolution presented to the attentive mind the irrefragable evidence of fact, that the necessity of another revolution could not be averted save by restoring or establishing that intimate relation between the constituent and the representative which, making the House of Commons the faithful image of the people, might secure liberty to the nation and permanence to the throne. Every sincere and provident friend of the constitution, devoted to liberty and fond of peace, saw with deep concern, in the means of corruption and in the progress of venality, the principles of that constitution becoming only the theme of declamation or the vision of theory, and in the reform of its practice by its principles discovered the only road to safety. The greater the blessings of civil liberty actually enjoyed by Englishmen, the more illustrious the station to which their country had been raised by the superiority of its constitution, the greater ought naturally to be the anxiety to preserve that part of the constitution from which its superiority evidently flowed, sound and entire, or, if degenerated and corrupt, to restore it to health and vigor. Every right and every blessing must be insecure unless the people, by their representatives in Parliament, should be made, or continue, the guardians of their own happiness.

The proud pre-eminence of the British constitution rested on this founda-

tion: on the government of the community by the general will, without the evils of democracy. The legislative powers of the Crown and of the aristocracy could only be considered as wise and salutary checks, designed and fitted to secure the deliberative, well-advised, and real expression of the general will. But while the theory of British liberty presented a fair and fascinating picture, it could not be denied that the very reverse of the picture was the true representation of the actual state of things—that, while Englishmen exulted in Magna Charta, in trial by jury, in a bill of rights, in a habeas corpus act, in the sanctity of the "straw-built shed", which the King dared not violate, the continuance of these blessings depended on a House of Commons notoriously under the influence of the Crown.

A conviction of the excellence of the principles and the magnitude and danger of the abuses of the constitution had impressed on the minds of the wise and virtuous in England a conviction of the necessity of a reform in the representation of the people in that country, as the certain and salutary means of preserving its liberties without the shock and hazard of a revolution; and their talents and their hearts had been accordingly long turned towards the attainment of this object, which in the rapid progress of parliamentary corruption gained daily new importance and excited increasing solicitude. While such was the state of public sentiment in England on the necessity of reform in its legislature; every general topic which could be urged in favor of the measure there applied with ten-fold force to the Parliament of Ireland. But it was not merely general reasoning, however strong, derived from the principles of political liberty, and the glaring inadequacy of the existing representation of the people to give efficiency to these principles, which demonstrated the necessity of parliamentary reform in Ireland. A variety of appropriate causes belonged to this country, which identified reform with national existence which presented it to the understandings and feelings of a long oppressed and impoverished people, not as the regeneration, but as the acquisition of a constitution, as the only means of emancipating their country from the bondage and repairing the desolation and debasement of six hundred years.

It required no proof from experience to determine that, constituted as the Irish Parliament was, the late changes in its political powers would only render it a more expensive instrument for administering British domination in Ireland; that the mode of governing the province would indeed be varied, but that, without a radical reform in the representation of the people, it must still remain a province, dependent and degraded. What was the state of that representation? Out of the three hundred members, of which the House of Commons consisted, the counties, counties of cities and towns, and the university, returned but eighty-four, leaving two hundred and sixteen for boroughs and manors (of this number two hundred were returned by individuals instead of bodies of electors; from forty to fifty were returned by ten persons). With respect to the boroughs, several of them had no resident elector at all, some of them but one, and on the whole two-thirds of the representatives were returned by less than one hundred persons. Even the county representation, the only

portion of this miserable system which could, by any effort of the mind, be conceived to express the popular will, was grossly defective in its principles and corrupt in its practical existence. While the House of Commons was thus composed, its slender connection with the people, by means of such members as could be called *elected,* was renewed but once in every eight years, unless accelerated by the royal prerogative of dissolution. Even the election of this very small portion, which alone bore the semblance of representation, exhibited a disgraceful and afflicting scene of bribery, intemperance, riot, animosity and revenge.

The necessity of ruling Ireland through her own Parliament, introduced by recent events, soon made a seat in the House of Commons an object of keen and expensive contention to the court and rival factions among the aristocracy. Every engine of influence, intrigue and corruption was employed by the hostile parties; the peace of society was disturbed; the integrity of the elector awed or seduced, while a few rare instances of talents and patriotism returned to the Parliament served but to illustrate more strongly the baseness of the surrounding crowd, unmoved by the charms of reason and eloquence, by the power of virtuous example, or the dread of public execration.

To denominate a system of which such a House of Commons constituted a part, and that the part on which the character of the whole essentially depended, a free constitution was an insult to the understanding and a cruel mockery of the wretchedness which had groaned for ages beneath a foreign yoke. To look to such a House of Commons for the exercise of independent legislation, for protection to infant trade, for encouragement to arts, science and morals, for healing religious animosities by impartial and magnanimous justice, for raising Ireland from a state of poverty and humiliation to prosperity, dignity and strength, for guarding her rights and her interests from the force or the fraud of foreign despotism long exercised without control and without mercy, to look to such a House of Commons for virtue like this, could be only the baseless vision of a disordered imagination.

Scarcely had the Irish Parliament been emancipated from the usurped supremacy of the British legislature, when the question of reform in the national representation began to engage the attention of the men by whose spirit and perseverance that emancipation had been effected. The absolute necessity of reform, in order to complete the great work of national regeneration, forced itself with irresistible conviction on every reflecting and unprejudiced mind, while the formidable array of a Volunteer convention seemed calculated to bear down all opposition to the measure. In that convention, however, the ardor of a generous enthusiasm had already subsided. By the demands of exclusive liberty that convention seemed to court and to deserve the mortification which it endured. History has seldom to record the triumph of reason over prejudice; her common and melancholy task is to portray the disastrous effects of false principles and malignant passions, to connect the degradation of man with the causes of his weakness and corruption, and to trace the conspiracy of a profligate few against the rights and happiness of millions.

If upon the late change in the political condition of Ireland, a conviction of the necessity of a further and more important change has been immediately pressed upon the public mind, the very state of things, which had produced that early and well-founded conviction, began as immediately to operate its natural effect, in creating a determined and fierce resistance to every attempt at reformation. The English Court had recovered from its perplexity and alarm, and had formed a fixed determination to oppose to the utmost the growing spirit of national emancipation. The Irish Parliament presented the obvious means of opposing this spirit with success. That Parliament had been raised to a rank in legislation by which the great majority of its members became more firmly leagued together than ever, by the constant and powerful operation of private interest against the rights and interests of their native land. Foreign influence quickly succeeded foreign legislation, and domestic corruption became henceforward the necessary instrument of foreign domination.

The Parliament felt at once the advantage of its situation, and appropriated to itself as real characteristics all the figurative epithets with which a glowing eloquence had emblazoned its recent exaltation; when called upon to reform, it assumed the lofty tone of offended majesty. The Volunteer convention bowed before the idol, which superstition had clothed with omnipotence. The affected importance of national delegation served but to render the humiliation of that convention more complete, from the secret conviction that three-fourths of the people, uninterested in its success, could not sympathize in its defeat. The Protestant mind, as yet only disposed to cease from persecution, but neither expanded to benevolence nor enlightened to justice, was startled at the idea of Catholic liberty. The convention, conscious of its weakness, shrank from a contest to which it was unequal, and the Volunteers of Ireland experienced the first effects of independent legislation in a contemptuous recommendation "to convert their swords into ploughshares". When the first plan of reform was introduced into the Irish Parliament, one of the professed grounds of rejection was the character of the assembly by which it had been prepared. It was said to have originated with a body of armed men and to be proposed to the House at the point of the bayonet. This objection, however fallacious, and notoriously adopted for the purposes of deception, was studiously removed. The attempt was renewed, supported by numerous petitions from all parts of the kingdom. Mr. Pitt was now minister of England. His disastrous career had commenced with brilliant exertions in favor of reform. His lofty eloquence had been mistaken for the emanation of an ardent and virtuous mind, and the cold duplicity of his character had not yet been unfolded. His advancement to power was considered as an era auspicious to liberty, and Ireland rejoiced in the commencement of an administration, which had deluged her with blood and contemplated her destruction. The second effort of reform met with the same determined opposition from the Parliament as the first. The murmurs of a disunited people were heard with indifference, and could be despised with impunity. As the cause of defeat, however, was either not yet understood, or could not be removed, a new attempt was soon

made to carry the measure by merely a new disposition of the force, by which it was originally conceived that success might be secured. Delegates chosen by counties and cities met again in the metropolis in 1785, to concentrate the scattered sentiments of the country on this great question of national safety, and to digest a new plan of reform.

A new plan of reform was accordingly prepared, in some respect differing from the former plans, but still founded on the same narrow basis of exclusive rights. As its principle was the same, so was its fate. It was rejected by the House of Commons with the most marked contempt for the wishes even of that portion of the people, to whose reiterated demands no objection could be raised on the ground of religious incapacity. In these inefficient efforts for obtaining reform, while a variety of objections were raised by the Parliament to the particular nature of every plan proposed, it was the reform and not the plan, which really excited its reprobation. Every possible modification of reform would have been received by that assembly and by the British ministers with the same hostility, as a presumptuous attempt to subvert a system of monopoly and corruption in a vile and venal aristocracy, by which that aristocracy was to be the instrument of British supremacy, now that the direct legislative supremacy of the British Parliament had been formally renounced. Resistance to reform originated in the same principle of ruling Ireland as a subject state, by which she had been so long desolated and enfeebled; and in the same intestine divisions, which had hitherto confirmed the bondage of Irishmen, oppression still found its ignoble support. This resistance on the part of the government was soon marked by acts of injustice and violence, which exposed the vain imagination that with the forms had been also transferred to Ireland the spirit of a free constitution.

In attacks on the liberty of the press; in attempts to prevent legal peaceable meetings of the people for the purpose of deliberating on the best means of reform; in proceedings by the summary and unconstitutional mode of attachment against sheriffs for convening and presiding at such meetings, proceedings subversive of the trial by jury, and a flagrant usurpation of power in the King's Bench, in matters clearly out of its jurisdiction; in these and similar exertions of licentious authority was early evinced a contempt for all acknowledged rights and privileges, whenever their violation should appear necessary to awe or restrain the voice of the people. From the beginning of the conflict the desperate determination of the government, to defend an iniquitous system by every means and at every hazard, may be discovered and ought to be traced, in order to form a just estimate of the real causes of the calamitous scenes which followed.

In the temper and conduct of Government from the beginning may be seen fatal symptoms of those arbitrary principles, of that haughty defiance of public sentiment and feeling, of that settled purpose of subduing the rising spirit of the nation, which led first to a system of legislative coercion, silencing the voice of truth, and terminated in a furious and sanguinary system of extermination by law and by the sword.

While such was the early and obstinate resistance opposed to parliamentary reform, a memorable example was presented to the nation of the imperious necessity of the measure, as the only means of guarding its recent acquisitions and future hopes against foreign encroachment and domestic treachery. The plan of a new commercial arrangement between Britain and Ireland proposed by the British minister in 1785, with all the circumstances attending its progress and final issue, afforded a striking illustration of the nature of these acquisitions and the foundation of these hopes. It was demonstrated by an experiment addressed to every understanding, that the security of whatever Ireland had obtained, that the hope of whatever she might anticipate, depended absolutely on the attainment of such a reform in the representation of the people as would make the House of Commons the faithful guardians of the rights and interests of an independent nation. Without such a reform the destiny of Ireland appeared evidently to rest on the mere will of the British Cabinet and on the quantum of corruption which that Cabinet might at any time think it expedient to employ for the accomplishment of its wishes; without such a reform it was manifest that the commercial and political views of British statesmen, the jealousy, the avarice, or the folly of the British merchant and manufacturer, must continue to be the standard of Irish prosperity.

In the commencement, indeed, of this interesting transaction, the minister confessed a truth, which the complicated wretchedness of ages loudly proclaimed: "that the constant object of the policy exercised by the English government in regard to Ireland had been to disbar her from the enjoyment and use of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the interest and opulence of Britain".

Within a very few years this system, according to the minister had been entirely reversed, and a liberal, enlightened and comprehensive policy had succeeded to the jealousy and bigotry of past ages.

Upon this new policy he now prefessed to act. With his mind irradiated with this recent illumination he brought forward his new system, liberal, beneficial and permanent. But this upright and beneficent statesman, this eloquent advocate of Irish commerce and negro emancipation, had been led away by the romantic visions of speculative justice, and was soon compelled to acknowledge the necessity of modifying his original plan by the vulgar standard of British liberality.

The original plan, in the form of eleven propositions, had been warmly received and hastily adopted by the Irish Parliament. But, notwithstanding this general approbation, which seemed at first to have also pervaded the nation, the proposed arrangement, however specious and alluring, was in reality a covered attack on the newly redeemed rights of Ireland in commerce and constitution. The sagacity of a few had at once discovered and marked the deception. But it became unnecessary to impress by argument their conviction on the minds of others. The nation was soon roused from its dream of British generosity by a direct attack too flagrant to be disguised or mistaken.

The eleven original propositions were returned to Ireland from the English

Parliament enlarged to the number of twenty, so modified and changed as to excite in a large portion even in the Irish House of Commons sentiments of horror, indignation and contempt. Yet even these latter propositions, thus altered, containing a formal surrender of the lately acquired independence of the Irish Parliament, in commercial laws and external legislation, together with a grant of perpetual tribute to England, and an abdication of Irish Marine; even these propositions, thus injurious and insulting, thus restrictive of the infant trade and mortal to the infant constitution of Ireland; even these propositions, in three years after the lofty assertion of the national independence of Ireland, were supported by a majority of her house of representatives, the supposed delegated guardians of that independence.

The measure, it is true, was abandoned by the minister. At the commencement of his political career he did not judge it wise to press a measure so justly odious to the Irish nation, when he found that the spirit, which had awed Britain in 1782 was not yet extinct. The corruption of the Parliament, which in 1785 could surrender the glories of 1782, might inspire him with reasonable confidence that at some future period, a more fatal attack might be attempted with success. With such a Parliament he might deem it unnecessary to stipulate expressly for the controlling supremacy of England in external trade or in anything else; or, meditating on the nature of a Parliament, thus vile and traitorous in three years after its deliverance from bondage, he might even then have anticipated the consummation of its baseness at the close of the eighteenth century. Though the measure was abandoned by the minister, it was, in its nature and circumstances, calculated to awaken the most serious alarms in the people of Ireland for the safety of that trade and constitution, from which so much prosperity had been fondly expected.

The measure had professedly originated in a conviction of the justice and expediency of a more equal and liberal arrangement of the commercial intercourse between the countries. From that free trade, which had been granted by the policy, or extorted from the fears of England, Ireland had derived few of those advantages, respecting which such sanguine expectations were at first indulged. With all her boasted attainments of commerce and independence, her manufacturers were starving. Protecting duties were loudly called for by the people, and sternly denied by the Parliament under the influence of the minister. The Irish trade presented an appearance of national agency altogether incompatible with the British policy of imperial regulation. That policy could only be satisfied by compelling the Irish nation to look from its own legislature to England for relief. The original plan of the minister was viewed by the most discerning with distrust, as illusory in its benefits and insidious in its compensations. But admitting it to be as liberal as its advocates proclaimed, it soon appeared that Ireland must depend, not on the comprehensive wisdom of the statesman, but on the narrow bigotry of the counting-house; that either the minister had never been sincere, or had quickly learned that to sacrifice the interests, invade the rights and despise the sufferings of Ireland were traditional dogmas of British policy, which he must hold sacred

if he wished to be the British minister. His liberality was found to terminate in an attempt to take advantage of the dejection of a distressed people to cheat them into a surrender of both trade and legislation, and a majority of the Irish Commons was found vile enough to conspire with foreign perfidy against national independence. When within three years after repeal and renunciation, within three years after England had abjured all claim to imperial legislation, and had in the most solemn manner recognized the unlimited absolute right in the Irish Parliament to legislate exclusively for Ireland, such an attempt could be made by a British minister and supported by an Irish House of Commons, all abstract reasoning on the necessity of a reform became superfluous.

An example pregnant with the most melancholy instruction was now addressed to the common sense and common feelings of every man who could reflect or feel on the rights and interests of his country. In proportion to the joy of a present escape was the dread of future calamity, when calm reflection had succeeded to the tumult of victory.

The temporary transport passed away, and the pride of a precarious triumph was soon humbled by a view of the real danger and real weakness of the victors. Uniformly plundered and oppressed by Britain, and almost blotted out from the memory of nations, Ireland in a moment of glory had redeemed herself from obscurity and reproach. But her difficulties seemed to multiply with her pretensions.

The claim of independence was a claim to danger as well as to happiness. The danger seemed every day to increase, the chances of happiness to diminish. The Parliament advanced in confidence, as it advanced in corruption. Neither emanating from the nation, nor sympathizing in the national distress, it uniformly condemned the sentiments and sacrificed the interests of the people.

As a great measure in the representation, so, with perfect consistency, every attempt at subordinate reform was opposed with haughty defiance, or dismissed with insulting disdain.

A place bill, a pension bill, a responsibility bill, were successively rejected by rank majorities, and with circumstances of such marked indifference to the opinion, the grievances, and the complaints of the people, as not only demonstrated the magnitude of corruption, but evinced the desperate purpose of defending it to the last, under every form, and in all its abominations. The corruption was even presumptuously avowed by the servants of the Crown in the *representative* assembly of the nation. Peerages were sold by Government to purchase seats in the Commons, and all enquiry into this monstrous prostitution of the royal prerogative refused. The infamous traffic of boroughs was conducted with the most shameless publicity. Private jobs for the aggrandizement of particular families or individuals, either originated in the Parliament, or received its sanction. A system of profligate expense was supported by a system of profligate taxation, destructive of the industry, the health and the morals of the people. A vile aristocracy, courted, flattered, paid and despised, calumniating the country which it plundered, and converted the new legislative powers

of the Irish Parliament into a source of private revenue. The nation, taxed without its consent, paid the very bribes by which it was undone, and Britain raised a tribute in Ireland, by means of an Irish Parliament, to perpetuate the old relation of imperial rule and provisional subjection, under the new phraseology introduced at the era of 1782.

In the course of a very few years from that memorable era, the anticipations of reason had been fully confirmed by the evidence of experience. A reform in the national representation, which political sagacity had immediately connected with the events of that period as indispensable to Irish independence, was a measure soon brought home to the understanding of ordinary men, by personal observation of existing abuses; and a strong sentiment of its necessity had easily pervaded the reflecting and disinterested part of the nation.

The foreign power, which had roused to resistance, by an arrogant assumption of direct supremacy in legislation enforced with senseless severity in point of trade, still continued, through the medium of corruption, an indirect but absolute and injurious domination, exercised with more temper as to the commerce, but with the same violation of the natural rights and dearest interests of Ireland. By what it vouchsafed to communicate were discerned more clearly the benefits withheld. Even the security of commercial advantages depended upon interested views of policy in England.

On her own Parliament Ireland could have no reliance; and if happiness consists not more in the actual possession, than in the prospect of its continuance; if enjoyment in the present rests in excluding all apprehension of the future, it was impossible that Irishmen could rejoice in their condition, had that condition been as prosperous and exalted as it was calamitous and degrading. While the recent advancement of Ireland in trade was freely admitted, it was observed to bear no proportion to her capacities; and the amelioration of the wretched state of the lower orders of the people seemed not in the least promoted by the change. The same squalid poverty, the same debasing ignorance, the same vices and the same crimes, the offspring of that poverty and that ignorance, continued to betray unequivocal symptoms of deep and untouched defects in the constitution of the government, by which their destiny was controlled. Their wretchedness depended upon a variety of causes, constituting in the aggregate that miserable system, by which the country had been ruled for centuries of desolation, and which nothing but a radical change in the principles of legislation, finance, and in the entire political economy of the state could ever effectually remove. Such a change could only be expected from a national parliament, which, identified in interest with the community, would consider the comfort and morality of the mass of the people the great object of its care, as the great end of its institution.

While the lower orders could only be sensible of their misery, but could discern neither the cause, nor the remedy, it was felt and acknowledged by every enlightened person in the country, uninterested in perpetuating abuse, and the opinion had deeply impressed all the middle classes of society, that from parliamentary reform alone could be hoped any general and permanent good.

But, though the popular sentiment in favor of this measure was thus general and ardent, the minds of those, who could most influence and direct public opinion, had been much agitated and divided as to the nature and extent of the reform, which ought to be insisted upon as necessary and safe. This difference of sentiment in the friends of reform among the Protestant sects arose chiefly from the interesting question, whether the Catholic should be comprehended equally with the Protestant in the proposed improvement of the representation? This was a question calculated to engage the most violent passions, the most obstinate prejudices and the most lively apprehensions of the Protestant mind. Protestants in general had been rapidly advancing towards the idea of emancipating Catholics from the inhuman penalties and prohibitions of the Popery Code; but the idea of granting the Catholic a complete participation of all civil and political rights was violently resisted by any number of honest and enlightened Protestants, whose tolerant principles and zeal for liberty could not be doubted, but whose reasonings had taken a bias from their prejudices, or their apprehensions, too powerful to be easily changed by argument or by experience.

The opinion that to admit the Catholics to a community of rights would endanger the established religion and property of the country had hitherto prevailed. It was an opinion which the first great advocates of reform either actually entertained, or to which they submitted from a belief that the measure could be more easily carried unencumbered by Catholic claims; and that under a reformed Protestant government, at no very distant period, all distinctions might with safety be for ever abolished. The experiment of exclusive reform, however, had been repeatedly made, supported by the greatest talents that ever adorned the Irish Parliament, and had been made in vain. These talents had been supported from without by whatever of authority or of intimidation could be derived from the sentiments and resolutions of an armed association, formidable in fame, in numbers, in prosperity, in a union of no inconsiderable proportion of men of rank, with a mass of general respectability, in such a combination of circumstances and character, calculated to impress weight upon opinion, that the decided and high-toned reprobation of their interference by the Parliament seemed to astonish and confound the delighted representatives of such various and commanding titles to respect. The experiment of *exclusive* reform had been made under other auspices and had failed. It was opposed by a combination of external power and internal corruption, too powerful to be overcome by the partial efforts of a disunited people.

While the evil and the remedy agitated all passions, and were canvassed by all understandings, the cause of defeat became every day more discernible, and the necessity of calling forth the energies of all seemed first to demonstrate the injustice of exclusion. In tracing the subjection and calamities of Ireland from the introduction of the English power down to the formal abdication of the legislative supremacy of England, the disunion of Irishmen must have appeared to every attentive and candid observer to have been the direful source of their degradation.

This disunion had invited invasion and had made conquest permanent. At different intervals the power of the rapacious and sanguinary foreigners was shaken, but the want of national views and general co-operation among the natives terminated at length in the common subjugation of all.

When every attempt to expel the invaders from the country was finally relinquished in despair; when a vast portion of the original inhabitants had been rooted out by the sword, or by legal proscription, and the space, which they had occupied, filled up by Englishmen; when the descendants of these colonists had grown Irishmen in interests, in feelings and in sufferings, it might seem reasonable to expect that the connection, by which the two countries were united under a common king, would become a connection of reciprocal advantages and equal rights, and that Ireland, in her utility and her strength, would possess the guarantee of her prosperity and independence. Such indeed might have been the final issue of things, but for the unfortunate circumstances, by which the disunion of Irishmen was prolonged in a new and more disastrous form. But the ultimate division of the people into two great religious denominations enfeebled both, and surrendered them an easy prey to the insidious policy of England.

Mutual bigotry blinded the Protestant and the Catholic; it destroyed or blunted the social and benevolent feelings; it engendered the most cruel and inveterate suspicions, the events of history, viewed through this deceitful medium, were seen neither in their just color nor proportion, and the personal experience of the existing generation was borne down by the traditional prejudice of the preceding. Towards the era of the Volunteers these religious antipathies had become less violent, and in the progressive liberality of that illustrious body might have for ever perished.

But the growing sentiment of general liberty was checked by the artifices of the interested, the violence of the intolerant, the apprehensions of the timid, and above all by the authority of some men of revered worth and talents, who from prejudice or from prudence were decidedly adverse to the admission of the Catholic to an equality of political rights. Before the error was fully understood and felt in its effects, the early ardor, which might have repaired the ruin, had ceased.

It became necessary to kindle a fresh spirit proportioned to the ends to be attained, and the difficulties to be encountered. The magnitude of the abuses to be reformed, the obstinacy, with which they were defended, the discomfiture of past exertions, the increasing danger of delay, seemed to demand new and extraordinary efforts.

To emancipate public opinion from destructive prejudice, to redeem the Protestant character from the stain of persecution, to exalt the Catholic from mental darkness and political debasement, to turn all parties from the bitter remembrance of past hostility, and from mutual crimination, to the contemplation of a common country, oppressed and impoverished through the miserable delusion of its people; to dissolve the artificial and mischievous connection between politics and religion, to substitute national enthusiasm for sectarian

bigotry; to unite all hearts and combine all talents in the pursuit of parliamentary reform by interesting the entire nation in its attainment, and by means of a legislature really independent; to secure to Ireland the free exercise of her powers, and the full enjoyment of her own resources, presented to the benevolent, the ardent, and the aspiring mind, the noblest objects of ambition.

With such objects before them, a few individuals conceived the idea of forming a political association, the essential characteristic of which should be the promoting of union among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, in the attainment of an equal representation of the people in Parliament, without any distinction, founded merely in a difference of religious belief and worship. Impressed with a conviction that a radical reform in the popular representation could alone establish and secure the liberties of Ireland, and that no reform could be either practicable, efficacious or just, which did not comprehend Irishmen of every religious sect, deeply impressed with the important conclusion, furnished by every page of Irish history and confirmed by the events of every passing hour, that the intestine divisions among Irishmen had produced, and, while they continued, must confirm their degradation; the founders of this novel institution submitted to their countrymen in forcible and animated language their principles and their pretensions. The striking truths which they proclaimed, the bold doctrines which they advanced, the great and beneficial ends, which they proposed, soon attracted the attention both of the government and the people. To the government these appeared most formidable; to the people most alluring.

The name of the "Society of United Irishmen," assumed by this celebrated association, pointed out at once the source of past calamity and the foundation of future hope. It is a name which has been loaded with every reproach, and adorned with every praise; it has left upon the minds of friends and foes impressions deep and lasting; it has kindled the most violent and opposite passions; it has engaged the most powerful and hostile interests; it has made the noble tremble for his titles, the man of wealth for his abused possessions, an endowed priesthood for their Establishment; it has been connected either really or artificially with the most momentous events; it has presented to the heated or affrighted imagination the most magnificent or the most terrific objects; it has awed oppression; it is now allied to misfortune; how shall it be transmitted to posterity in the faithful characters of truth?

If you allow your foundations to be undermined, your resources destroyed; you must expect to see the baseless fabric of Irish independence sink.

Miss Emmet—To the Irish Parliament—1799

Part XII

Conclusion—Separation of Ireland from England and its erection into a distinct and independent nation avowed.

HE last ten years of the eighteenth century will furnish to the historian by far the most important events which have yet marked the progress of the human race. The events which have been crowded into this short period are not only in themselves deeply interesting to the present generation, but will probably be viewed in their effects, at no very distant era, as decisive of the future destinies of every nation upon earth.

The mighty struggle between despotism and the rights of manhood is indeed suspended for a season, but a triumphant issue to the cause of truth and liberty may well be anticipated by sober and unprejudiced reason. Insignificant as the history of Ireland may have appeared previous to this period, as connected with the fate of other nations, the late war between France and England has given an importance to Ireland, in the great question between old establishments and the rights of the people, which has been widely felt and will not easily be forgotten. That the existence of Ireland, as a distinct and independent nation, must necessarily involve the subversion of the British monarchy, a revolution in the commerce and a still more momentous evolution in the ancient government of Europe, seems to have been a proposition well understood and universally conceded by all parties. As this proposition is supposed either to have originated with the societies of United Irishmen, or to have been eagerly embraced by them when proposed by France, an enquiry into the objects and conduct of these associations will present a view of Ireland from the year 1790 to the peace with France in 1801 embracing the most important and interesting events in its history during that period.

Without the concurrence of the Irish Parliament, the power of the English minister would have been innoxious; against the wishes of the Irish Parliament, it would have been impotent.

Miss Emmet.

A large majority of the Irish nation have irrevocably pronounced their determination that Ireland shall sooner or later be released from the grasp of the British Parliament. That vow is lisped in the first orisons of the child, and mingles with the latest prayer of the aged and of the dying.

William Smith O'Brien, "The Nation".

It is England who supports that rotten aristocratic faction, among which not the tenth part of your population has arrogated to itself five-sixths of the property and power of your nation.

Theobald Wolfe Tone.

PART OF AN ESSAY

TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

BY

T. A. EMMET

WRITTEN WHILE A PRISONER

AT

FORT GEORGE

Merciful God! what is the state of Ireland, and where shall you find the wretched inhabitant of this land? You may find him perhaps in a gaol, the only place of security, I had almost said, of ordinary habitation; you may see him flying by the conflagration of his own dwelling; or you may find his bones bleaching on the green fields of his country, or he may be found tossing upon the surface of the ocean, and mingling his groans with those tempests less savage than his persecutors, that drive him to a returnless distance from his family and his home.

Curran, in defence of Wm. Orr, 1797.

As to the personal and political virtues of the United Irishmen, there can be no difference—the world has never seen a more sincere or more self-sacrificing generation.

Rev. Patrick F. Kavanagh, "The Insurrection of 1798".

Part of an Essay Towards the History of Ireland

By T. A. Emmet.

FTER the king's recovery from his indisposition in 1789, the Parliament of Ireland became an object of ridicule and contempt from its profligate versatility. Several measures, founded more or less on popular principles, were proposed by the Opposition; they were, however, uniformly lost, and the failure seemed to excite but little public interest.

The year 1790 was for the most part spent in the agitation and corruption of contested elections.

But an event was now taking place, which seemed calculated to make an epoch in the history of every nation, and which has peculiarly acted on the condition of Ireland. The French Revolution was beginning to unfold its immense importance. In order the better to understand its effects on that country, it may be advisable to take a short view of its situation and political sentiments at that period.

The situation of Ireland, in respect to strength, opulence, prosperity and happiness, was never a subject of exultation or praise to the humane or reflecting mind. Her destitution of every manufacture but one, her fisheries unexplored, her noble harbors unoccupied, her navigable rivers unheeded, her inland improvements neglected, her unreclaimed bogs and mountains, her uncultivated fields, her unemployed, houseless, starved, uneducated peasantry, had been long the theme of sorrow to the patriot, and of contempt to the unfeeling. That her situation, in many of these respects, had greatly improved within the ten preceding years, could not admit of doubt; but enough still remained to excite considerable discontent in a suffering people, and to deserve the most serious attention from an honest government. Whatever may have been the amount of those grievances, they gave rise to very opposite opinions, as to their cause.

Some supposed,—what has also been asserted of the negro race,—that the Irish were an inferior, semi-brutal people, incapable of managing the affairs of their country, and submitted, by the necessity of their nature, to some superior power, from whose interference and strength they must exclusively derive their domestic tranquillity, as well as their foreign protection; and to whose bounty they must owe whatever they can enjoy of trade, commerce, comfort or opulence. Those who entertained this opinion, said, that from the

insignificant extent and unfortunate locality of Ireland, she was doomed to be dependent either on England or France; and that, of course, not only gratitude, but policy should make her cling to that state, with whom her interests had been interwoven for ages, and from whose fostering protection she had derived her civil and religious liberty, together with all the blessings of which she could boast. These assertions, both of a natural inferiority, and of the immutable necessity of submission, which had been for ages not uncommon in England, chiefly found their Irish advocates in those who might lay claim to be regenerated by the force of English connections and habits, or who, at least, felt themselves qualified, by a peculiar felicity of exception, to fill the office and enjoy the emoluments of the Irish government.

Others, however, whose pride, perhaps, would not permit them to allow a natural inferiority, asserted, that the source of Ireland's misfortunes was to be traced back to remote antiquity.

History and a knowledge of her laws and government enable us, they said, to detect the cause of all her calamities. She was subdued and ruled by the sword; she was depopulated by the ravages of war, and wasted by perpetual and bloody conflicts between settlers and natives; she was occasionally tranquillized by despoiling from a fresh portion of the aboriginal inhabitants their hereditary properties; and repeopled through confiscation and forfeitures. Even the Reformation itself, by which so many other countries were illustrated and improved, was made an instrument for brutalizing Ireland. Without consulting the opinions of the Irish; without compassionating or endeavoring by reason to dispel their errors; without affording means of improvement, or time for those means to operate, their religion was regulated by Act of Parliament, to the precise standard of English faith. Although the natives entirely rejected, and scarcely any, even of the settlers, adopted these new tenets, yet, by force of the Act of Uniformity, every man was compelled to attend on, and conform to the Protestant worship; while, by force of a royal proclamation, every man was interdicted the exercise of the Catholic religion, its clergy were banished, and the severest penalties denounced against those who dared to give them hospitality or shelter. Nor was this all; a code of disfranchisement, robbery, persecution, oppression and debasement was further, and in more civilized times, erected as a buttress to what might in mockery have been called, *the Church of Ireland*. The inhabitants of that devoted country, in name a nation, in fact a province planted with a colony,—were studiously kept at variance and distracted by civil and religious pretexts, that they might never coalesce for the attainment of national objects. Her government was permitted to extend over the land, only in proportion as the English Pale was widened; and even then, its members (for the most part, from their birth or dispositions), its feelings, legislation and ordinances, were entirely English. Whenever a clashing of interests between the two isles was perceived or apprehended, Ireland was forced to yield to the overbearing ascendancy of an insatiable and jealous rival. Her commerce was fettered, her manufactures surrendered, her raw materials delivered over, her population drained, her

resources exhausted, her agriculture neglected,—all to aggrandize the power from which her government was derived, and with which her governors are connected.

If, in one instance, a brilliant exception cheers the afflicted memory, to what is it to be attributed? To the military array of Ireland; to the transitory display of something like national energy in the Irish people; to the alarm of England; to the panic of its government, lest another oppressed province should imitate the example of America, and assert its independence, in alliance with France. The restrictions on the Irish trade were repealed by the English Parliament itself, in the moment of consternation and weakness; their removal was not a gift from liberality or affection, but a restoration from fear. Even the constitutional arrangements of 1782, insignificant as subsequent experience has shown them to be, were solely produced by the momentary influence of the Irish people on the English Government. The Parliament of Ireland constantly resisted every proposal for asserting the national independence, so long as that resistance was agreeable to the ministers of England; nor did its chameleon color change, until the object on which its undeviating eyes were fixed had assumed a short-lived splendor.

Those arrangements, however, gave to Ireland no more than the mere name of independence. She is still a province, and still destitute of a national government. Her rulers are English, and totally divested of all kind of Irish responsibility. Her legislature is devoted to the English ministry, and practically unconnected with the Irish nation. On the Lords it would be absurd to bestow a thought; nor are the Commons deserving of more attention. Three-fourths of the people are formally excluded, by the Catholic laws, from being counted among their constituents; and the other fourth is but as dust in the balance. Exclusive of private adventures in the political market, about thirty individuals, principally Lords, possess the power of returning a majority in the House of Commons, and even two-thirds of the representation are engrossed by less than one hundred persons. These wholesale dealers as regularly sell their members as a country grazier does his cattle, and the steady purchaser is the British agent. Such is the Irish Government.

As to inferiority of nature, added they, it is peculiarly absurd, when asserted of a people composed of settlers from so many different countries. It is obviously false of the Irish, who, even at home, though deprived of whatever stimulus to genius or industry may result from trade and commerce; though nearly interdicted from education by law, and for the most part, debarred from it by poverty; though brayed and crushed under the weight of so many vicious institutions, yet show themselves sagacious, brave, warmhearted and enterprising; but when abroad, they are released from the oppressions of their native land, and can enter into the career of fair and honorable competition; then, even unsupported by interest or connection, they prove themselves worthy of the utmost confidence, and of the highest distinctions in council and in the field.

As to the natural necessity of seeking protection from a superior state,

it is scarcely credible, said they, of a country which is intersected with navigable rivers and indented with the finest bays; which is blest with a temperate climate, a diversified and fruitful soil, productive mines and inexhaustible fisheries; which is also situated in one of the most advantageous points for universal commerce, particularly since the rapidly increasing demands of America, seem to open an incalculable market. The assertion can not be true of a country, which, in itself protected by its insular situation, contains 19,000 square miles; which, by being sacrificed to the aggrandizement of England, and turned into its best market, instead of its most formidable competitor, has probably increased the capital and opulence of that kingdom by almost one-third; which, notwithstanding repeated wars, constant emigration, and want of trade, manufactures or agriculture, has been able to create and support a population of five millions; which furnishes to Europe some of her most distinguished officers, to the British army about one-half of its soldiers, and to her navy almost two-thirds of its seamen; and which, after paying the expenses of its own extravagant government, and many useless establishments, is able to pour without reserve or return, four millions annually into the lap of Britain,—even perhaps an infinitely larger sum, if a fair estimate could be made of the enormous rents unproductively remitted to Irish absentees,—and of the losses, that Ireland still sustains, to the benefit of England, by the slowly disappearing effects of those commercial restraints, which for a century, annihilated her trade, in every article but linen; and which, by their surviving consequences, still continue to surrender her foreign and domestic markets to a country, in natural productions, as well as in every commercial and manufacturing point of view, essentially her rival.

Scarcely any, however, of those who entertained these sentiments harbored a thought of destroying the connection between the two kingdoms.

Ireland, said they, in its early infancy received an incurable organic injury, which will always prevent her rising to her natural strength and stature as a nation. But since it is incurable, it must be borne with resignation, and the best office that affection or science can perform, is to relieve, by occasional palliatives, whatever symptoms may become urgent or dangerous. Let us endeavor to procure some alleviation for our peasantry, by encouraging agriculture, by bettering their situation, and by mitigating their burthens; let us bargain, as prudently as we can, for the commercial arrangements that remain unsettled; but, above all things, let us labor to give a national and patriotic spirit to our legislature, by restraining the force of English influence, by checking the profligate extent of corruption, and by correcting the enormously unequal and inadequate state of the representation in Parliament.

Such were the views and objects of even the most ardent Irish patriots before the commencement of the French Revolution.

It must not be supposed that one or other of the very opposite opinions already stated, respecting the cause of Ireland's calamities, and the system of policy she should pursue, was entertained, in its full extent, by every person in the country. On the contrary, each intermediate sentiment had its advo-

cates; and, contradictory as the extremes may appear, they were sometimes blended, almost always diversified and modified, according to the different points of view, in which the British constitution and connection were regarded, from interests or prejudices, from education or habits, from information or ignorance, from inconsideration or deep reflection. Perhaps a knowledge of these points of view may be best obtained by examining into the state and opinions of the leading religious sects.

Religion may be said to have separated Ireland into two people, the Protestants and Catholics. The Protestants were divided into the members of the Church of England and the Dissenters. Both of these had been in their origin foreign colonists, introduced and enriched in consequence of long-continued massacres and warfare, of confiscations and new grants, of ousters under the Popery Laws, and acquisitions as Protestant discoverers; by all of which the original Irish had been systematically dispossessed or extirpated, and the dependence of their country on another state permanently secured.

The members of the Church of England, not exceeding one-tenth of the people, possessed almost the whole government and five-sixths of the landed property of the nation, which they inherited by odious and polluted titles. For a century they had nearly engrossed the profits and patronage of the Church, the law, the revenue, the army, the navy, the magistracy and the corporations of Ireland, deriving their superiority and consequence from the interweaving of the ecclesiastical establishment with the civil authority of the country. Independent of religious animosity, their desire to retain what they possessed, made them regard with aversion and mistrust the Catholics whom they had oppressed, and from whom they dreaded a resumption of property, should any change render the measure practicable; and their eagerness to monopolize what they so largely enjoyed, excited the jealousy of the Dissenters, who shared with them somewhat of the emoluments of power. Conscious also of their natural weakness, they saw their only security in the superiority and assistance of England to the aggrandizement of which they were therefore uniformly devoted. The protection of that country was indeed afforded to them; but in return they paid the surrender of the commerce and liberties of Ireland. During the American Revolution, concurrent circumstances had enabled and emboldened the other sects to hurry them into measures, by which that commerce and those liberties were partially resumed; but their dispositions remained unchanged, and faithful to their interests, they still continued to defend the British connection as the bulwark of their importance and strength.

The Dissenters, who were originally settled for the most part in Ulster, regarded no doubt with filial affection the country from whence they came, and with contempt and dislike the people whom they displaced. They also detested Catholics with the fanatic fervor that characterized the early disciples of Knox and Calvin. Their descendants, however, possessing few overgrown landed properties, and being mostly engaged in manufactures and trade, did not feel a dependence on England as essential to their existence or happiness;

but they felt the commercial restrictions to which it gave rise as injurious to their prosperity and pursuits. They were twice as numerous as the Lutherans,* and had not the same inducement of weakness and fears, for seeking support and succor in the arms of a foreign power. The predilection for their native country being therefore checked by no extraneous causes, they gradually ceased to consider themselves in any other light than Irishmen; they became anxious for Ireland's welfare, and sensible of its wrongs. Lovers of liberty, and almost republicans from religion, from education and early habits, they sympathized with the Americans, when that kindred people was struggling to shake off the British yoke. They principally composed in their own island the never-to-be-forgotten Volunteers, and most energetically raised their voices and their arms in favor of its commercial freedom and constitutional independence, as far as those points were at that time understood. They were even suspected of aiming at separation from England. There was, however, no union of sentiment or sense of common interests among the different religious sects sufficiently strong to justify the hope that Ireland could maintain itself as a distinct power; and many, in whom the efforts of the transatlantic colonies had necessarily excited congenial wishes, apprehended that it must be dependent on either England or France.

In this alternative the Dissenters saw no room to hesitate; for however great their admiration of America and its constitutions, they preferred England when contrasted with France, for the freedom of its government; and would not by a change of masters risk the horrors of Popery and slavery which they had been taught to believe and boast that their forefathers had combatted and repelled. They, however, continued to be distinguished by their zeal in pursuit of parliamentary reform, and of every other measure founded on the principles of democracy and liberty.

The Catholics were the descendants of the primitive Irish, or of those early settlers whom the Reformation had identified with the aboriginal inhabitants. While in the violence of contest, the adherents of the Pope everywhere regarded with hatred and horror the sects that had separated from his Church, unquestionably the Irish Catholics strongly participated in the common feelings; but they were rapidly disappearing in Ireland as in the rest of Europe. Those men, however, still continued estranged from their Protestant countrymen by causes much more substantial than religious bigotry. They were nearly three-fourths of the population, and instead of enjoying the estates of their forefathers, they scarcely possessed one-fifteenth of the landed property of the kingdom. To this state they had been reduced by various causes which might have been forgotten in the lapse of years, but that one still remained in the code called the Popery Laws, which by its continued operation perpetuated the remembrance of the past, excited resentment for the present, and apprehensions for the future. Nor was that the only injury they experienced from

*When Mr. Emmet wrote the above those who accepted Luther's views were termed "Lutherans" and those who followed Calvin were "Calvinists." The Lutherans formed the Protestant Church, now the Church of England "as by Law Prescribed," and claimed to be *the* Protestants. The Calvinists were termed Dissenters and not Protestants, as they had dissented from the Established Church. The term *Anglican* is in use only from about the middle of the last century.

these laws, which undermined the affections, controlled the attachments, restrained the industry, closed the prospects, prohibited the education, and punished the religion of those against whom they were enacted. This code had indeed suffered some mitigation within the last twelve years; but enough still remained to injure and to degrade.

The effect of such a complicated system of persecution and oppression upon its victims may be easily conceived. The peasantry were reduced to a lamentable state of physical wretchedness and moral degradation. Even the gentry were broken down; and, though individually brave, and characteristically national, they seemed devoid of collective courage and political spirit. The Catholics loved Ireland with enthusiasm, not only as their country, but as the partner of their calamities; to the actual interposition of England, or to its immediate influence, they ascribed their sufferings, civil and religious, with those of their forefathers. Hereditary hatred, therefore, and sense of injury had always conspired with national pride and patriotism to make them adverse to that country and enemies to British connection. This they had often manifested, when there was a prospect of doing it with success. Now, however, they appeared only anxious to soften the rigors of their situation by an uniform support of Government, which had carefully insinuated to them that it was their protector against the other sects, but most especially against the Dissenters, and that it alone prevented the severe execution of the Popery Laws. This obsequiousness on the part of the Catholics, their former well-known attachment to the French Court while they could hope for its assistance, and some remaining prejudices against their religion itself, caused them to be regarded by the Protestants as unfit for liberty and hostile to its establishment.

Much mutual distrust and alienation naturally flowed from this difference of interests, sentiments and opinions. Some progress towards conquering them, had, indeed, been made in the time of the Volunteers; but the antipathies of centuries were far from being completely removed. For that reason, when, in the Volunteer Convention, called together in 1784, for the purpose of bringing about a parliamentary reform, the delegates from Belfast, obedient to the early liberality and enlightened instructions of their constituents, supported the equal admission of Catholics to the rights of free men, they were left almost alone. The plan of representation proposed by that assembly was founded on the exclusive privilege of Protestants; and because its base was so narrow (the prejudices of the times not perhaps admitting of its being enlarged), it was easily defeated; for the people felt no interest in that from which they were to derive no benefit. The French Revolution, however, paved the way for the entire accomplishment of what the Volunteer institution had begun. A Catholic country had, by its conduct, contradicted the frequently repeated dogma, that Catholics are unfit for liberty; and the waning glory of the British constitution seemed to fade before the regenerated government of France. These things sunk deep into the minds of the Dissenters, who likewise saw another lesson of liberality enforced by their new teachers: that no religious opinions should be punished by civil disfranchisement. The Catholics, on their

part, perhaps, derived some instruction from the same event. If there was any truth in the imputation of their being unfit for freedom, which is much more than problematical, it must be confessed that this striking example quickly changed their opinions and feelings; and that as the French Revolution reconciled the Protestant reformer to his Catholic countrymen, so it ripened the Catholics for liberty.

Another circumstance seemed also to draw nearer together the Catholics and Dissenters, and to excite in them a common admiration of that Revolution; an identity of opinions and interest on the subject of tithes, which had for many years been a topic of violent discussion at home, and were recently abolished in France. Nowhere, perhaps, on earth, were tithes more unpopular, or considered by the people as a greater grievance than in Ireland. They went to the support of an Established clergy that preached a religion which was adopted by only one-tenth of the nation, and which was not merely disbelieved, but considered as heresy, by three-fourths of those that were forced to pay them. They had been the frequent subject of partial insurrection, and were always the fertile source of general discontent; so that the French reformers, by abolishing them, exceedingly increased the numbers, and awoke the energy of their Irish admirers. Accordingly, the approbation of that Revolution was very early, as well as extensive in Ireland; and the impulse it communicated to the public mind has given direction to all that country's subsequent political proceedings.

The example of France, in not permitting civil disqualification to result from any profession of religious belief, impressed itself most powerfully on the minds of many Protestants. They felt not only the justice, but the wisdom of liberality, and became convinced that a similar measure, with an entire oblivion of all religious feuds and jealousies, was necessary to the peace and prosperity of Ireland. Some of them, considering more maturely the arguments respecting the admission of Catholics to the rights of citizenship, which had been fruitlessly urged in 1784, during the exertions for amending the parliamentary representation, and deriving instruction from the defeat of that measure to which they were ardent friends, wished to array the members of that religion also in support of reform, by giving them an interest in its success. If it were combined with Catholic Emancipation, and its Protestant advocates could be induced to forego their sectarial prejudices, the chance in favor of both objects would be infinitely increased by the union. Reform would be again raised from the neglect into which it had fallen since its rejection by Parliament, and would derive additional consequence from a fresh reinforcement of popular support. The Catholics would count among their friends those whose hostility had hitherto appeared to be the chief obstacle to their relief; and the two sects being engaged in pursuit of the same object, their former distrust and animosities would vanish before their common interest.

The first step towards the accomplishment of this plan was naturally taken by the Dissenters in the North, whose habit of public discussion, ardent love of liberty, and greater independence of Government, emboldened them to

begin. They felt also that, as their forefathers had been pre-eminently instrumental in oppressing the Catholics, justice as well as policy required them to make the earliest advances towards conciliation and union. Before that time, the violent prejudices, vaunted superiority and repulsive arrogance of the Protestants in general, had placed such a gulf of separation between the followers of the two religions, that the Catholics, the most enlightened and attached to liberty, despaired of effecting anything in conjunction with their countrymen; and, however reluctantly, were forced to purchase occasional mitigations of the penal code by dependency on the Court and humble solicitations at the Castle. But it is unquestionable that when that body saw itself likely to be supported by a considerable portion of the Protestants, it manifested a perfect willingness to make common cause. The spirit of religious liberty having made great progress in the province of Ulster, it was intended at a public celebration of the French Revolution, on the 14 July, 1791, at Belfast, the political capital of the North, to introduce a collateral resolution in favor of admitting the Catholics to the rights of citizenship, which was, however, withdrawn, from an apprehension that the minds of those present were not yet fully prepared for the measure. It was shortly afterwards received and adopted by the first Belfast Volunteer Company, a remnant of the old Volunteers.

That resolution drew from the Catholics of Elphin and Jamestown others, expressive of their thanks, which were forwarded to Belfast; and this, at the time, almost unheeded event, was the first foundation of an union which in its progress seemed destined to strike a tremendous blow against British connection.

More energetic measures remained still to be adopted. Clubs were long used in Great Britain and Ireland for the accomplishment of political objects. At this very time, the parliamentary opposition, with its adherents, was associated under the name of the Whig Club; the most public-spirited citizens of Dublin had formed themselves into a society called the "Whigs of the Capital"; and other similar institutions existed in the country parts of the kingdom, particularly at Belfast, all professing to revive the decaying principles of Whiggism. To the French, however, is the world indebted for completely demonstrating the political efficacy of clubs; and the proof that they were then giving pointed out the advantage of employing an instrument which promised so much benefit, and which seemed peculiarly calculated for overcoming those antipathies that opposed the progress of reform in Ireland. The clubs already established seemed by the ancient principles of the party from which they were named, as well as by the prejudices of many of their members, rather to exclude religious toleration. In consequence, therefore, of an agreement between some popular characters in the North and some of the most enterprising Catholics of Dublin, together with a few members even of the Established Church, whom the progressive spirit of the times had liberalized, societies were to be instituted for uniting together objects of parliamentary reform and Catholic Emancipation.

Accordingly one was constituted in Belfast, in October, 1791; in the November following, another in Dublin; and shortly after many others throughout the North, all under the attractive title of United Irishmen. In their declaration they stated, as their "heavy grievance", that they had "no national government, but were ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen"; and, as its "effectual remedy", they pledged themselves "to endeavor by all due means, to procure a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament, including Irishmen of every religious persuasion".

The press, too, that most important engine in popular proceedings, it was determined to employ in this cause. There was, therefore, established by some of the most active and zealous in Belfast a newspaper, called the "Northern Star", which began with the commencement of 1792, and during the whole of its existence was undeviatingly devoted to the principles and views of the United Irishmen. A pamphlet written in the preceding September, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, under the signature of a "Northern Whig", was likewise made extremely conducive to the same purpose. Its scope was to show to the Protestant friends of reform that they could never hope for success unless by embodying with their measure a repeal of the Popery Laws, and thus giving to the mass of population an interest in its favor. The eloquent and forcible development of this principle, though proceeding from an unknown, and at that time, perfectly unconnected individual, did not fail to excite the attention and approbation of those who were occupied in endeavoring to give it effect. They bestowed on the author their most confidential friendship, and employed his work as a powerful instrument for spreading their opinions. Ten thousand copies of it were struck off in Belfast, and circulated with unceasing industry and perseverance throughout the province of Ulster, while a cheap edition of it was selling in Dublin; and its effects were proportioned to the abilities of the writer.

Such were the measures adopted by a few men, of inconsiderable rank and of no peculiar importance in society, to subvert the exclusive principles, both constitutional and religious, which had for ages characterized the Irish government; and, when the difficulties they encountered are considered, it is almost astonishing that the success of their exertions should ever have entitled them to the historian's notice. In the first place, they had to surmount the prejudices and suspicion of different sects, which length of time and tradition had almost interwoven with their respective creeds. This they hoped to accomplish, and they succeeded to a great degree, by bringing Catholics and Protestants together into societies and familiar intercourse, that mutual knowledge might remove mutual distrust; but the hatred of the lowest order of Catholics and Dissenters was, in many places, still violent and inveterate; so that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the United Irishmen, it was sometimes subsequently fanned into actual hostilities.

In addition to this original difficulty, they were counteracted by the members of the Church Establishment, who, with very few exceptions, were alarmed at the new combination of parties, and endeavored to dissolve it with a zeal

proportioned to their fears. Besides, even those Presbyterian men of property, who had obtained reputation by co-operating with Lord Charlemont, and the Whig interest, cried out against and opposed the visionary wildness of obscure men, who were outstripping them in the career of politics, and rendering insignificant the exertions by which *they* hoped to have signalized their names. Thus abandoned by the rich and the respected, and not yet supported by the poor and despised parts of the community, the societies of United Irishmen were left exposed to the attacks of Government and its adherents from every quarter. The insignificance of their individual members was derided, the sincerity of their principles and professions was denied, and they were charged with harboring concealed designs of republicanism and separation from England. This assertion was subsequently made against them by high authority, and a letter quoted in proof from Tone (the original planner of these societies) to one of his friends, in which he declared himself a decided enemy to British connection. Whether that enmity be deserving of censure or panegyric, it was unquestionably felt by him and by many others; but no design of interfering with the connection was entertained by the bodies at large; nor can it be justly ascribed to them, at that time, whatever changes may have been since produced by the progress of principles, which have swept away all veneration for ancient establishments, merely as such, and substituted in its stead new feelings and opinions.

While these things were going on, the Catholics were likewise soliciting, by their accustomed organ, a relaxation of the penal code. About twenty years before, a committee for conducting their affairs had been instituted with the knowledge and tacit sanction of Government. It consisted of lords and gentlemen of rank and fortune, who sat in their own right, and of delegates from towns and cities. As their business was little more than presenting addresses of congratulation and loyalty to every newly-arrived viceroy, and endeavoring, by humbly suing to his secretary, with occasional petitions to Parliament, to procure some mitigation of the Popery Laws, the constitution of the committee was found fully adequate to all its purposes. Auguring favorably from the progressive liberality of the times, this body in the latter end of 1790, prepared a petition to Parliament, presuming to ask for nothing specific; but merely praying that the case of the Catholics might be taken into consideration. Major Hobart, the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, was waited on with this petition, to implore the countenance and protection of Government; but, liberal as were the times, Government deemed this a season for resisting innovation of every kind, and its protection was refused. The committee were, however, inclined to persevere; but such was the Irish Parliament, that they could not prevail on any one member of that body to bring in their petition!

Another circumstance, too, strongly marked the determination of Government respecting them. In the summer of 1790, Lord Westmoreland, then Lord Lieutenant, visited the South of Ireland. On his arrival at Cork, it was intimated to the Catholics there, that an expression of their loyalty would be acceptable. Accordingly an address of that nature was prepared, which, how-

ever, concluded with a hope that their loyalty would entitle them to some relaxation of the present code. Before its being formally presented, it was submitted to His Excellency, and was returned to them, to strike out the clause which expressed the hope. With a feeling rather natural to men not perfectly broken down by oppression, they refused to strike it out, and declined presenting any address at all.

In the beginning of 1791, the Catholic Committee were again disposed to urge their suit. They deputed twelve of their body to go to the Castle with a list of those laws, and entreat the protection of Government to remove any part of them it thought fit; but more forcibly to mark disapprobation, delegates, who were soliciting on behalf of three millions of people, were dismissed without the civility of an answer!

The patience of the Committee was not yet exhausted. They had been repulsed by the Irish Government; but, perhaps, without the concurrence of its English superiors. Mr. Keogh was, therefore, delegated to London, to make a similar application at the fountainhead. After three months' solicitation, he was informed that no opposition would occur from England to the Irish Catholics being admitted to the profession of the law, to their serving on grand juries, to their being county magistrates and high sheriffs; and, that their admission to the elective franchise should be taken under consideration.

But, in the meantime, the Irish administration appears to have attempted defeating the Catholic application, by working on some members of the Committee, and to have hoped, at least, to draw from it some pledges that it would never connect itself with the United Irishmen. For this purpose, some of the country gentlemen who sat in right of their rank, and who were always the most prominent persons in every humble application at Court, directed by its obvious wishes, perhaps by its secret suggestions, endeavored to induce the Committee to adopt the resolution of seeking no removal of the existing disabilities, but in such manner and extent as to the wisdom, liberality and benevolence of the legislature should seem expedient. This was resisted by others, as a real abandonment of their object, and, on a division in the general Committee, in December, 1791, this last opinion prevailed by a majority of ninety to seventeen. This success, and the account of the exertion that produced it, were received with enthusiasm in the North. Coming from that part of the Catholics which was thought the least likely to resist administration, it was considered as shaking off hereditary aristocracy, and as a convincing proof that the body at large was sincerely determined to coalesce with the Protestant reformers. It, therefore, gave a deep root to the union there, in Dublin, and elsewhere.

These proceedings deserve also to be particularly noticed, as having given birth to the first general discussion of politics by the Irish Catholics in their distinct capacity. The landed gentlemen, who had so long assumed to be the head of that body, could not be easily brought to feel their weakness, or surrender their situation. After having gained a reinforcement, by a very diligent exertion, of fifty-one other names, Lords Fingal, Gormanston and Kenmare,

with the rest of the Sixty-eight, published to the world the resolution that had been negatived in the Committee. It has been alleged in their excuse for this obsequious exertion, that it was procured by the promise of a more extensive relief than was solicited by the Committee. Perhaps they also presumed to hope, that the display of so much strength and importance would silence or confound their not much more numerous opponents. It, however, produced counter resolutions from the Catholics of almost all the counties and principal towns in the kingdom, approving of the conduct of the Committee, and censuring that of the Sixty-eight. In the course of the meetings, where these counter resolutions were passed, the condition of the Catholics was the subject of universal discussion; and thus the sense of their rights, and indignation at their wrongs was exceedingly increased.

On the other hand, the friends of what has since been called the Protestant ascendancy had taken considerable alarm, and declared themselves against the Catholic claims and measures with the utmost violence and passion. As they were almost entirely members of the Established Church, in possession or expectation of all the exclusive benefits derived from their religion, and in general the uniform supporters of administration, they were either actually members of Parliament, or at least more peculiarly connected with that body. This, therefore, will account for the proceedings of the session which commenced on the nineteenth of January, 1792.

1792 On the first night of its meeting, Sir Hercules Langrishe (a confidential servant of Government, but an early and decided enemy to the Popery Laws), gave notice in the House of Commons of his intention to introduce a Bill for the relief of the Catholics, which was accordingly brought in on the fourth of February. It opened to them the Bar, up to the rank of King's Counsel; permitted their intermarriage with Protestants, provided it were celebrated by a Protestant clergyman; but continued the disfranchisement of a Protestant husband from marrying a Popish wife; and subjected a Catholic clergyman, celebrating such intermarriage, to the penalty of *death;* at the same time, declaring the marriage itself null and void. It further gave the Catholics the privilege of teaching school without licence from the ordinary, and permitted them to take two or more apprentices.

Whether this Bill was intended as a reward for the fidelity of the Sixty-eight, or a compliance of some order from the English Cabinet, does not clearly appear; but it certainly was introduced without consulting the Catholic Committee. That body, however, in pursuance of its resolution, and of the decided wishes of those who declared in its favor, prepared a petition, which detailed at large the peculiar hardships of their situation. This Mr. O'Hara attempted to present on the twenty-fifth of January; but he quickly withdrew it, in consequence of some formal objections, and of the hostile temper of the House, very unequivocally manifested by the furious speeches of some members, and the heat and ferment that seemed to agitate the whole. Another petition was substituted a few days after, and presented on the eighteenth of February by Mr. Egan. This last was couched in language the most humble, and simply

entreated the House to take into consideration: "Whether the removal of some of the civil incapacities under which they labored, and the restoration of the petitioners to some share in the elective franchise, which they enjoyed long after the revolution, would not tend to strengthen the Protestant state, add new vigor to industry, and afford protection and happiness to the Catholics of Ireland".

A petition was likewise presented by the inhabitants of Belfast in favor of the Catholic claims. While the sufferers themselves were supplicating partial relief, in terms almost abject, their northern friends, little accustomed to temporize with the passions or prejudices of their opponents, boldly relied on the justice of the application, and asked for a complete repeal of all penal and restrictive laws against the Catholics; so that they might be put on the same footing with their Protestant fellow-subjects. It has been already mentioned that a resolution expressing similar sentiments was withdrawn, lest it should be lost at the preceding celebration of the fourteenth of July in Belfast; but such had been the progress of liberality among the Dissenters, that this unqualified application to Parliament was accompanied by six hundred Protestant signatures.

The House of Commons, however, was not actuated by the same spirit. These petitions were indeed received; but after some days they were taken off the table, on the motion of the Right Hon. David Latouche, and rejected by a very large majority; thereby cementing the already formidable union of sects, and binding the Catholics and Dissenters more closely together by a community of insult.

In the debate on this motion, Mr. Grattan reprobated the bigotry of the Protestant ascendancy, and predicted the final success of the Catholics, by one of those sublime comparisons that peculiarly characterize his eloquence.

> What! never be free? (exclaimed this overwhelming orator). Three millions of your people condemned by their fellow-subjects to an everlasting slavery, in all changes of time, decay of prejudice, increase of knowledge, the fall of papal power, and the establishment of philosophic and moral ascendancy in its place! Never be free! Do you mean to tell the Roman Catholic, it is in vain that you take oaths and declarations of allegiance; it would be in vain even to renounce the spiritual power of the Pope, and become like any other Dissenter, it would make no difference as to your emancipation: go to France: go to America: carry your property, industry, manufacture, and family, to a land of liberty. This is a sentence which requires the power of a god and the malignity of a demon: you are not competent to pronounce it. Believe me, you may as well plant your foot on the earth, and hope by that resistance to stop the diurnal revolution, which advances you to that morning sun, which is to shine alone on the Protestant and Catholic, as you can hope to arrest the progress of that other light, reason and justice, which approaches to liberate the Catholic and liberalize the Protestant. Even now the question is on its way, and making its destined and irresistible progress, which you, with all your authority, will have no power to resist; no more than any other great truth, or any great ordinance of nature, or any law of motion, which mankind is free to contemplate, but cannot resist: there is a justice linked to their cause, and a truth that sets off their application.

Notwithstanding the adverse disposition of Parliament, Sir Hercules

Langrishe's Bill was allowed to pass into a law; but in the debate to which it gave rise, the speakers on both sides of the question, even many of its supporters, who were likewise adherents of Government, vented the most unmeasured abuse against the Catholic Committee, against those who defended it by resolutions and addresses, against the people of Belfast, and the Societies of United Irishmen. Of these last, that of Dublin was attacked with peculiar severity, because it had made itself pre-eminently obnoxious, by several publications of various merits and importance. One of these, "The Digest of the Popery Laws," prepared by the Hon. Simon Butler, an eminent lawyer, and the first chairman of the society, was admirably calculated to promote the cause for which it was written. By merely stripping the statutes of their preamble and recitals, and bringing the enacting clauses together in a simple arrangement, it presented, at one view, such a monstrous mass of tyranny and oppression as shocked almost every reader.

Indeed, although this society appeared to be actuated by the purest principles of patriotism, it had so conducted itself that it did not seem to have gained a single friend in either House of Parliament. The Castle and its followers were such enemies as it must have counted on from its very origin; but their enmity was not more marked than the aversion of the Opposition. This party had formed itself, as already stated, about the time of the regency dispute, into a Whig Club, and had hoped to collect the nation under its standard, by pledging itself to a Bill for preventing placemen and pensioners from sitting in Parliament, with others of a similar nature and equal importance. The members of the Opposition were by no means agreed as to the Catholic claims or a parliamentary reform; although the able and eloquent Mr. Grattan, whose talents, exertions and public estimation deservedly made him the head of the party, together with Mr. Curran and some others, were avowed friends to both. In order, therefore, to preserve the appearance of co-operation and unanimity, the club remained intentionally silent on these two vital questions. Its prudence, however, did not increase its strength; for so entirely had the United Irishmen succeeded in drawing general attention to their own objects, that a place Bill and a pension Bill were considered as petty evasions of more important measures. The candidates for political situation who rested their pretensions on them were despised and derided, and those societies had not been instituted many months before they destroyed the popularity and extinguished the power of the Whig Club. No wonder, then, that the members of Opposition were not their parliamentary advocates, and were in some instances among their most inveterate abusers.

But the effects of the abuse thrown out against the Catholics and their Committee were infinitely more important. The members of that religion had been charged with tenets inimical to good order and government; with harboring pretensions to the forfeited estates of their forefathers; and with wishing to subvert the existing establishment that they might erect a Popish one in its stead. These declarations were denied by a very full and unequivocal declaration from the Committee; which was subsequently subscribed both by

the clergy and laity. It also published the answers of foreign universities to queries proposed at the desire of Mr. Pitt, by the Committee of English Catholics on the same religious opinions attributed to their communion; which in all their answers are explicitly disavowed. The faculty of divinity at Louvain in particular expressed itself "struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives". These measures exceedingly comforted the timid Protestants.

The majority of the Committee had also been stigmatized in Parliament as turbulent and seditious agitators, whose conduct should rather operate to prevent the relief granted to the good demeanor of the Sixty-eight. The petition of the former was said to be only the act of an obscure faction, confined merely to the capital, disavowed by the great mass of the Catholics, ignorant of their sentiments, and incompetent to speak on their behalf.

If it was intended ever to proceed further, by any secondary body, in pursuit of emancipation, this objection of incompetency could no longer be overlooked, urged as it had been with peculiar force, and well-founded as it certainly appeared to be, were the organization only of the Committee considered. The necessity of unequivocally showing, that whatever future application might be made, was conformable to the wishes of the Catholics at large, and, perhaps, also, the desire of shaking off an hereditary aristocracy, which had become odious in consequence of the conduct of the Sixty-eight, determined the Committee to devise a plan, whereby the sentiments of every individual of that persuasion in Ireland should be ascertained. To this it was further impelled, by an assurance which was possibly given under an idea that compliance with the requisite would be impracticable, and which is alluded to in the plan itself, in the following words:

> We have the first authority for asserting, that this application [a petition to the king] will have great weight with our gracious sovereign and with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare that it is the universal wish of *every* Catholic in the Nation.

The necessary unanimity was further promoted by a declaration from the leaders of the Sixty-eight (repentant from the inadequacy of the relief granted to their good demeanor), that they would never again enter into any act to oppose the general Committee, in its endeavors to obtain emancipation.

The plan itself proposed, that electors should be chosen by all the inhabitants of that religion in every parish, and that those electors should, in each county, choose its delegates to the Committee. This manner of conducting the election was most satisfactory to the United Irishmen, who had now begun to maintain universal suffrage, as the only just mode of appointing representatives; and it removed from the Dissenters all remaining apprehensions that the Catholics might be unfit for liberty.

This project for re-organizing the general Committee was at first strongly opposed by the Catholic bishops, who probably foresaw from its accomplishment the annihilation of their own influence in that assembly, as well as the dis-

pleasure it would afford to Government. They strenuously insisted to their flocks that the measure was not only impolitic, but illegal, and imminently dangerous to those who might attempt to carry it into effect. This charge of illegality, which was also made from other quarters, determined the Committee to submit the plan itself to the opinion of two eminent lawyers, whose professional characters might remove all apprehensions or doubt, while the independence and the liberality of their principles would guard against the injurious operation of corrupt influence or religious prejudice. For this purpose they chose the Hon. Simon Butler and Beresford Burston, whose answers being entirely favorable, were printed, and universally dispersed throughout the country. From thenceforward no farther mention was expressly made of the illegality of the measure, and Catholic opposition to it gradually died away.

The proceedings of the Committee were seconded in the strongest manner by Belfast and its neighborhood, at their commemoration meeting on the fourteenth of July. As Volunteer associations had never been totally discontinued in Ulster, that day's immense assembly consisted not only of those with the other inhabitants of the town and the vicinity, but also of a very considerable number of distant Volunteer companies, together with a great concourse from a wide circuit of the North. The objects to be proposed to the meeting having been the subject of a year's general and public discussion, were perfectly well understood by all before their assembling. These objects were to express a decided approbation of the French Revolution, with entire confidence in its success, and to adopt its principles as far as they were applicable to Ireland, through the means of Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform. A number of principal Catholics and others from Dublin attended this meeting by previous agreement, that they might themselves witness the spirit of the North. The resolutions and addresses were carried with acclamation, and the visitors returned satisfied as to the present and sanguine as to the future issue of the popular exertions.

But the agitation which the plan of the General Committee produced throughout the kingdom, during the summer and autumn of 1792, was most extraordinary. Wherever their adversaries were sufficiently strong, corporate or county meetings were held to reprobate the plan, and to resist the exorbitant pretensions of the Catholics; but if defeat, or even formidable resistance was dreaded, similar resolutions were entered into by the grand juries, where success could be easily secured from the mode of their appointment.

These resolutions breathed no common opposition. In general, they charged the Committee with the interests of overawing the legislature; they drew a line of circumvallation round the Protestant ascendancy, and pledged those who adopted them, as solemnly as could be done by words, to resist with their lives and fortunes every attempt to regain a right within its limits. The corporation of Dublin went still further; for, alluding to the possibility of Government's finally acceding to the Catholic claims, it expressly says, that

> The Protestants of Ireland would not be compelled, *by any authority whatever*, to abandon that political situation which their forefathers won with their swords, and which is therefore their birthright.

And to this threatened resistance against the constituted authorities, it solemnly pledged the lives and fortunes of its members. That no doubt might be entertained as to the extent of what it was determined at all hazards to maintain, it gave a definition of Protestant ascendancy in these words:

> A Protestant king of Ireland, a Protestant Parliament, a Protestant hierarchy, *Protestant electors and government*, the benches of justice, the army and the revenue, through all their branches and details, Protestant; and this system supported by a connection with the Protestant realm of England.

What gave to those resolutions a still more important appearance was, that they seemed to be made with the immediate sanction of Government, inasmuch as the most confidential servants of the Crown, and even its *ministers*, stepped forward to give them countenance and support in their respective counties. This authoritative interference on the part of persons high in the administration of the country (such as Mr. Foster, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in the County of Louth, and the Lord Chancellor in the County of Limerick), against a plan, calculated to ascertain an universal wish, formed a very striking and suspicious contrast with the assertion of the Committee, that it had the *first authority* to declare an application would have infinite weight, if it appeared to be the wish of every Catholic in the nation.

The friends of emancipation were not on their parts much less active. The United Irishmen of Dublin and several Catholic bodies, treated with indignation, argument, contempt, severity and ridicule, the pledges and menaces of the opposite party. Those in the capital particularly directed their attention to the circular letters issued by the corporation of that city, and in a pointed declaration denied its assertions and replied to its reasonings. The meeting convened for that purpose was remarkable, among other things, for affording to the Catholics the first public opportunity of exerting their unknown, and almost despised talents. All the speeches on that occasion, but particularly the able, artful and argumentative declamation of Mr. Keogh, the classic and cultivated eloquence of Dr. Ryan, filled their ascendancy opponents with mortification and surprise.

In order to further do away the effects of the grand jury resolutions, and to consider the situation of affairs, a great number of meetings of different towns and districts was likewise held throughout the province of Ulster during the winter of 1792. At all of them it was declared, that a radical reform in the representation of the people was the only remedy for the many existing grievances. Some few, with Londonderry at their head, expressed themselves as favorable to the *gradual* admission of the Catholics into this basis of reform; but the great majority followed the example of Belfast, and declared for the immediate and unqualified extension of the right of suffrage to the whole Catholic body.

These declarations, from different assemblies, having testified some slight disagreement on one of the great questions, it was proposed to call a convention of the province, as had twice before been done, and on one occasion with

marked success. Dungannon, the former place of meeting, and even the fifteenth of February, its anniversary, were deemed auspicious, and were therefore selected. It was also judged fit that the delegates should be appointed on the plan then pursued by the Catholics.

Their elections had been everywhere carried on, even during the heat of the grand jury and county resolutions, with tranquillity, and almost without observation. But the threatened hostilities of the Protestant ascendancy roused a martial spirit in its opponents. The ranks of the old Volunteer corps were filling, and new ones springing up in every part of the North. Vague and obscure notions, that the resistance of those who benefitted by the existing exclusions, together with the tide of political opinions now strongly setting in from France, would cause Ireland to be the theatre of revolution and the seat of war, seemed already to have possessed the minds of many; and the military dispositions and habits of the Irish were not such as to make them shrink from the struggle. Ever since the defection of the Sixty-eight, the Catholics had been kept in constant heat and agitation by political disputes and discussions. They first stepped forward to resist that aristocracy and support their Committee: their attention was then more peculiarly turned inwards upon their disabilities, by those occurrences, and by the debates in Parliament, while their affection was in no respect conciliated by the temper with which these debates were marked. The ensuing summer called forth all their reasoning faculties in their own defence, and excited all their animal feelings by insult, asperity and menace. To them, therefore, the proceedings of the last year had been a continual study of the Rights of Man, and a gradual incitement to assert them. The Dissenters, who never stood in need of much preliminary preparation, contemplated with enthusiasm the progress of the French Revolution, and remembered their own fame in 1782. They saw indeed that their dearest objects, Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform were likely to be resisted, and conceded only to force: but so far from being terrified at the prospect, they rather began to speculate upon the ulterior consequences of the conflict. What those consequences might be, the eventful tenth of August and twenty-first of September seemed to develop. The first of those days dethroned the King of France, and the last of them made that country a republic. But this extraordinary change was far from disagreeable to men who had been republicans in theory ever since the establishment of American independence; or whose minds were now rapidly advancing towards the same principles, almost without their consciousness.

Irish enthusiasm was likewise raised to its highest pitch, by the rapid and surprising victories with which the French, after their first disasters, had signalized the war. Nor was it overawed by the fear of opposition; for the military force in the country was small, and the gentry of more liberal sentiments, but who had kept aloof from fear of shame, were beginning to flock round the popular standard.

Such were the auspicious circumstances under which the Catholic Committee assembled on the third of December, 1792, and its meeting could not

but afford some matter for speculation. The body which had previously held its meetings in Dublin, under the same name, and with the privity and consent of Government, though of no alarming appearance, either from its numbers or importance; and though during almost the whole of its time, religious prejudices seemed at least dormant, did not think proper to make itself an object of any notoriety; so that even its existence was nearly unknown to the greater part of the Protestant community. Now, however, notwithstanding that civil war had been denounced by the ascendancy, and the menace *countenanced at least* by men very high in the government of the country, or enjoying very lucrative places in the administration, this Committee assembled with the utmost publicity: and so imposing was its appearance from numbers and respectability, that its original title was soon merged in the more expressive appellation of The Catholic Convention. To what was this change attributable? To the consciousness of strength which its constituents had acquired, by being repeatedly involved in political discussions; to the increasing liberality and firmness of the Protestants who espoused their cause; but most peculiarly to the unequivocal and energetic support they derived from their former enemies, the Northern Dissenters, by many strong and explicit declarations, together with corresponding military preparations.

The most active Northerns, who had the year before procured a petition from Belfast to Parliament for a complete repeal of the whole Popery Code, now pressed upon those of the Committee with whom they were in habits of communication, that it should also make the same extensive claim. If there had been any difference of opinion, the effectual co-operation which they had always given, would have added infinite weight to their advice. But in truth, the Committee from the very outset seemed perfectly disposed to assert all the rights infringed on by those laws.

It replied in a very dignified style to the different corporation, county and grand jury resolutions, by its vindication. Well knowing the authoritative influence which a royal recommendation would have on both legislative Houses, it prepared a petition to the king, setting forth all the disabilities of the Catholics; praying that he would recommend to his Parliament of Ireland to take into consideration the whole of their situation; and expressing their wish to be restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of their country.

The next question was, how this petition should be forwarded to England. Some were for transmitting it, in the ordinary mode, through the viceroy; and this, Government itself seemed very solicitous to procure. The measure was expressly solicited by Lord Donoughmore, who, with his family, had always espoused the Catholic cause; and who was likewise among the most steady supporters of administration. He waited outside the Hall where the Committee met, to know their determination: he was informed by order of the meeting, that if the Lord Lieutenant would promise to forward the petition, with a recommendation in its favor, it should be intrusted to him. Lord Donoughmore, having carried this communication to the Castle, and returned with an answer that His Excellency could not in his official situation pledge himself to the re-

quired recommendation; a remembrance of the hostile denunciations during the preceding summer, a suspicion of the manner in which they were excited, prevailed, and it was determined that the petition should be presented to the king himself, by deputies of the Committee's own appointment. These were Messrs. Edward Byrne, John Keogh, James Edward Devereux, Christopher Bellew and Sir Thomas French, Bart. They were accompanied by Mr. Tone, who, though a Protestant, had in consequence of his very uncommon talents and exertions in the Catholic cause, been appointed one of the secretaries to the Committee, and the secretary to the delegation.

This Committee was also remarkable for having as one of its members a Protestant and officer in the king's service, Major Edward Sweetman, returned by the County of Wexford, a place since accused of having manifested a spirit of bigotry and intolerance. The representative which it chose proved himself, however, every way worthy of the trust, by his firmness, liberality and splendid talents.

The delegates, on their way through the North, were received at Belfast with the most marked affection. Their horses were taken from their carriages, and they were drawn through the streets by a Presbyterian populace, who wished to mark the sincerity with which they embraced the Catholic cause.

The Volunteer corps were at this time continuing to increase and extend rapidly through the North. In Belfast, particularly, a very numerous town-meeting was held and attended by even the most moderate and opulent inhabitants. Resolutions were there passed, urging in the strongest manner a complete re-establishment of the Volunteer institution, and determining to form a military fund.

While these things were going on, Government seemed to be feeling its way, and hesitating whether it should concede or resist. Its measures accordingly often appeared experimental, embarrassed, and when compared together, the result of contradictory sentiments.

A new military association was forming in Dublin, called the First National Battalion, which unequivocally avowed republican principles by its emblematic device,—a harp without a crown, surmounted by a cap of liberty. As republicanism had not then stricken deep root in the capital, this very avowal served exceedingly to discredit the corps and to prevent its increase. In consequence, therefore, of a proclamation which appeared the eighth of December, and was well known to be directed against that body, under the vague description of seditious associations, it was never able to parade in public, because it was conscious of wanting public support. The proclamation not being generally supposed to allude to the old Volunteers, they, however, still continued to assemble. At a meeting of some of the Dublin corps on the fifteenth of December, thanks were voted to the United Irishmen of that city, for their address of the night before to the Volunteers, calling upon them to resume their arms, stating the necessity of a reform in Parliament, pointing out the advantages that would accrue from a convention's meeting for that purpose, and suggesting the propriety of calling provincial assemblies preparatory to

the national meeting. As this address became a subject of criminal prosecution, the resolution of thanks gave great offence to Government.

A publication having appeared in the "Northern Star", which was deemed libellous, an officer was sent down to arrest the printer and proprietors of that paper, then nineteen in number, and consisting of some of the most popular characters in the town. When the officer arrived there and saw the disposition of its inhabitants, he began to doubt the propriety of executing his warrant, and communicated his opinion to some of the friends of Government on the spot, whose apprehensions rather corresponded with his own. In this state of indecision he remained for many days, waiting ulterior orders; when the nature of his commission having transpired, the proprietors informed the sovereign of the town that if the warrant was legal they would surrender themselves; but if it were otherwise they would forcibly resist its execution. He directly brought them the warrant to satisfy them of its legality, and they submitted to a voluntary arrest. On their arrival in Dublin, as if no opportunity were to be lost of marking the union of sects, they were attended to the chief justice's house by a numerous retinue of Catholic gentlemen of the first importance, and every bail bond was jointly executed by a member of that religion and by a Protestant.

1793 The Catholic delegates having presented their petition at St. James's on the 2d January, the Lord Lieutenant, in his speech from the throne on the tenth, communicated a particular recommendation from His Majesty to take into serious consideration the situation of his Catholic subjects, and relying on the wisdom and liberality of his Parliament. This recommendation seemed to work a rapid change of sentiment in many of those who had before brought forward the counties and grand juries, to pledge their lives and fortunes against any further restoration of rights to their fellow-subjects. In general it was received with a chastened and meek submission; but those who had most signalized themselves by their effusions of Protestant zeal could not so easily subject themselves to the charge of tergiversation. The Lord Chancellor and Dr. Duigenan, as if speaking by concert, each in the House of which he was a member, in the debate on the address, accused the Catholics of having deceived the king by a tissue of the greatest falsehoods and misrepresentations in their petition, and pledged themselves to prove this assertion at the proper period. The chancellor in particular said there was no such legal disabilities as stated in the petition, the laws relating to them having expired or been repealed. These assertions by the highest judicial character in the country were very unceremoniously contradicted by the Catholic subcommittee, which was appointed to act during the adjournment of the General Committee. In two days after the assertion was made, they published a second edition of their petition with notes specifying the different statutes, sections and clauses, on which the alleged falsehoods and misrepresentations were grounded, and this they caused to be distributed to every member of either House of Parliament. His lordship never thought fit to confute their falsehoods or correct their misrepresentations.

Four days after the opening of Parliament, the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Grattan, amended by Mr. Corry (a supporter of administration), unanimously agreed to a committee for enquiring into the state of the representation; and the staunchest courtiers appeared eager to promote the great work of parliamentary reform. The two objects of the United Irishmen seemed now on the point of being peaceably accomplished, and hope took possession of every mind.

Parliament having been understood to sanction the discussion of those two heretofore proscribed subjects, an aggregate meeting of the citizens of Dublin was convened on the twenty-fourth of January to take them into consideration and instruct their representatives. In the resolutions adopted by this meeting the House of Commons was said not to be freely chosen by the people: and that House, as then influenced by places of emolument and pensions, it was alleged, did not speak the sense of the people. These resolutions having appeared in the "Hibernian Journal", the printer was ordered to attend at the bar of that House on the twenty-ninth of January, for a breach of privilege. When questioned as to his defence, he said the resolutions were sent to him authenticated under the signature of Henry Hutton, one of the high sheriffs of the city; and that the sheriff authorized him to say he had signed them, as chairman of the meeting, and was ready to avow the fact if called upon. After a long debate the printer was ordered into custody, where he was kept for a few days and then discharged: but no notice was taken of the sheriff, who was attending, dressed in the insignia of his office, and ready to justify his conduct.

On the twenty-seventh of the same month, when the Goldsmiths' Corps of Volunteers was marching to exercise, as it had been in the habit of doing every week, it was informed by a civil magistrate that its meeting was contrary to the proclamation of the eighth of December, and that he had orders to disperse it, but would not call in the military except in case of refusal. Unprepared and surprised at this totally unexpected application of the proclamation, it declined committing the country.

This proclamation was taken into consideration by the House of Commons on the thirty-first of that month, and it was there stated by Mr. Secretary Hobart, that the Goldsmiths' Company was dispersed because it was one of those which had, on the antecedent fifteenth of December, thanked the United Irishmen; and also because it had sometime in the November before issued a summons entitled "Citizen Soldiers", and dated "last year, would to God it were the last hour of slavery". Which summons, reciting that the delegates of the corps were to assemble to celebrate the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the French victories in the Low Countries, called upon the members of that body to attend. An address of thanks was unanimously voted to the Lord Lieutenant for the proclamation; but Lord Edward Fitzgerald, intending to oppose it, began thus:

I give my most hearty disapprobation to that address, for I do think that the Lord Lieutenant and the majority of this house are the worst subjects the king has.

His words were instantly taken down, and he was ordered to the bar. On his explaining, it was unanimously resolved that his excuse was unsatisfactory and insufficient. The next day, however, an apology that was rumored to be an aggravation of the insult, was received by a great majority.

The inhabitants of Belfast, finding that the king's speech had opened a prospect of success to their Catholic brethren, again petitioned the House of Commons in their favor. Such was the progress of liberality, and this petition was signed by almost two-thirds of the adult male population of the town. But as if to manifest the utmost extent of contempt towards the House, which they alleged had insulted the petitions of the people, and then crouched to a recommendation from the throne, their present was an exact transcript of that which had been rejected the year before. No attempt was made, however, to repeat the indignity.

So far administration and its adherents seemed to fluctuate between concession and resistance. But on the twenty-first of January, Louis the Sixteenth had suffered death, and his execution caused a great revulsion of public sentiment. On the first of February, war was declared between France and England, and the armies of the former were for months after everywhere repulsed and driven within its territories. The affairs of that republic were thought to be rapidly tumbling to ruin, by those who conceived the possibility and entertained the hopes of replacing a Bourbon on the throne. Perhaps these changes in the appearances of a revolution, the influence of which operated powerfully on Ireland, banished indecision from the councils of the Castle. Perhaps, too, the hope occurred to men, who always regarded the union of sects in the combined pursuit of Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform with hatred and dread, that by carefully keeping separate the two questions, an opportunity might arise of breaking the union, which rendered them irresistible; and that by conceding enough to meet the actual necessities of a considerable number of the Catholics, such a temporary content might be produced among them as would destroy their energy in co-operating with the other sect, and would facilitate the subduing of both in detail.

That Government did not wish to do more than meet the actual necessities of such a number of the Catholics, and destroy their co-operation with the Dissenters, seems probable from the following circumstances. While some of the delegates from the Committee were yet in London, the sub-committee, apprehending from private circumstances that it was advisable to make the extent of their wishes fully known to the Irish administration, deputed some of their body to wait on Major Hobart, and acquaint him that the object and expectations of the Catholics were the entire repeal of the Popery Laws. This declaration the secretary received with perfect politeness, but without implicating his responsibility by an indiscreet reply. Some days after, a second interview on the same subject having been judged necessary, the sub-committee feeling that it was called upon to be precise and specific, desired its deputies to read to Mr. Hobart on its part, the same declaration reduced to writing. When this was accordingly done, Mr. Hobart addressed himself to Mr. Keogh,

one of the deputation, and asked, did he not think that if Government went for the elective franchise, and the repeal of the Catholic laws relating to juries, with some minor circumstances then stated, enough would be done. Mr. Keogh replied, that as one of the deputation he could only answer, that it would not content the Catholics, and that there he had no right to deliver any private opinion. "But it is your private opinion I request to know," rejoined the secretary. "Why then", said Mr. Keogh, "if I was to give my private opinion I should say, they are substantial benefits". "It is not in Government's power", directly answered the minister, "to grant more". Some vague discourse was then carried on with others of the deputation, as if it was possible to negotiate on the footing of partial emancipation. When the convention (in substance at least, the same as the foregoing), was reported to the sub-committee, it was exceedingly irritated, and hoping to retrieve what was past, instantly sent a new deputation, consisting of different members to reiterate the declaration in stronger terms: but the secretary had taken his ground.

Accordingly on the seventh of February he obtained leave to bring in a Bill, for giving to the Catholics the elective franchise; the right of being grand and petty jurors in all cases; of endowing a college and schools; of carrying arms if possessed of a certain property qualification; of holding subordinate civil offices; and of being justices of the peace. It also repealed all the remaining penal laws respecting personal property.

The progress of this Bill through Parliament was by no means rapid. It was violently opposed by the ascendancy phalanx. They insisted that yielding to the Catholic claims was incompatible with the constitution and connection between the two countries, and a violation of the coronation oath. "They have done this", replied Mr. Grattan, "when a new enthusiasm has gone forth in the place of religion, much more adverse to kings than popery, and infinitely more prevailing—the spirit of republicanism. At such a time they have chosen to make the Catholics outcasts of a Protestant monarchy, and leave them no option but a republic; such a policy and such arguments tend to make Irish Catholics French republicans." "You are trustees," said he again, "to preserve to Great Britain the physical force of the Catholics of Ireland, and nothing but you can forfeit it—not religion—not the Pope—not the Pretender—but your proscription, which argues that the franchise of the Catholic is incompatible with British connection, and of course teaches the Catholic to argue that British connection is incompatible with Catholic liberty".

In the House of Peers, indeed, the opposition of the Lord Chancellor did not seem so violent and determined as at the first agitation of the question. This very striking change gave an air of credibility to certain rumors then in circulation. It was reported that his lordship had been reminded of his being the first native ever permitted to hold the Irish seals; and that the impropriety of departing from constant usage in his favor would become very manifest if he set himself at the head of any Irish party in opposition to what had been decided on by the English Cabinet. The doctrine to which he owed his elevation was that the government of Ireland should be subordinate to that

of England, and as such was the condition of his appointment, he must concur in the measures of those by whom it was conferred.

The Bill, however, was not only opposed but procrastinated in its different stages, by circumstances that seemed scarcely accidental, and created frequent anxiety and suspense in those who were to profit by its success. While this uncertainty was hanging over their heads, and restraining their exertion for any other political object, Parliament carefully separated the questions of reform and Catholic Emancipation, which the Dissenters and reformers so ardently wished to unite; for it repaired the error it had fallen into through indecision, when it consented to the Committee on the state of the representation. At the first sitting of that Committee on the ninth of February, Mr. Grattan proposed three resolutions, stating:

> That the representation of the people is attended with great and heavy charges in consequence of the elections and returns of the members to serve in parliament, and that said abuses ought to be abolished.
>
> That of three hundred members elected to serve in parliament, the counties and counties of cities and towns, together with the university, return eighty-four members, and that the remaining two hundred and sixteen are returned by boroughs and manors.
>
> That the state of the representation of the people in parliament requires amendment.

In the speech, by which these resolutions were prefaced, he asserted that of three hundred members, above two hundred were returned by individuals; from forty to fifty by ten persons; that several of the boroughs had no resident electors at all; some of them had but one; that on the whole, two-thirds of the representatives in the House of Commons were returned by less than one hundred persons.

The resolutions were opposed by Sir John Parnell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who proposed instead of them, but in the form of an amendment: "That under the present system of representation the privileges of the people, the trade and prosperity of the country have greatly increased, and that if any plan be proposed likely to increase those advantages and not hazard what we already possess, it ought to be taken into the most serious consideration". After a long debate this resolution was carried by a repentant majority of a hundred and fifty-three to seventy-one.

Notwithstanding the inauspicious bodings which were caused by this division, the Ulster convention met at Dungannon on the appointed fifteenth of February. When it was assembled Antrim, Down, Londonderry, Tyrone, Donegal and Monaghan were found to be very fully represented; several districts in Armagh, Fermanagh and Cavan had totally failed to meet, or appoint any delegates. On the whole, however, it was considered a more complete representation of the province than either of the preceding meetings, because the delegates had been chosen directly by the whole people, which was not formerly the case.

In order to prevent any danger from the coming together of violent or factious men, the gentlemen of rank, property and moderate principles, were

anxious to be chosen, and were very successful. This body after a sitting of two days came to a decision in favor of the absolute necessity of a radical reform, including the unqualified and immediate admission of the Catholics. A resolution was also entered into, declaring in very pointed terms the protest of that province against the war with France; another was likewise passed expressing disapprobation of the militia establishment, as tending to supersede the Volunteers.

For, among the strong measures which were proceeding at least *pari passu* with the Catholic Bill, was one for raising sixteen thousand militia in Ireland. An augmentation of five thousand men was also made to the ordinary establishment of twelve thousand regulars. Besides, obviously in order, by preventing the Volunteers from being supplied with arms or ammunition, to strike at their existence, and to throw every practicable impediment in the way of the people's arming, a Bill was passed to prevent the importation of arms and gunpowder into the kingdom, and the removing or keeping of arms or gunpowder without licence. Directly after the assent had been given to this Bill the artillery belonging to the Liberty Corps in Dublin was seized, that of the Merchants' Corps was taken by private agreement, and the lawyers with a public procession gave up theirs. The houses of gunsmiths and others in that city that were suspected as containing concealed arms were searched, and every manifestation given there that the Volunteers were to be no further tolerated than should be agreeable to administration. An Alien Bill was also enacted similar to that adopted in England.

These Bills were agreed to in Parliament with so much readiness on all sides that Opposition could not be charged with clogging the wheels of government. Both parties concurred in the necessity of repressing faction and sedition; while the United Irishmen and their adherents thought that Opposition forfeited all pretence to public confidence, by consenting to such measures, at least before any advance had been made to correct the acknowledged radical vice in the representation.

Sir Lawrence Parsons, indeed, pressed strongly that this reform should be included in the same Bill, and incorporated with the restoration of the Catholic franchise, which he imagined would secure both by uniting the nation in one common interest.

> But sever these measures, said he, and what is the consequence? The minister will think that he has gratified so great a part of the people by the Catholic measure, that he may venture to control the rest; and under this delusion he may crush the reform. And what a multitude of mischiefs the rejection of the reform would produce, it is for you to consider after the public expectation has been so much excited upon it. Or if you say that the Catholics having got franchise would join in calling for reform, true; but what would the minister think? that the Catholics having obtained so much, would abate much in their fervor. He would hope, after he had drawn off by the Catholic Bill so great a portion of discontent, that he might venture for a while to leave the rest to ferment, resolving, however, at his leisure to put a heavy curb on your future exertions.

During this part of the session, another subject occupied the serious atten-

tion of the Upper House of Parliament. Disturbances had broken out, and outrages were committed in the county of Louth, and the neighboring counties of Meath, Cavan and Monaghan, by persons of the very lowest rank in life, associated under the name of Defenders. This body had its origin in religious persecution, and was an almost inevitable consequence of the system, according to which Ulster had been colonized and settled and Ireland ruled since the Reformation. In that province English and Scotch planters had been established on the forfeited lands of the native Catholics. These last were for the most part obliged to retire to the bogs and mountains; but even there they were not permitted to lose the remembrance of their forefathers, their power and opulence, in the tranquil enjoyment of security and content. The bogs and mountains afforded them no refuge against the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy or the accumulated oppression of the Popery Laws. Nor were the wretched inhabitants exempted by their defenceless condition from the hatred, contempt and persecution of their privileged and arrogant neighbors. Hence arose a mutual, rancorous animosity between the new settlers and natives, or in other words between the Protestants and Catholics, transmitted from generation to generation, until at last it became more violent and intolerant than in any other part of Ireland.

The Volunteers by the benign influence of their institution, had for the first time considerably abated this spirit, and by their successful activity as military men in keeping the peace, had prevented its receiving fresh provocation by outrage or insult. But in proportion as that body declined or was discouraged, prejudices and hatred revived, especially in districts remote from the principal Presbyterian towns, where the growing liberality of the most enlightened Dissenters could scarcely operate. These prejudices which, chiefly prevailing in the county of Armagh, extended, less or more, into the adjoining districts of the counties of Down and Tyrone, began to break out into something like open hostility, in the year 1791. About that period, several associations among the lower orders of the Protestants were founded under the appellation of Peep-o'-Day Boys, whose object was to scour the Catholic districts about the break of day, and strip the inhabitants of fire-arms, alleging that they were warranted in so doing by the Popery Laws, which had indeed for a long period forbidden to the members of that communion the use of arms, even for self-defence.

The Catholics, thus exposed and attacked, entered into a counter association called Defenders, which derived its name from the necessity of their situation, and its excuse from the difficulty, or as they stated, the impossibility of obtaining justice against the aggressors. This association, at first local and confined, as much as mutual hatred would allow, to actual self-defence, began in 1792 to spread through the other parts of the kingdom, and not a little to connect itself with more general politics. To this it is said to have been impelled by a harsh, unfounded persecution, which some leading friends of Government did not think it consistent with their characters to carry on in the County of Louth, and which seems to have prepared the way for subsequent disturbances elsewhere.

In proportion as this association extended itself into districts, where no Protestants of inferior rank in life were to be found, and therefore no outrages like those committed by the Peep-o'-Day Boys to be apprehended, it gradually lost its characteristic of being a religious feud, and became in fact an association of the lowest order, particularly for procuring a redress of the grievances of the very lowest orders. Even in the counties where it originated, it ceased to be actuated by religious animosity before the end of 1792, in consequence of the exertions of the early United Irishmen (whose chief endeavors were always directed to reconcile the Protestants and Catholics), together with the influence of some liberal-minded men of both persuasions, and still more from the publications peculiarly adapted to that purpose, which were incessantly circulated through the medium of the "Northern Star"; for by these means the hatred of sects was lulled, until a subsequent period, when it will appear to have been aroused by fresh aggressions.

The Defenders, after their association had changed its type, were bound together by oaths, obviously drawn up by illiterate men, different in different places, but all promising secrecy, and specifying whatever grievance was, in each place, most felt and best understood. Tithes therefore were, in all of them, very prominent. The views of these men were in general far from distinct; although they had a national notion that "something ought to be done for Ireland"; but they were all perfectly convinced that whatever was to be done for themselves or their country could only be accomplished by force of arms. They therefore formed themselves, as far as their knowledge would permit, upon a military system, and in order to procure arms, used to asssemble by night, to take them from the houses of those who they conceived would be eventually their enemies.

They seem to have been entirely without any connection in the upper, or even middling ranks of life, except what has transpired relative to Mr. Napper Tandy. Observing the commotions that were taking place in the County of Louth and its vicinity, and guessing that they were not without some motive and object, he was desirous of penetrating into the secret. He contrived to communicate this wish to some of the Defenders; and as his character was long known to them, they agreed to inform him if he would bind himself to secrecy. To this he consented, and met a party of them at Castlebellingham, where the oath of secrecy was administered. This fact having been discovered by an informer, bills of indictment for felony were found against him with great privacy by the Grand Jury of the County of Louth, where it was hoped he would be easily entrapped, as he was on his way from Dublin, to stand his trial there for having published a libel. Information, however, of his new danger was given him before he reached Dundalk: he therefore absconded, and shortly after left the kingdom.

These disturbances also attracted the attention of the House of Lords early in 1793, and a secret committee was appointed to inquire into their causes, to endeavor to discover their promoters, and to prevent their extension. This committee consisted very much of peers who were avowed enemies to the

Catholic Bill, and had during the preceding summer committed themselves against the meeting of what they emphatically called "the Popish congress".

The secret committee in the course of its proceedings proposed questions, to which it required answers on oath, that might eventually have criminated the persons under examination. As a knowledge of this fact had been obtained by the United Irishmen of Dublin, some of whom had been thus interrogated, they alleged that the researches of the committee were not confined to the professed purpose of its institutions, but directed principally to the discovery of evidence, in support of persecutions, previously commenced, and utterly unconnected with the cause of the tumults it was appointed to investigate. They therefore published a series of observations, calculated to show that the committee had no such right. They distinguished the legislative from the judicial capacity of the House of Lords; denied its right to administer an oath in its legislative capacity; asserted that as a court it was bound by those rules of justice which were obligatory on all other courts, both as to the limits of jurisdiction, and the mode of conducting inquiry; and farther insisted, that these rules deprived it of all right to administer an oath, or exact an answer, in similar cases, or to delegate its judicial authority to a committee.

For this publication, the chairman and secretary of the society, the Honorable Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond, with whose names it was signed, were brought before the House itself on the first of March. They both avowed the publication, and were in consequence sentenced by that assembly to six months' imprisonment, and a fine of £500 was imposed on each. The society was not, however, deterred from espousing their cause. They were sumptuously entertained, as if in defiance of Parliament, during the whole of that time, and their fines paid by the voluntary subscriptions of the United Irishmen.

Well calculated as was the sentence passed on these gentlemen to prevent others from disputing the authority of the committee, yet it did not entirely succeed. Doctor Reynolds, a physician from the North, having been summoned before their lordships, professed his conviction of the truth of the observations published by the United Irishmen, and refused to be examined on oath. He was, therefore, committed and detained a prisoner for near five months, till the expiration of the session; during all which time he experienced the same attentions as were shown to Butler and Bond.

While the report of the secret committee was preparing, lively alarms were excited, and rumors very current through the metropolis that it would implicate many leading members of the Catholic Convention, even to capital punishment, cover the whole of that body with suspicion and odium and hazard, if not defeat, their Bill, which was still only in progress. On the day when the report was expected it was not made; a noble lord, however, sent a confidential and mutual friend to Mr. Sweetman, the secretary of the subcommittee, to inform him, that should it appear, his life would be exceedingly endangered, and the Bill itself run a great risk; but that if he would sign any kind of paper in the form and wording most agreeable to his own feelings,

acknowledging his indiscretion, and expressing his regret at having connected himself with the Defenders, his lordship was authorized to say the report should never see the light, and all difficulties respecting the pending law should be removed. This, Mr. Sweetman peremptorily refused, but offered, in consequence of the subsequent conversation, to call together the sub-committee, that it might receive any proposal his lordship should think fit to make to them. Accordingly, in the course of an hour, they were collected in one room, while his lordship occupied that adjoining. He then offered to them, by means of his friend, the same benefits if they would disavow their secretary. This they also refused. The report appeared the next day.

Its object was to connect the Defenders with all that was obnoxious to the administration, and principally to implicate the General Committee, or at least the sub-committee of the Catholics. This it attempted to do, by inference, from the secrecy and regularity of the Defender system, which it said seemed as if directed by men of superior rank; from the collecting of money to a considerable amount by the voluntary subscription of Catholics, in consequence of a circular letter from the sub-committee, expressing the necessity of raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expenses incurred by the General Committee, in conducting the affairs of their constituents; and lastly, from some letters written by Mr. Sweetman to a gentleman at Dundalk, in which, the report states, that the secretary, in the name of the sub-committee, directed inquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the Defenders then in confinement were accused. One of these letters is given, dated ninth of August, 1792, which mentions that the brother of a person whom the secret committee states to have been committed as a Defender, left town truly disconsolate at not being able to effect something towards the liberation of his kinsman. This chain of circumstantial evidence was strengthened by the assertion, that Mr. Sweetman's correspondent had employed, at a considerable expense, an agent and counsel to act for several persons accused as Defenders. The report, seeming to presume that the money used for that purpose was supplied by the Catholic Committee, and part of the voluntary subscription it had collected, has the candor to state, that nothing appeared before the secret committee which could lead it to believe that the body of the Catholics were concerned in promoting these disturbances, or privy to this application of their money. The secret committee then couples (but only by the insinuation which results from juxtaposition in their report) the Defenders with the Volunteers, the reformers and republicans in the North and in Dublin.

This attack on the organs and adherents of the Catholics, having been generally conceived as aimed in hostility against the Bill then depending for their relief, no time was lost in counteracting its effects. A reply to it appeared almost directly from the sub-committee, and another from the secretary. The defence by the former stated, that while religious quarrels were going on between the Peep-o'-Day Boys and the Defenders, in consequence of personal application from several Protestant gentlemen, three of the committee had an interview in July, 1792, at Rathfryland, in the County of Down,

with above twenty respectable Protestant gentlemen of that neighborhood, who admitted, that in no one instance had the Catholics been the aggressors; but on the contrary, had been repeatedly attacked, even in the solemn offices of their religion and burial of their dead. At this interview it was further stated to have been agreed that the committee should use all its influence with the lower orders of Catholics, to induce them to desist from their meetings, and that the Volunteers should adopt resolutions expressing their determination to protect every man equally, without distinction of party or religion. In order to effectuate this agreement, the General Committee framed a circular address to that district, stating the agreement and the determination of the Volunteers:

> Entreating the lower orders of Catholics to abstain from parade and meetings, and all other measures that might tend to alarm their Protestant brethren; pointing out the embarrassment that would necessarily be thrown in the way of the great Catholic objects, by anything of riot, tumult or disorder; promising to those who should observe the peaceable demeanor recommended by that address, all possible protection, as well as by applications to Government, as by supporting at the common expense, the cause of those who, if attacked in their houses, property or persons, should dutifully appeal to the law of the land for redress, where circumstances might not enable them to seek that protection themselves; but that the General Committee would in no case undertake the defence of any man who should assist in any riotous or disorderly meeting, or should not behave himself soberly, peaceably, and honestly.

The defence further stated that this address and the resolutions of the Volunteers restored peace and harmony to that part of the country, which had been harassed for many years before. It likewise mentioned that the person alluded to in Mr. Sweetman's letter was recommended by that gentleman's commercial correspondent as coming within the description of those whom the committee had promised to support; which, on examining his brother, there was found cause to doubt, and on that account all advice and assistance was refused. The sub-committee then solemnly asserted that this was the only instance of their ever having had any kind of communication with the Defenders. As to the levying of money, it specified the different expenses which had been incurred in pursuing the Catholic claims, and the necessity of voluntary contributions for their discharge. It also denied that any part of them was ever applied to any other purpose. Mr. Sweetman's refutation dwelt on the same topics, and entered into a minute detail of his communications with his commercial correspondent, the gentleman alluded to in the report of the secret committee. Notwithstanding the alarms that had been excited previous to the publication of the report, no attempt was made to proceed against any of the sub-committee or its secretary.

But, about this time a tumult of another nature occurred, which never became an object of parliamentary cognizance; which was stated but imperfectly, even in the "Northern Star", from motives of not very unreasonable apprehension; and which perhaps from a similar cause was scarcely noticed in the Dublin prints. It deserves, however, to be rescued from oblivion, and assigned to its proper place in history. For some days previous to the fifteenth

of March, various movements of the military were made towards Belfast, which were supposed to indicate some extraordinary measure. A train of artillery, consisting of two mortars and two field pieces, was brought to Lisburn, within seven miles of that town, and the inhabitants were also warned from different quarters of some impending mischief. On the fifteenth, at about two o'clock, four troops of the 17th dragoons having arrived in the vicinity by different routes, galloped into the centre of the town from its two opposite extremities with their sabres drawn, as if in full charge. After this singular manner of entering into a place where profound tranquillity prevailed, *where cavalry had never been quartered before, and where none was at that time expected,* they were billeted on the principal taverns.

The inhabitants had not in general risen from their dinners when a most alarming tumult began to take place. The dragoons had issued out from their respective quarters with their sabres drawn, generally in parties of from ten to twenty, under the orders of a sergeant or corporal. They proceeded to attack every person, of every age and sex, who happened to be in the streets and wounded many very severely. They had provided themselves with two or three ladders, upon which they mounted to demolish obnoxious signs, among which was that of Dr. Franklin. This having been made of copper cost them much useless labor with their swords; and the delay it occasioned gave some little opportunity to the inhabitants to recover from their astonishment, and think on their situation. The soldiers proceeded *with a written list* to attack the houses of several individuals who had been long known for their popular principles. They also broke such windows of milliners or haberdashers as contained in them anything green.

This scene lasted until quite dark, when the inhabitants having begun to assemble in groups, and consult together, were preparing to fly to arms. The magistrates and the officers *then* interfered, and shortly put an end to the military outrage. It is worth notice, that during the whole of this transaction, the 55th regiment, at that time in garrison in Belfast, was drawn up under arms within the barracks; but did not interfere until the dragoons had retired, when they were ordered out to line the streets, and prevent any assemblage of the townspeople. So ended the evening of the fifteenth.

The night was spent in anxious alarm, few of the inhabitants went to bed, lest the attack should be renewed. From what occurred next day, however, it is evident that the Volunteers were not remiss during that time in making preparations for defence.

On the morning of the sixteenth the streets were almost deserted. The sovereign, Mr. Bristow (who appears, in this awful dilemma, not to have forgotten the duty he owed to the community), called a meeting of the inhabitants by public notice at the different places of worship. This meeting was so numerously attended that it was held in the open air. The sovereign informed the inhabitants of his having waited upon General White, who commanded in the district, but who had been out of town the night before, and that the general expressed some regret at what had occurred, and was willing

to concert measures for the future peace of the place. The meeting appointed a committee of twenty-one, including all the magistrates, to confer with him on this subject.

Meanwhile the dragoons were manifesting every determination to recommence their proceedings as soon as it should be dark; they were even observed marking the houses of the most obnoxious persons, that had escaped them the night before from their ignorance of the town, to which they were all utter strangers. It was evening before the committee could meet the general: even his sincerity was doubted, for one of the warnings of danger to the town which had been given, and was believed, consisted of an assurance, that he had some time before written to Government, expressing his apprehensions that when he should be committed with Belfast, he should not be able to prevent his soldiers from plundering the town, as the inhabitants were rich, and had a great deal of plate in their houses. But if the general was sincere the discipline of the troops was very questionable; no time was, therefore, to be lost; night was coming on. The Volunteers, to the number of about seven hundred, being all who had arms, repaired as privately as possible to two places of parade, both near the centre of the town. They had also placed a guard in every house where an attack was expected. Several of the neighboring country corps had sent them assurances that they would march to the support of the inhabitants on the first intimation of its being necessary. Thus prepared, and certain of reinforcements, they calmly waited the result of the conference between the committee and the general.

This was for some time prevented from taking place by a demand on the part of General White to be admitted as a member of the committee, he having been shortly before appointed a magistrate of the county. His appointment was made pursuant to the system which administration had even then adopted, of associating into the commission of the peace many military officers, quartered in what it conceived to be unfriendly places. It did so without any regard to habitual residence, to local connections, or fortune, and without any view to their interfering in the ordinary duties of the office, but merely to elude the ancient provisions of the law requiring that the army, whenever called out to act, should be under the direction and control of a civil officer. The general's claim was, therefore, peremptorily refused by the committee, who insisted that by magistrates were meant such as had some stability and property in the county, not ephemeral agents, constituted only because they were military men, for a time stationed in the district. In consequence of this delay, one division of the Volunteers, apprehending that matters would come to extremities, moved from its parade, and took post in the exchange. This General White soon perceived, and sent his aide-de-camp, Captain Bourne, to the sovereign, then presiding at the committee, to demand the keys of the market-house in His Majesty's name, as the Volunteers had taken the strongest position in the town, and he insisted on having the second. Some of the committee, not apprized of the movement of the Volunteers, said it was only a guard which was placed in the exchange. "I know it is not a

guard," replied the aide-de-camp, "I have just examined it by order of General White, and the area is a grove of bayonets. I therefore demand, in the king's name, the keys of the market-house". The sovereign answered that the market-house did not belong to him; that he was then in the midst of the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the town, and would be guided only by them; the keys were therefore withheld.

At length, at about seven o'clock, the committee and the general met. The general demanded that the Volunteers should disperse, as a preliminary to the conference. This was refused by the committee, on the ground that these corps had assembled merely as a precautionary measure of defence, and that when they were satisfied as to the safety of persons and property, their members would immediately repair to their homes. The general complained that he was in an irksome situation, and knew not well what to do. He could not enter into terms which would appear as a compromise, or rather a capitulation on the part of His Majesty's troops; but he would answer for the safety of the town and the discipline of the dragoons. To this it was replied, that if the outrage was merely a mutinous excess of the men, contrary to their orders, it was impossible for the general to answer that it would not again occur; his pressing such responsibility would rather confirm the suspicion that the violence had been sanctioned by authority, and that his absence the night before was not merely accidental: in short, that there was only one way of allaying all apprehensions, and that was to remove the dragoons. To this at length the general acceded, and a written agreement was entered into, wherein he pledged himself publicly and personally, for the safety of the inhabitants during the night, and that the troops should be removed next morning. To this agreement the sovereign signed his name as a witness, and upon its being communicated to the Volunteers, they instantly dispersed. The dragoons were accordingly removed, and not afterwards replaced by any other corps. Whether that agreement was considered, what General White apprehended it would be, a "capitulation on the part of His Majesty's troops", it is not easy to say; but he did not long continue in the command of that district.

That was the last effort of the Volunteers; for shortly afterwards Government expressly commanded that every assemblage of that body should be prevented by military force: and a review of some country corps at Doah, in the County of Antrim, having been previously fixed upon for some few days after, the army was marched out of Belfast, on the very morning of the review, to meet and disperse them. But the Volunteers, having been fortunately apprized of these steps, were able to guard against the melancholy consequences that might have ensued, and entirely avoided assembling.

The Catholic Bill having at last found its way through the forms of Parliament, and received the royal assent, the general committee again met on the twenty-fifth of April. After expressing its thankfulness to the king for his interposition on behalf of its constituents, and voting some substantial and honorable proofs of its gratitude to individuals who had labored in the Catholic cause, it directed its attention towards one of the most degrading

and deleterious consequences of the lately repealed Popery Laws; and appointed a committee to consult, communicate and correspond upon the means of procuring an improved system of education for the Catholic youth of Ireland. The general committee further signalized itself by marking, in its last moments, its attachment to the entirely unaccomplished object for which the Protestant reformers were so anxious. It "most earnestly exhorted the Catholics of Ireland to co-operate with their Protestant brethren, in all legal and constitutional means, to carry into effect that great measure, recognized by the wisdom of Parliament, and so essential to the freedom, happiness and prosperity of Ireland, a reform of the representation of the people in the Commons House". Having done this, it dissolved itself: since, by the restoration of the elective franchise, the Catholics of Ireland were enabled to speak individually the language of freemen, and that they no longer wished to be considered as a distinct body of His Majesty's subjects. Glad as the government was at the quiet dissolution of this committee, it was deeply offended at their valedictory resolution.

Public attention, however, was now occupied by the distresses of traders and manufacturers, particularly in the cotton line, who were reduced to great embarrassments by the first consequences of the war. Their warehouses were overstocked with goods, which they were unable to send to any market; they, therefore, became incompetent to answer the demands for which they were responsible, and the workmen were reduced to the greatest distress for want of employment. The immediate pressure of this calamity was wisely removed, and credit greatly restored by advances from Government, to such persons as could deposit goods to a sufficient amount, or produce equivalent security. The sum of £200,000 was entrusted to the management of commissioners, who granted out of it, to the different claimants, such sums as they judged necessary.

The country was also distracted by risings in many places to resist the execution of the militia law. The people in almost every county opposed the ballotting, and sometimes ventured to resist the regular forces that were brought against them. In the County of Wexford particularly, the insurgents attempted to attack the chief town, in order to liberate some prisoners from the gaol; and in the conflict, Major Vallotin, who commanded the army, was killed. By allowing, however, that enlisted men should be taken, and substitutes found; by making some provision for the families of those who were drawn by lot; but still more by the constant and vigilant interposition of military force, resistance to the measure was gradually subdued.

Another instance of opposition to Government occurred where it was scarcely expected: in the month of June, at the annual meeting of the Synod of Ulster, a body consisting of the whole Dissenting clergy of the North, and the presbytery of Dublin, together with a lay delegate from each parish. Notwithstanding a recent addition to the *regium donum*, supposed to be given to obtain their influence against the union of sects, this body, in its address to the king, expressed its dislike of the war, and its satisfaction at the admission of Catholics to the privileges of the constitution.

Far from the same ungrateful nature was an address with which the Lord Lieutenant was honored by the bishops of the long oppressed and reluctantly enfranchised religion. Their effusion of thankfulness did not confine itself to mere panegyric on his adminstration: it virtually contradicted many of those charges which had been preferred by the laity of the same persuasion. It applauded that spirit of conciliation by which it is said His Excellency's government was eminently characterized, and went, by implication, to sever the union of the sects. Its compliments were not very consistent with the further pursuits of freedom, and its candor was conspicuous in the approval of the manner by which Defenderism had been suppressed, and in deploring that the majority concerned in that unhappy system of infatuation were of their religion. The indignation and astonishment which this address excited among the Catholic laity can be easily conceived. It seemed called for by no particular occasion. It was clandestinely conducted, and even remained a profound secret until after it had been some days delivered. It was a violation of solemn declarations which these very prelates had made from time to time, amounting to the fullest assurances that they would never take a step of a political nature, but in conjunction with the laity. It was also generally considered as an unprincipled coalition with those who exhausted every effort in resisting the claims of the Catholics, and whose intolerance compelled that body to look upon them in no other light than that of enemies. But it was not without an object. The persons to whom the general committee entrusted the formation of a plan for the education of the youth of their religion had made considerable progress. After several meetings in the early part of the summer they had agreed to these general principles: that the plan, while it embraced the Catholic youth, should not exclude those of any other persuasion; that it should depend on the people for its support, and be subject to the joint control of the clergy and laity. They had, by correspondence with different parts of the kingdom, assured themselves that there would be no deficiency of ample resources for carrying it into effect. They had also submitted their general principles to the prelates themselves, the majority of whom expressed the most decided approbation. They had even held meetings with those reverend persons upon the best mode of bringing those principles into action. At one of those meetings, Dr. Reily, the Catholic primate, Dr. Troy, the Archbishop of Dublin, and four others who were present, made very considerable offers of pecuniary aid, more than might have been expected from their limited incomes. Dr. Reily likewise proposed the sketch of a plan nearly as follows: that there should be a grammar school in each diocese, where the lower branches of education should be elementarily taught; that there should be four provincial academies, where such youths as were designed for the Church, for other professions or literary pursuits, should be received from the diocesan schools, instructed in the languages and sciences; lastly, that there should be one grand seminary, in which those who had passed through any of the provincial schools should be entered for the purpose of standing public examinations; such as were destined for the Church, to receive the necessary testi-

monials for their ordination, and such as were otherwise disposed to qualify themselves for degrees, in whatever college they should think fit, which might be authorized by law to confer those dignities.

This outline, with some other material, had been referred to Dr. Ryan, Dr. M'Neven and Mr. Lyons, three gentlemen extremely well qualified for digesting a more detailed plan, and they were actually occupied on the subject. They hoped by its accomplishment to deserve, and probably to acquire to themselves and their fellow-laborers, the gratitude of their countrymen and of posterity, for a wise and comprehensive system of education, which should not only benefit the Catholic body, but also embrace the general civilization of Ireland; which, independent of its direct advantages, might by the force of emulation, awake the established institutions from their present torpor, and perhaps even excite the silent sister of the English universities into something like literary exertion. But while they were indulging their enthusiastic expectations, there is strong reason to believe that the Catholic hierarchy had privately stated these proceedings to Administration, and given it the option either to permit the members of that religion to establish a popular system of education, which might not be conducted entirely to the satisfaction of the Court, or to assist the prelates with its influence and resources to establish another, over which they, having entire control, could so manage as to make it subservient to every purpose which Government might wish to derive from such an institution. On these latter terms a bargain appears to have been concluded, in which the address to His Excellency was to be part of the price for Court protection. Certain it is, that after that address was presented, all co-operation and confidence between the prelates and the laity were destroyed, and the gentlemen who were preparing a popular plan were assured they might desist from their labors, as an arrangement had been made for Catholic education, which should be solely conducted by the bishops, under the auspices of Government and the sanction of Parliament.

The projected system of strong measures was now to be completed by the legislature. The report of the secret committee of the lords, asserted, with a strange confusion of expressions, that the existence of a *self-created, representative* body of any description of the king's subjects, "taking upon itself the government of them, and laying taxes or subscriptions", to be applied at the discretion of that representative body, or of persons deputed by them, was incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity. The Convention Bill was, therefore, brought in and passed; but although it was professed to be calculated solely against such bodies as were described in the report, its title was to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, "under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses to His Majesty or the Parliament." The Bill enacted that all such assemblies should be unlawful; but it had the mercy to declare that His Majesty's subjects might still petition the king or Parliament. A traitorous Correspondence Bill was likewise enacted, conformable to that in England. To preserve the same uniformity, and perhaps also as an equivalent for the sacrifices to which

Opposition had freely consented, a Libel Bill and Place Bill were permitted to pass.

On the nineteenth of July, Mr. George Ponsonby, in the name of his brother, presented a bill for the more equal representation of the people in Parliament. The former gentleman, with his connections, had ever since the regency dispute joined the Opposition; and by their influence, as well as by his own abilities, he had acquired as much consideration and importance as could be conferred by a party, which adhered neither to Government nor the people. The outline of the plan proposed by this bill was, that three representatives should be appointed for each county, and for the cities of Dublin and Cork. With regard to other cities, boroughs, towns or manors, that persons residing within the distance of four miles every way from the centre of each (within such variations as necessity might demand), should have a right to vote for its representatives, if possessed of a ten-pound freehold; that no person admitted to the freedom of any corporation should thereby acquire such a right, unless he were also seized within the city or town corporate, of a five-pound freehold, upon which he or his family resided for a year before the election and admission; that this regulation should not extend to persons acquiring that freedom by birth, marriage, or service; and lastly, that an oath should be taken by every person returned to serve in Parliament, that he had not purchased his seat.

This plan may perhaps not unjustly be considered as flowing from the principle of property qualification, adopted by a society which called itself the Friends of the Constitution, Liberty, and Peace. When the union of Catholics and Dissenters in pursuit of the same objects had succeeded in raising the question of reform from the neglect into which it had fallen after the Convention of 1784, and the force of public opinion was bearing powerfully upon that point, a number of noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank and fortune, with the Duke of Leinster at their head, collecting around them as much as possible the friends of reform in Parliament, in the Whig Club, and at the Bar, formed themselves in the latter end of 1792, into a society under that name. It was expected by its respectability to overawe, and by its moderation to curb, the much more democratic United Irishmen. When it had thus superseded what its partisans termed faction and sedition, it intended to put itself at the head of the people. That its loyalty might be unquestioned, a disavowal of republican principles was made an integral part of its admission test. So long as the Irish ministers were balancing upon their line of conduct, they patronized, as much as was consistent with their characters, this check upon their most formidable opponents, by means of which silent approbation, and of the society's own landed connections, it was enabled to put out some offshoots in other parts of the kingdom. But when reform was to be seriously resisted, the Friends of Peace were not found forward to struggle against the storm, and the society expired of languor, while the United Irishmen were maintaining themselves against denunciations, prosecutions and imprisonments. These last in Dublin had also submitted to public consideration a plan of

parliamentary reform, on the broad base of universal suffrage, for which they were become unequivocal advocates.

In truth, however, by this time all prospect of accomplishing anything on that subject had everywhere disappeared. The hope that had been excited by the unanimous consent of Parliament to go into a committee was disappointed by the rejection of Mr. Grattan's resolutions, and the adoption of Sir John Parnell's amendment; it was completely blasted by the successive adjournments, which defeated every attempt to render the committee's proceedings of any avail; and the presenting of Mr. Ponsonby's bill was rather considered as the formal discharge of a promise long since made, than as a step towards success.

The expression, too, of that spirit which called for reform, was greatly restrained by the coercive measures of Government and Parliament at home, and by the gloomy appearances abroad. France was agitated by the defections of its generals, the insurrections in the West, the contest between the Mountain and the Girondists, and the successful pressure of foreign armies. Even when that country again began to assume an offensive aspect, and determined on the motion of Barrère to rise in mass, the enthusiasm by which it was actuated failed of exciting correspondent demonstrations in Ireland; very much indeed from the effects of domestic terror, but in many cases unquestionably from a contemplation and horror of that beginning system in the French Republic. The professions of atheism and the open mockery of Christianity shocked a people that always cherished and respected religion. The carnage committed by the revolutionary tribunals and the tyranny of the Committee of Public Safety deeply afflicted the lovers of liberty and justice. The assertions boldly made by the anti-reformists and the adherents of government that those outrages were essentially connected with the march of democracy, alarmed the timid, revolted those whose liberal politics were more the result of feeling than of reflection, and even co-operated with the measures of Government, in compelling many of the philosophic reformers to wait in silence a more favorable opportunity, when what had been lost of public reason and public strength should be again restored.

1794 In this state of active outcry on the one part and temporary inaction on the other, Parliament again met on the twenty-first of January, 1794. During this session Opposition in almost every case melted itself down into the common mass of ministerial advocates. The address to His Majesty was unanimously voted without amendment, Mr. Grattan having only broken silence to state his determination to preserve the connection with Great Britain, and to assist her in the war, even if it were more unsuccessful. He afterwards, in the course of the session, introduced a motion relative to an equalization of duties between the two countries, but Mr. Secretary Douglas, having moved the question of adjournment, he declined pressing his own motion, lest it should seem to imply a distraction of sentiment in the House. The Alien and Gunpowder Bills were continued likewise without resistance or comment, and that precedent was afterwards constantly followed.

The only instance where Opposition seemed to assume anything of its former tone was in the debate upon Mr. Ponsonby's reform bill on the fourth of March; but even then that party was particularly careful to mark its abhorrence of democracy, of French principles and universal suffrage. Sir Lawrence Parsons, indeed, very strikingly pointed out what he called the imposture and mockery of the existing representation:

> When the Americans were deliberating, said he, on their new constitution, if any one had got up among them, and had proposed such an institution as our present borough representation, and had said, there is a certain ruin in Virginia, let it send two representatives, to be named by any twelve persons Mr. Washington shall appoint; and there is a certain tree in Pennsylvania; let it send two representatives, to be named by any twelve persons Mr. Franklin shall appoint; and so on—would not the man have been deemed mad who made such a proposition. An institution, then, which any rational set of men upon earth would deem a man mad for having proposed, can it be sound sense in you to retain?

Mr. Grattan, too, among other arguments in support of the plan before the House, asserted that ninety, or, as he believed, about forty individuals, returned a vast majority in the House of Commons:

> Of property, said he, it will be found that those who return that majority (it is I believe two-thirds), have not an annual income of three hundred thousand pounds, while they give and grant above three millions,—that is, the taxes they give are ten times, and the property they tax is infinitely greater than the property they represent.

But his speech was most particularly remarkable for a series of epigrammatic invectives against the United Irishmen of Dublin, their plan of reform, and the principle of universal suffrage.

To this display of what they styled "the highest genius with the lowest ribaldry", they replied in an answer full of argument, and which cannot be refused at least the merit of temper and moderation; but in doing so they made their last public effort. Mr. Hamilton Rowan had been found guilty on the preceding twenty-ninth of January of publishing a seditious libel, by distributing the address of that society to the Volunteers of Ireland, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and a fine of five hundred pounds. Government then felt itself emboldened, after the rejection of Mr. Ponsonby's bill, by a majority of one hundred and forty-two to forty-four, to disperse the only body under its immediate observation, that presumed to brave its power, and persevered in pursuing reform. This Mr. Sheriff Giffard accomplished by its order, and without resistance, in consequence of the general apparent apathy, and of a conviction on the minds of the members themselves, that there now remained no hope of acquiring the object for which they sought, by similar meetings, or by public discussions.

This society from its first formation, had been a mark for the abuse of Government and its adherents. To the perseverance and exertions, however, of the United Irishmen of Dublin, may be attributed much of the change which took place in the public mind in favor of the Catholic claims. Just before the existence of their society the followers of that religion would not be permitted

in an address of loyalty to the viceroy to express a hope of relief; and not a member of Parliament could be found even to present a petition to the legislature, praying that their case might be taken into consideration: yet the institution had not been eighteen months established when, in spite of denunciations of war from the Protestant Ascendancy, and with only the ungracious and constrained assent of the Irish Government, the Popery Laws, the disgrace and scourge of a century, were reduced to a few comparatively insignificant restraints.

A reform in Parliament seemed at one time, too, on the point of being conceded to that spirit, which the same society had been very instrumental in exciting, and was always among the foremost to evince. Whether that spirit be characterized as patriotism and firmness, or as faction or sedition, if all the friends of reform had concurred in displaying as much of it as was shown by the United Irishmen, and had marched *pari passu* with them, there can be no reasonable doubt but that their efforts would have been crowned with complete success. Thus might Ireland, under the vigilant protection and ameliorating cares of a free, regenerated legislature, have emerged from her debasement, poverty and wretchedness; have rapidly risen to importance and opulence, to prosperity and happiness; have escaped her subsequent calamities, her scenes of persecution, desolation, outrage and horror; have still continued a distinct and independent, as she would have been an admired and respected nation.

The present inaction on the part of the people, does not, however, seem to have deluded Parliament into an opinion that coercion had produced conviction in the lower orders, or that the Gunpowder and Convention Bills, with all their consequences, had removed a sense of grievance from the Irish mind. Colonel Blaquiere (as if he had the wildness to suppose that such a motion could be entertained in the assembly he addressed), proposed that every member should send for each of his tenants, who paid him under forty pounds a year, and refund him three shillings in the pound of his last September's rent. There was not a man among them, he said, who in case of commotion could find fifty followers on his estate, perfectly attached to the constitution. He went on, and said the French were meditating something wicked; he inclined to believe it was Ireland they meant to visit—half the nation was attached to them—he would be right if he said more than half. This was reprehended with such an irritation on the part of the House, as sometimes betrays itself in those who are unexpectedly offended by the statement of an undeniable and unwelcome truth. Sir Lawrence Parsons urged Administration to take measures for putting the country into a proper state of defence, by raising and officering independent companies. His importunity on this subject was almost deemed troublesome; but in pressing it on ministers, he told them he thought they were sleeping on a volcano.

And deep and terrible, indeed, was the volcano, which secret discontent was forming, and gradually extending throughout the land. The press had been overawed and subdued; numberless prosecutions had been commenced against

almost every popular publication, but particularly against the "Northern Star". The expectations of the reformers had been blasted, their plans had been defeated, and decisive means had been taken by Government to prevent their being resumed. It became, therefore, necessary to wait for new events, from which might be formed new plans. Nor did such events seem distant; for now the French armies were again emblazoning their cause with success, and hiding in the splendor of their victories, the atrocities of their government. This raised a returning hope, that the crimes and calamities of the moment might pass away from that republic, and the permanent consequences of its revolution still shed a happy influence on Ireland. The utterance of opinions favorable to reform and democracy was prevented in the upper and middling ranks, by the coercion they experienced and by the outcries that were raised against France, against her principles, and from them against liberty itself. But those restraints and reflections scarcely affected the lower orders, in themselves nineteen-twentieths of the population; whose proceedings were unobserved, whose reasonings were confined to their own misery, and whose views were entirely directed to its alleviation. The system of Defenderism, therefore, continued to spread from Ulster into Connaught, Leinster and Munster, privately and uninterruptedly, although its progress was marked in those places by some appearances of assembling and disturbance. The Defenders, likewise, began to entertain an idea, that possibly the French might visit Ireland, and that from thence benefits would result to them and their country; for in some places it was made a part of the oath, and in others well understood, that they should join the French in case of an invasion. There is not, however, any reason to believe that this expectation arose from any communication with France; but only from the strength and ardency of their own wishes. They were also, as yet, unconnected with any persons of information or an higher order. But even these last were not induced by their defeats and disappointments entirely to relinquish their political pursuits: on the contrary, some of them began to resolve on more important measures.

At an earlier period, when the Brissotins had declared war against England, they sent a confidential agent to Ireland, with offers of succor, if it would attempt to liberate and separate itself from their enemy. This gentleman arrived in Dublin sometime in the summer of 1793, with an introduction to Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald. His offers were made known to Messrs. Butler and Bond, then in Newgate, to Mr. Rowan, Dr. Reynolds and some others; but those persons, then so obnoxious to Government, discountenanced the proposal, and it was dropped. Now, however, a similar application was differently received. When the Committee of Public Safety came into power they employed the Reverend William Jackson, who had been for some years resident in France, to go to England and Ireland for the purpose, among other things, of getting accurate information of the state of each. In London he contrived to obtain a paper descriptive of the state of England, which asserted that all parties would unite to repel an invasion. He then determined to proceed to Dublin; but first made Mr. Cockayne (an attorney who had been

his acquaintance for many years), privy to his mission. Mr. Cockayne directly communicated the intelligence to the English ministry, and was ordered to contrive that he might be Mr. Jackson's travelling-companion, and a vigilant reporter of his proceedings. They accordingly set out together, about April, 1794, for Dublin, when they accidently met a gentleman, who had known Mr. Cockayne in London, and, of course, invited him and his fellow-traveller to dinner. The company consisted of men whose principles were democratic, and the conversation was consequently of that cast. By means of an acquaintance which Mr. Jackson there formed with Mr. Lewines, and by some intimation of his not being an unimportant character, he contrived to be introduced to Mr. Hamilton Rowan, then in Newgate, and by him to Mr. Tone and Dr. Reynolds. To them he communicated the motives of his journey, and showed them the paper he had procured in England. This caused Mr. Tone to draw up, for the purpose also of being sent to France, a succinct and forcible statement of what he conceived to be the actual situation of Ireland. He divided its population into religious and political classes, of each of which he pointed out the strength, interests, dispositions and grievances, together with the effect that would be produced on each by an invasion.

> In a word, concluded he, from reason, reflection, interest, prejudice, the spirit of change, the misery of the great bulk of the nation, and above all, the hatred of the English name, resulting from the tyranny of near seven centuries, there seems to be little doubt but an invasion in sufficient force would be supported by the people. There is scarcely any army in the country, and the militia, the bulk of whom are Catholics, would to a moral certainty refuse to act, if they saw such a force as they could look to, for support.

Mr. Jackson was so pleased with this paper and its author, that he pressed him very strongly to go to France, and enforce in person its contents; promising him the utmost success, both as a public and private man. At first Mr. Tone agreed to this proposal; but afterwards declined it, on account of his wife and children. Mr. Rowan then suggested that Dr. Reynolds should go on the same mission, which he was not unwilling to do, but was discountenanced by Mr. Jackson, who wished it to be undertaken by no other person but Tone, of whose consent he had not entirely despaired. While this was going on, Government was minutely informed of every particular by the intervention of Cockayne; and having intercepted some of Jackson's letters, enough to form a body of evidence against him, he was arrested the latter end of April. Dr. Reynolds shortly after got privately to America. Mr. Rowan escaped from Newgate on the night of the first of May, and was conveyed on board a small vessel in Dublin harbor, that had been secured for him by a friend. A proclamation was directly issued by Government, offering £1,000 reward for his apprehension, and another by the corporation of Dublin, from whose gaol he had escaped, offering £500 for the same purpose. The sailors of the ship in which he was concealed, knowing whom they had on board, showed him the two proclamations, to which he answered: "Lads, my life is in your hands", and made them fully acquainted with the cause of his

danger and flight. They instantly assured him they never would betray, but would protect him to the last extremity. Accordingly, on the first change of wind, they put to sea, and landed him safely in France. Tone, on the other hand, made no attempt at concealment or escape. It was not at first ascertained that Cockayne was an informer, and even after he had reason to be otherwise convinced, he persuaded himself that no more could be proved against him, than misprision of treason, in concealing a solicitation to go to France, which he had rejected. In this opinion he was probably mistaken, but the point was never tried, owing to the interposition of private friendship. Mr. Marcus Beresford and others, whose government connections were of the first importance, interested themselves zealously and successfully, to screen him from prosecution. Attempts, however, were made to induce him, by threats and offers, to appear against his associates; but this he rejected with indignation. He communicated unequivocally to the servants of the Crown, everything he had done himself; but refused to disclose what might affect others; and added, that if he was left unmolested, it was his intention, as soon as he could settle his affairs, and receive payment of the £1500 that had been voted him by the Catholic Committee, to quit Ireland; that if, however, Government chose to prevent his doing so, it might arrest him, and if he was put upon trial, he would justify his political conduct. The influence of his friends, with perhaps his own firmness, prevailed, and he remained undisturbed.

The arrest of Jackson, and the publication of his designs, conveyed no unwelcome information to the body of the Irish people. From thence they derived the first authentic intelligence, that their situation was an object of attention to France, and that they might perhaps, at some future period, receive assistance from that quarter. These expectations were cherished with the more ardor, on account of the surprising victories of the Republican armies in the summer of 1794, and not a little sweetened by the fall of Robespierre, and the consequent hope, that the reign of terror and cruelty was about to cease.

In the sullen broodings also of secret discontent, republicanism and the desire of separation from England, found powerful auxiliaries. Men, whose moderate principles and limited views had been bounded by reform thought they read in the proscription of Parliament, and the obstinacy of the borough proprietors, that reform was equally difficult of attainment as revolution; and that the connection with England was the firmest bulwark of the abuses they sought to overthrow. From hence they inferred that everything must be hazarded before anything could be gained. Some, undoubtedly, were driven by the force of this conclusion to rally round the ministerial standard; but the immense majority, even of simple reformers, were rather impelled by it to aim at more important objects. Nothing, not even a reform, they imagined could be accomplished without foreign succors, incompetent as they deemed themselves to cope with England and the aristocracy at home. No nation, however, could be expected to give effectual aid, unless the end proposed to it was, in point of interest, equivalent to the risk. A reform in the Irish Parliament was not that equivalent to any foreign State; but the weakening

of England, by destroying its connection with Ireland, was of supreme importance, as they thought, to every maritime power. This train of reasoning was further strengthened in men of more democratic principles, by a conviction of the superior excellence of a republican government. Reform and a republic, said they, are surrounded with equal difficulties, if only the internal strength of the Irish people be considered; but the most valuable of these objects is by much the most attainable, if reference be had to the chance of foreign assistance.

No steps, however, were at this time taken for action, or even for preparation; but all parties were speculating upon some change, in consequence of the French successes. There were persons, indeed, who began to think, that after the experience of failure from the abandonment by leaders in 1784, and after, perhaps, a subsequent experience in 1793, the only sure plan would be, to make the mass of the people act; they never would betray themselves; nor be satisfied with anything short of what their own wants required. Besides, as the remnants of religious animosity were still chiefly to be found in the lower orders, it was hoped that by bringing together those of that description, though of different sects, they might soon learn the identity of their views and interests, and as ardently love, as for centuries past they and their ancestors had feared, each other.

These ideas seemed to influence one of the three societies of United Irishmen that had been formed in Belfast; which having escaped from observation by the obscurity of its members, had never entirely discontinued its sittings; and also another club of men, principally in the same sphere of life, some of whom had indeed been United Irishmen; but others never were. As there was scarcely a possibility of assembling in public, or of openly expressing their political sentiments, they wished to devise other means, and determined, as far as in their power, to influence the Friends of Liberty to come together again, and institute a system of secret association; this they soon in part accomplished. Instead of the United Irish test an oath mostly copied from it was adopted; but the substance was so altered as to correspond with the progress of opinions. It did not, like the test, simply bind to the use of abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in Parliament; but every member was sworn to "persevere in his endeavors to obtain an equal, full and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland", thus leaving ample room for the efforts of republicanism. Secrecy and mutual confidence were also necessary, and the laws, which stood in the way of the pursuits and objects of these societies, were to be disarmed of their terrors. For this purpose it was made part of the admission oath, that neither hopes nor fears, rewards nor punishments, should ever induce the person taking it, directly or indirectly, to inform or give evidence against any member of those societies, for any act or expression pursuant to the spirit of the obligation; thus stamping as a perjurer the man who should become an informer; attaching an additional sense of moral guilt to a dereliction of their cause, and destroying all regard of those recently-

made laws, which they said were enacted by a government it was criminal to support.

This plan was adopted, and the new test was taken by the two Belfast clubs; several others were also organized in that town and its vicinity, during the autumn and winter of 1794. As the name of United Irishmen was dear to the people, from the obloquies which had been cast upon them by the friends of Government; and as it so well expressed their own intentions, the title of that body was adopted for the new associations; and this identity of name has generally led into an erroneous belief, that the new system was only a direct continuation of the old one.

It has been already hinted, and can not be too forcibly impressed on the reflecting reader, that this institution, which from its very outset, looked towards a republican government, founded on the broadest principles of religious liberty and equal rights; that this institution, the consequences of which are yet to be read in the history of Ireland, was not the cabal of ambitious leaders, of artful intriguers, or speculative enthusiasts. Its first traces are to be found among mechanics, petty shop-keepers and farmers, who wanted a practical engine, by which the power and exertions of men like themselves, might be most effectually combined and employed; accordingly the scheme was calculated to embrace the lower orders, and in fact to make every man a politician. From the base of society it gradually ascended, first to the middling and then to the more opulent ranks. Even in the very town where it had its origin, its existence was for a long time unknown to the generality of those who had previously been the most prominent democratic characters; nor did they enter into the organization until they saw how extensively it included those below them.

While this system was making its advances silently but rapidly in the North, a change took place in the lieutenancy of Ireland. When Mr. Pitt thought it advisable to dismember the English Opposition, by detaching from it those whose opinions on the subject of the French war most nearly coincided with his own, the Duke of Portland was prevailed upon to enter the Cabinet, by such offers as can be best inferred from Lord Fitzwilliam's letters to Lord Carlisle, which have been published by the authority of the writer. These offers are sufficiently expressed in the following passages:

> When the Duke of Portland and his friends were to be *enticed* into a coalition with Mr. Pitt's administration, it was necessary to hold out such *lures*, as would make the coalition palatable. If the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered to His Grace, that coalition could never have taken place.

The superintendence of that country having been vested in the duke, he seems to have been seriously intent on remedying some of the vices in its government. The system of that government, he said, was execrable; so execrable as to threaten not only Ireland with the greatest misfortune, but ultimately the empire. So strong was this opinion on his mind, that he seemed determined on going himself to reform those manifold abuses; if he

could not find some one in whom he might have the most unbounded confidence, to undertake the arduous task. Such a person he found in Lord Fitzwilliam, his second self, his nearest and dearest friend. That nobleman was far from desirous of undertaking the herculean office; but he was urgently pressed and persuaded by the Duke of Portland. They both had connections and political friends in Ireland, members of the Opposition, whom they wished to consult on the future arrangements, and whose support Lord Fitzwilliam conceived of indispensable importance. Mr. Grattan, Mr. William Ponsonby, Mr. Denis Bowes Daly, and other members of that party, were, therefore, invited to London. They held frequent consultations with the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam, at which Mr. Edmund Burke also occasionally assisted.

As they had, during the preceding session of Parliament, even under the unpopular administration of Lord Westmoreland, expressed their approbation of the war, and assented to the strong measures of Government, they were very ready to join with the Duke of Portland in rallying under the standard of Mr. Pitt, provided certain domestic stipulations were acceded to, from which they hoped to secure some share of public confidence. Among these were unqualified Catholic Emancipation, the dismissal of what was called the Beresford faction, with adequate regulations for preventing embezzlement, and for securing order and economy in the collection and administration of the treasury and revenue. Mr. Burke also suggested a further measure of liberality, flowing to the Catholics from Government itself. They, he asserted, were far from being conciliated even by the partial repeal of the Popery Laws in 1793; inasmuch as Administration, while it acceded to the law, showed dislike to its relief, by avoiding as much as possible to act under its provisions; although it rendered them admissible to certain offices, no appointment had been made which realized to any individual the benefits it promised. He, therefore, advised that those places should, in some ascertained proportion, be conferred on Catholics, so as to bind more closely the members of that communion to the State.

These consultations lasted for some months, and when the Opposition leaders had determined upon their project, it was communicated to the British Cabinet, as containing the terms upon which they were willing to take a share in the Irish Government. Mr. Pitt wished, and indeed tried to obtain, that some of those measures should be at least delayed in the execution for a season; but Mr. Grattan and his friends insisted that they should be brought forward the very first session, in order to give *éclat* to the commencement of their administration. In the propriety of this demand the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred, and even Mr. Pitt himself, *who had previously kept in the background, and avoided personal communication with Lord Fitzwilliam's friends, was present at some of the latter interviews, and certainly did not prevent its being believed that he acquiesced in those demands, with which it was impossible to doubt his being acquainted.* The members of the Opposition had no great experience of cabinets; they conceived that they were entering into

honorable engagements, in which everything that was allowed to be understood, was equally binding on whatever was absolutely expressed. They rested satisfied that their stipulations were known and acceded to; they neglected to get them formally signed and ratified, or reduced to the shape of an instrument from the British Cabinet to the viceroy; they put them unsuspectingly in their pockets, and set off to become ministers in Ireland. Dr. Hussey, too, an Irishman and a Catholic ecclesiastic, who, it is said, had more than once been entrusted with important missions by English administrations, was sent over by the Cabinet, to superintend and frame a plan for the education of the Irish clergy, in coincidence, it was supposed, with the other benefits intended for the members of that religion.

Mr. Grattan and his colleagues were scarcely arrived when, finding that public expectation, particularly on the Catholic question, had been awakened by the negotiations in England, and by Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment, they determined to begin without delay the system of conciliation, for which, as they conceived, they had received sufficient authority. It was therefore communicated so early as the fifteenth of December to some of the most active members of the late Catholic Committee, that Lord Fitzwilliam had full powers to consent to the removal of all remaining disabilities; but that, as opposition to that measure was naturally to be expected from the Protestant Ascendancy, it behooved the Catholics to be active in their own cause, and to be prepared with petitions from all quarters. This intimation overcame a resolution formed by very many of that persuasion, that they would never again consent to meet as a distinct body. On the twenty-third, the former sub-committee, therefore, advised the Catholics to petition in their different counties and districts, for the entire restoration of their rights.

1795 Lord Fitzwilliam arrived and assumed his office on the fifth of January, 1795. As experience had shown how much reputation might be hazarded by ministerial coalitions, the friends of His Excellency deemed it advisable to counteract the suspicions which his and their novel connections might inspire; they therefore let it be known that he came to reverse the system of internal misrule, under which Ireland had been previously oppressed. To this assertion instant belief was given, when it was understood whom he had called to his councils, and whom he was inclined to repel from his presence. Mr. Grattan, Mr. Curran and the Ponsonby family were, of late, pledged to the utmost extent of Catholic Emancipation, and, to a certain measure at least, of parliamentary reform. An expectation of something beneficial was, therefore, entertained from an administration in which they were to be conspicuous; but as the instability of political characters had been too often proved, more sanguine confidence was excited by the rumored intention to disgrace and dismiss such men as Lord Clare, Mr. Beresford, Messrs. Wolfe and Toler. The complete repeal of all the remaining Popery Laws was considered as essentially connected with this change, and some even ventured to hope for more important public benefits.

The appointment, therefore, of His Excellency excited a lively interest, and

gave universal satisfaction to those Catholics, Dissenters and liberal members of the Establishment, who as yet had not turned their eyes towards republicanism and separation from England; or having done so, had not fixed their views so steadily, as not to permit them to be diverted by minor considerations. The determined republicans, however, and members of the new organization, while they favored the demonstrations of pleasure, because some internal, temporary alleviations might be gained, regarded the appointment as a mere change of ephemeral politics, which would serve to agitate the ambitious and interest the unthinking, but the importance of which was soon to vanish before the mightier objects, that were rising to occupy the Irish mind. These men also deemed the administration itself eminently suspicious; because it designed, as they alleged, by the popularity of partial measures, to turn public attention from more real grievances, and to excite if possible, a general approbation of the war with France.

Lord Fitzwilliam had scarcely assumed the reins of government, when he perceived the irresistible propriety of conceding all the rights peculiarly withheld from the Catholics. He was waited upon by a very numerous and respectable assemblage of that body, with an address expressive of their satisfaction at His Excellency's appointment, and at his taking to his councils men who enjoyed the confidence of the nation, and hoping that, under his administration, an end would be put to all religious distinctions. An interview of congratulation was likewise had with Lord Milton, the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, in which he recommended the most peaceable demeanor and good conduct to all ranks; but mentioned that, whatever steps the Catholics meant to pursue, he trusted they were such as would meet the approbation and support of the whole body. On the very third day after His Excellency's arrival he wrote to the British Secretary of State, declaring his sentiments on the subject of their claims; and his expressions are remarkable, because they clearly show, not only his own urgency, but also an apprehension that he might be thwarted in one of his favorite schemes, to the execution of which he seems conscious he had not gotten an unqualified or willing consent. *He trembled,* he said, about the Catholic question; he stated that he found it already in agitation, and concluded by giving his own opinion of the absolute necessity of the concession, as a matter not only wise, but essential to the public tranquillity. That letter went by the same mail as one of the preceding day, relative to the removal of Messrs. Wolfe and Toler, the attorney- and solicitor-general. The Duke of Portland, however, in his reply of the thirteenth, made an ominous selection of topics; he omitted saying a word on the Catholic question, but informed His Excellency that His Majesty consented to Mr. Wolfe's peerage. This letter was far from satisfactory. Lord Fitzwilliam, therefore, on the fifteenth, again urged the matter still more forcibly; he stated that, from the circumstances of the case, no time was to be lost, and added that if he received no *peremptory* instructions to the contrary, he would acquiesce. In that letter he also mentioned the necessisty of dismissing the Beresfords.

Before those peremptory instructions arrived, Parliament met on the

twenty-second of January. Mr. Grattan moved the address to His Majesty, and his speech on that occasion developed enough of the new system of government to confirm the suspicions of the republicans, and considerably to impair its popularity with the mass of the people. He declaimed against the French, with the utmost force of invective, and hurried by his zeal to hyperbole, almost to blasphemy, he said the objects at stake in the war were the creature and his Creator, man and the Godhead; as if the Almighty were to be hurled from heaven and deprived of His omnipotence by the success of the French Republic.

In one respect, however, his speech was admirably calculated for its object. Supplies to an unprecedented amount were wanting; and *they* are voted by Parliament, not by the people; it therefore dwelt on the topics that were most likely, by agitating the passions and exciting the fears of members of Parliament, to open the purse-strings of the nation.

"You know enough", said he, "of levels of Europe to forsee that that great ocean, that inundation of barbarity, that desolation of infidelity, that dissolution of government, and that sea of arms, if it swells over the continent, must visit our coast"; and again speaking of Great Britain, "vulnerable in Flanders, vulnerable in Holland, she is mortal here [in Ireland]—Here will be the engines of war, the arsenal of the French artillery, the station of the French navy, and through this wasted and disembowelled land, will be poured the fiery contents of their artillery".

Mr. Duquery proposed an amendment to the address, imploring His Majesty to take the earliest opportunity of concluding a peace with France, and not let the form of government in that country be an impediment to that great and desirable object. This was negatived, and the address agreed to with only three dissenting votes.

On the twenty-fourth of January, no peremptory instructions having yet arrived, Mr. Grattan presented a petition from the Catholics of Dublin, praying to be restored to a full enjoyment of the blessings of the constitution, by a repeal of all the penal and restrictive laws affecting the Catholics of Ireland. Petitions couched in the same terms now poured in from every part of the kingdom; no serious opposition to the measure was expected. Parliament seemed at length ready to render justice with an unsparing hand; the Protestants nowhere raised a murmur of dissatisfaction, and a petition in favor of this expected liberality, was once more presented by the indefatigable town of Belfast.

Meanwhile, constant correspondences were going on between the governments of the two countries. Though Lord Fitzwilliam declared on the fifteenth of January that he would acquiesce in complete Catholic Emancipation, unless he should receive peremptory instructions to the contrary, the subject was not even touched on in either of the Duke of Portland's letters prior to the second of February; on that day he received another, silent like those that preceded it on that subject, and merely relating to the intended dismissal of Mr. Wolfe. Lord Milton, His Excellency's secretary, also received one of the same date from Mr. Wyndham, mentioning Mr. Pitt's reluctance to the

removal of Mr. Beresford, but nothing more. This last now appears to have grown into a subject of some importance, for on the ninth Mr. Pitt himself wrote to Lord Fitzwilliam, expostulating on the intended dismissal of Mr. Beresford, but still silent on the less material Catholic question; Mr. Pitt, however, concluded with an apology "for interrupting His Lordship's attention from the many important considerations of a different nature, to which all their minds ought to be directed".

The Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam's "nearest and dearest friend", was the person appointed to break the unwelcome intelligence that, notwithstanding the length to which the Irish Government was pledged to the Catholics, its steps must be retraced. In a letter of an earlier date by a day than Mr. Pitt's, he brought that business "for the first time into play, as a question of any doubt or difficulty with the British cabinet".

"Then", says Lord Fitzwilliam, in his letter to Lord Carlisle, "it appears to have been discovered that the deferring it would be not merely an expediency or thing to be desired for the present, but the means of doing a greater good to the British empire, than it has been capable of receiving since the revolution, or at least *since the union*".

His Excellency, in his reply to this unexpected communication, set forth the danger of retracting, and refused "to be the person to raise a flame, which nothing but the force of arms could keep down".

The business of Parliament, however, was still proceeding, and the budget opened on the ninth of February. Before entering on the preparatory statements, Sir Lawrence Parsons rose, and, after expressing the highest confidence in the noble lord at the head of the government of the country, and in the administration, who aided his councils, wished, on the part of the people, to be explicitly informed whether the gentlemen now in power were determined:

To carry into effect those measures they so repeatedly and ably proposed when in opposition—whether the repeal of the Convention Bill—whether the abolition of sinecure places, which they had inveighed against—whether the disqualification of placemen from sitting in Parliament, which they had branded with corruption—whether a reform in Parliament, which they had deemed indispensably necessary, or an equalization of commercial benefits between both kingdoms, which they had insisted to be just, were now meant to be carried into effect.

To these questions Mr. Grattan replied in general terms:

The honorable member has asked whether the same principles which were formerly professed by certain gentlemen, with whom I have the honor of acting, were to be the ruling principles at present in his majesty's councils? To that I answer, they certainly are.

This answer not appearing sufficiently specific, Sir Lawrence again asked:

"Whether it was their determination to carry a repeal of the Convention Bill? whether they meant to carry the Reform Bill?" He further desired to know "whether the places that had been created for corrupt purposes during the close of Lord Buckingham's government were to cease? whether the trade between Great Britain and Ireland was to continue on its old footing, or to be reduced to a system of justice and perfect equality?"

These were plain questions, he said, which were easily answered. He professed himself willing to co-operate in supporting the war in the most vigorous manner; but while Parliament called upon the purse of the nation, he thought it their duty to remunerate the people by constitutional benefits. He did not press for particular information; his questions went only to general measures. On the subject of them, the gentleman upon whom he called had frequently gone so far as to produce bills, and in a quarter of an hour preparation might be made to bring them forward. It would be consolatory to the people to know, before the supplies were granted, that a redress of grievances was to follow. These gentlemen he had heard say of the Convention Bill, "that it struck at the root of every free constitution in the world". If that were true, and that it were such an enormity, it ought not to be continued an infection in ours. He concluded with repeating his respect for, and confidence in Administration. Mr. Grattan, after a considerable debate had taken place, during which he had ample time for reflecting within himself, and consulting his colleagues, answered those specific questions in these words:

> To mention every particular bill is unusual—it would be presumptuous. Influence, however it may be possessed, ought never to be avowed by a minister in the face of Parliament. What has fallen from the honorable baronet, however, induces me to say, and I am authorized to mention for the gentlemen with whom I have the honor to act, that the same principles which we professed while in Opposition, continue to govern our conduct now, and that we shall endeavor to the utmost of our power to give them effect.

In a subsequent part of the debate, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby (who had introduced the Reform Bill the year before) said:

> He held it right to notice some expressions that had been thrown out in the course of the night, in order to sound whether the gentlemen who possessed the confidence of Administration, were determined to persevere in the same line of conduct which they observed while out of office, and to endeavor for a redress of grievances. For his own part he believed and trusted they would go as far as possible to reform abuses, to obviate popular complaints, and he should only say, that if not convinced that they were of the same sentiments with himself, they should never have his support.

These replies to specific questions, answering, by something more than implication, in the affirmative, had perhaps no influence on the conduct of a Parliament, the members of which knew each other so intimately and thoroughly; but they contributed very much to give confidence in the Fitzwilliam administration out of that assembly, and to induce a patient acquiescence in the unprecedented grant of one million six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, additional debt, and eighty thousand pounds, as estimated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, as estimated by Sir Lawrence Parsons, of additional taxes.

When the Duke of Portland's letter of the eighth was not yet perhaps known to Mr. Grattan, he proceeded to carry into effect the conciliatory measures for which he conceived that he and his friends had stipulated with the British Cabinet. Accordingly on the twelfth of February, he obtained leave

to bring in a bill for repealing the police laws, which were extremely obnoxious to the citizens of Dublin, and against which every parish in that city had recently petitioned. He then likewise obtained leave to bring in the Catholic Bill, which was only resisted by Colonel Blaquiere, Mr. Ogle and Dr. Duigenan. On the same night, in pursuance of the same plan, it was announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that a new arrangement would be made of the duties on beer and spirits, the object of which was restraint in the abuse of spirituous liquors among the lower orders, and the substitute of a wholesome and nourishing beverage for a liquid poison. He also stated, that a new arrangement of the hearth tax would form part of the financial system. The session before, an attempt had been made to ease poor housekeepers of this burthensome tax; but such perplexing formalities had been established, that many people had continued to pay the tax, rather than take the necessary trouble for procuring the remission; this year, it was determined to exempt, absolutely and unconditionally, all houses having but one hearth. The tax, however, upon leather was continued from the preceding session, although it was strongly resisted, as oppressive to the poor, by Mr. Duquery, who suggested, in lieu of it, two shillings in the pound on all pensions, salaries, fees, perquisites, etc. This conduct was pointedly reprobated both by Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan; by the latter, with an irritation such as he has more than once manifested, during his short connections with the Government. Mr. Duquery, however, continued his opposition, and on a subsequent night proposed, as a commutation, a tax on absentees, which was supported by Sir Lawrence Parsons, but rejected by the House.

On the twenty-third of February, the new Administration brought forward their proposed regulations of the treasury board. Lord Milton obtained leave to introduce a bill on that subject, founded on some resolutions proposed by Mr. Forbes, the scope of which was, to give to the Irish board an equally efficient control with that possessed by the Board of Treasury in England; to compel the payment of balances by public officers, to exclude the commissioners of the treasury from sitting in Parliament; to establish in correspondent officers the mutual checks and control with which the auditor, clerk of the rolls and teller of the exchequer in England are vested; and that all money arising from the receipt of the revenues should be paid into the bank of Ireland. On the following day, Mr. Grattan suggested the propriety of revising the revenue laws, and bringing the whole code within the compass of one consistent act.

But now the differences which had arisen between the English and Irish governments were made public. What was the motive for the change in the British councils has given rise to various surmises. The ostensible reason was a difference of opinion respecting Catholic affairs. Lord Fitzwilliam, however, has uniformly denied that they were the real motives for his recall. Mr. George Ponsonby, too, in the House of Commons, declared upon his honor as a gentleman, that in his opinion, the Catholic question had no more to do with the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam than Lord Macartney's embassy to

China. "Lord Fitzwilliam was to be recalled," said he, "and this was considered as the most important pretext for the measure". Those who do not suspect from Mr. Pitt's cautious reserve, while the arrangements were under discussion, a preconcerted design to be executed as soon as the supplies were voted, and his lordship with his friends disgraced by having entered into the coalition, attribute the change to the successful representations of Mr. Beresford.

That gentleman, perceiving the blow that was aimed against himself and his connections, did not foolishly waste his time in the antechamber of the Castle, or on the Opposition benches of the House of Commons. He repaired to London, and there, it is presumed, set before the highest authority the ingratitude of ministry, and the services of himself and family. They had been faithful servants for many years, during which time they could never be reproached with a murmur of disapprobation, or an expression of unwillingness, in undertaking anything for the advantage of England. They had adhered to their sovereign in the trying crisis of the regency, and had not turned, like some of his newly-adopted friends, to worship the rising sun. The situation of Ireland, too, and the temper of the times, Mr. Beresford perhaps alleged, were such as should make every kind of reform, and of course, his dismissal, be resisted. The debate of the ninth of February may likewise have afforded ample room for awakening fears and exciting indignation; Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby appeared to have pledged themselves, at least by implication, to a reform in Parliament, which it was the firm intention of the English ministers to withstand, and to a repeal of the Convention Bill, which had enabled Government to stifle all expressions of discontent in Ireland. The Catholic Bill may, under this point of view, have had its influence: it may have been represented as creating disaffection in the Protestant mind, as inconsistent with the connection and contrary to the coronation oath. It is not improbable, too, that in this interview, some suggestions may have proceeded from that gentleman, which gave rise to the discovery mentioned in Lord Fitzwilliam's letter, that deferring that measure would be the means of doing a greater service to the British empire than it had been capable of receiving since the union with Scotland. Whether these surmises are just, it is scarcely possible to ascertain; but perhaps the disagreement between the two governments ought to be ascribed to a coincidence of Mr. Beresford's exertions with the deliberate resolutions of some of the British Cabinet and the weakness of others. A favorable pretext for carrying the consequences of that coincidence into effect, was afforded by the equivocal conduct of Lord Fitzwilliam and his friends; for while the former appeared, in his correspondence, to wish it had been practicable to keep back the Catholic claims, and thus abandoned whatever there was of positive stipulation, on his part, for their being settled the very first session, his friends were giving explicit assurances and effectual assistance to the Catholics in bringing them forward.

When the disagreement and its probable consequences were known, grief

and consternation seized upon all who had flattered themselves, that the measures of His Excellency's administration were to redress the grievances, remove the discontents, and work for the salvation of Ireland. The event was also a subject of regret to those who, though they knew and did not disapprove of the irresistible progress with which men's minds were advancing to ulterior objects, yet wished to pass the intermediate period of expectation under an ameliorated system. The active republicans and new United Irishmen, however, were not sorry that the fallacy of ill-founded political hopes had been so speedily exposed, and they rejoiced that the agitation and controversies which were springing up would so entirely engross the attention of their opulent, interested and ambitious adversaries, as that they and their proceedings would pass unnoticed. They well knew that, in the midst of disputes for power, places and emoluments, neither the great nor their connections would condescend to bestow a thought upon despised malcontents, or the advances of an obscure system. They, therefore, not unwillingly assisted in keeping the attention of Government, and of the higher ranks, occupied with party contests, and even themselves yielded to that indignation which disinterested spectators naturally feel at the commission of a perfidy and injustice.

Thus a very general expression of popular dissatisfaction was produced by the rumored recall of Lord Fitzwilliam. In the House of Commons, on the twenty-sixth of February, Sir Lawrence Parsons and Mr. Duquery, who had, in some instances, opposed the measures of his administration, were the foremost to prove their sorrow and alarm, by moving and seconding an address to His Excellency, imploring his continuance in the country. This was withdrawn at the earnest request of Mr. George Ponsonby. On the second of March, Sir Lawrence moved to limit the money bills to two months, in consequence of the conduct of the British Cabinet; but Lord Milton and Mr. George Ponsonby deprecated the measure, and after a long debate it was rejected. The House of Commons, however, unanimously resolved, that His Excellency had, by his conduct since his arrival, merited the thanks of the House and the confidence of the people.

Out of Parliament the discontent was more manifested. The Catholics from every part of Ireland, had petitioned for a repeal of the remaining Popery Laws; not because they felt any extensive interest, or great anxiety, that their rich merchants and landed gentlemen should have an opportunity of selling themselves, in a corrupt Parliament, or of acquiring high offices and commissions, which could afford no benefit to the poor or middling classes; but these laws were a violation of rights, a remaining badge of inferiority, and a leaven for fermenting religious differences. The Catholics, therefore, felt affection and gratitude to His Excellency for his intentions in their favor, and a strong sense of insult offered to themselves when they found those intentions made the pretext for his recall.

Those of that religion in Dublin, impelled by such feelings, assembled on the twenty-seventh, the second day after the disagreement was made public, and voted a petition to the king, on the subject of their own claims, and for

the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam in his office. This, from motives of delicacy, they forwarded by delegates. It is, however, not unworthy of remark, that they appointed as secretary to this delegation, Mr. Tone, whose talents and services to their cause, were unquestionably of the utmost importance, but whose connection with Mr. Jackson and whose intentions with regard to France were matters of public notoriety. The Catholics in most parts of the kingdom met and by resolutions or addresses expressed the same sentiments.

The Protestants, too, assembled extensively, and as warmly spoke their indignation at what they considered ministerial treachery and a public calamity. The freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, like the Catholics, agreed to a petition to the king, and transmitted it by delegates. The merchants and traders of that city, with Mr. Abraham Wilkinson, the then governor of the Bank of Ireland, at their head, expressed their sorrow at the rumored recall of His Excellency, and their entire concurrence in the removal of all religious disabilities.

The corporation, indeed, faithful to its principles, raised its voice against the Catholic claims; but this measure of monopoly experienced a more formidable opposition than could have been expected in the sanctuary of the Protestant Ascendancy. Many other parts of the kingdom, such as the Counties of Kildare, Wexford, Antrim, Londonderry, etc., followed the example of the freemen and freeholders in the capital; and the same sentiments seemed to pervade every part of the kingdom.

But whatever were the motives for recalling Lord Fitzwilliam, they had more weight in the British Cabinet than those expressions of dissatisfaction on the part of the Irish people. As the noble viceroy still continued to maintain the measures he had adopted for the government of Ireland, a cabinet council was held on the tenth of March, in which the Duke of Portland, who had been himself almost determined to enter in person upon a crusade, against what he did not hesitate to call *the execrable system* by which that country was ruled, concurred in the vote, and submitted to be the official instrument of transmitting the letters, recalling *his second self, his nearest and dearest friend—whom he had persuaded to accept the Irish government, and to whom he had committed the important office of reforming the manifold abuses in that government.* Earl Camden was appointed his successor, and sworn in the next day. He arrived in Dublin and assumed his office on the thirty-first.

The expression of dissatisfaction was not repressed in Ireland, even by its being known that the determination of the Cabinet was fixed and irrevocable. Resolutions of sorrow and regret were now as general, as had been petitions and addresses. The workings of discontent appeared also, from certain minute traits, to be leading to an extensive adoption, or at least to a covert approbation, of the United Irish system. The words "union of the people", "united with our brethren", are everywhere studiously introduced, and almost always distinguished by capitals or italics.

The Catholics of Dublin met on the ninth of April, to receive the report

of their delegates; and their resolutions would not afford an unfair inference of the sentiments entertained by the generality of their persuasion. They unanimously thanked Mr. Tone for the many important services he had rendered to the Catholic body: "services", which they truly declared, "no gratitude could overrate, and no remuneration could overpay".

> We derive consolation, said they, under the loss which we all sustain by the removal of the late popular administration, in contemplating the rising spirit of harmony and co-operation among all sects and descriptions of Irishmen, so rapidly accelerated by that event; and we do most earnestly recommend to the Catholics of Ireland, to cultivate, by all possible means, the friendship and affection of their Protestant brethren; satisfied as we are, that national union is national strength, happiness and prosperity.

Referring to passages in Lord Fitzwilliam's letters, which appeared to imply an intimation from the Cabinet that, if the repeal of the remaining Popery Laws was then withheld, it might, at a future opportunity, be used as the means of procuring a legislative union between the two countries, they unanimously adopted the following resolution:

> That we are sincerely and unalterably attached to the rights, liberties and independence of our native country; and we pledge ourselves, collectively and individually to resist even our own emancipation, if proposed to be conceded upon the ignominious terms of an acquiescence in the fatal measure of an union with the sister kingdom.

If these resolutions had stood in need of interpretation, they would have received it, from the eloquent and daring speeches that were made at that day's meeting, by men, some of whose names are now well known to the public. Among the most conspicuous speakers were Dr. Ryan (who died shortly afterwards, deeply deplored as a national loss, by those who knew his talents and worth), Dr. MacNeven and Mr. Keogh.

Another incident also signalized that day, and was peculiarly characteristic of the public sentiment. It has been the constant custom with the University of Dublin, to present addresses of congratulation to every newly-arrived chief governor: that day was appointed for presenting their offering to Lord Camden. While the procession was on its way the students, as if with one consent, broke off, and left the provost and fellows to make what appearance before His Excellency they might think fit, while they themselves turned into a coffee-house at the Castle gate, and there prepared an address to Mr. Grattan, approving of his public character and conduct. This they presented directly; and having done so, they repaired in a body to Francis Street chapel, where the Catholics were assembled. They entered while Mr. Keogh was speaking; and that ready as well as able orator instantly seized the incident, and hallowed the omen. They were received with the most marked respect and affection; the Catholics taking that opportunity of showing that the language of union and brotherly love, which they were uttering, only expressed the sentiments nearest their hearts.

If the discontent that was raised by the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, proved conducive to the views of the republicans and United Irishmen, their cause

was still further promoted by the entire development of what were to have been the measures of his administration. These were enumerated by Mr. Grattan, when moving, on the twenty-first of April, for a committee to inquire into the state of the nation. Besides the Catholic Bill, he stated:

> That this administration had paid attention to the poverty of the people, by plans for relieving the poor from hearth-money: had paid attention to their morals, by a plan increasing the duty on spirits; had paid attention to their health, by proposing a plan to take off all duties on beer and ale; that a plan for education had been intended; that a more equal trade between the two countries had not escaped their attention; that an odious and expensive institution, that obtained under color of protecting the city by a bad police, was abandoned by that government, and a bill prepared for correcting the same; that a Responsibility Bill had been introduced; and a bill to account for the public money by new checks, and in a constitutional manner had been introduced by persons connected with that government; that it was in contemplation to submit for consideration some further regulations for the better accounting of the public money, and for the better collection of the revenue.

But not a word of reform in Parliament, of a repeal of the Convention Bill, or of a mitigation of the strong measures by which the former administration had coerced the people. Indeed Colonel Stewart (since Lord Castlereagh), deprecating such measures, explicitly asked whether the late ministers, had they remained, would have supported a parliamentary reform, or a repeal of the Convention Bill; and Mr. Archdall said that everybody knew it was Lord Fitzwilliam's fixed determination to oppose every tendency to what was called parliamentary reform. Such queries and observations being suffered to pass without reply, it was clear that those measures, to which many considered that administration as bound, were never in its contemplation. The objects which it proposed to accomplish, were urged as proofs, that it was the best government Ireland could possibly hope for, in the present order of things; and those to which its professed principles would have seemed to lead it, but which, notwithstanding apparent pledges, it was forced, by the very nature of its subordinate situation, to relinquish, were coupled with the measure, in which it was thwarted and perhaps duped, to show to persons who wished to advance no further than reform and constitutional redress, that those things were rendered absolutely unattainable by the connection with Great Britain.

Mr. Jackson's trial for high treason came on upon the twenty-third of April, and he was convicted on the evidence of Cockayne: he did not, however, suffer the penalties of the law, for a few days after, previous to his being brought up to receive sentence, he contrived to swallow a large dose of arsenic. The firmness with which he bore the excruciating pains of that poison was very remarkable. A motion in arrest of judgment was to be made; but it is manifest he entertained no hope of its success, and only wished it might continue, until he should have escaped from all earthly tribunals. He concealed the pangs he was suffering so well, that, when he was called upon to know what he had to say, why sentence of death should not pass upon him, though at the time actually unable to speak, with a smiling and unembarrassed air, he bowed and pointed to his counsel. His fortitude did not fail him to the last;

for it was scarcely suspected by the spectators that he was ill, until he fell down in the agonies of death, in the midst of his counsel's argument.

This man possessed distinguished talents and acquirements; and the following anecdote shows that he entertained a high sense of honor. While he was preparing for his trial, and was fully apprized of what would most probably be its ultimate issue, a friend was, by the kindness of the jailor, permitted to remain with him until a very late hour at night, on business. After the consultation had ended, Dr. Jackson accompanied his friend to the outward door of his prison, which was locked, the key remaining in the door, and the keeper in a very profound sleep, probably oppressed with wine. There could have been no difficulty in his effecting an escape, even subsequent to the departure of his friend, and without his consent, but he adopted a different conduct; he locked the door after his guest, awoke the keeper, gave him the key, and returned to his apartment. During his imprisonment he wrote and published a learned and able answer to Paine's "Age of Reason"; and after his death various prayers and homilies of his own composition were found in his pocket. His funeral was attended by numbers, even of a respectable rank of life, who, though they had been unconnected with him while living, dared to give this presumptive proof, that they were friendly to his mission.

The publicity which this trial gave to the schemes of the French, coincided aptly with the extension of the new United Irish system. From the very outset of that organization, a French invasion was deemed by its members, if not absolutely necessary, at least very advisable to the accomplishment of their objects. That trial reminded them afresh that such a measure had been contemplated, and they imagined it had become more easy, after Jackson's arrest, by the conquest of Holland in the intermediate winter, and by the possession of the Dutch fleet.

The United Irishmen were at this time beginning to spread very rapidly in the Counties of Down and Antrim, and the effects of their system might easily be traced by the brotherhood of affection, which, pursuant to the words of their test, it produced among Irishmen of every religious persuasion. Men who had previously been separated by sectarial abhorrence, were now joined together in cordial and almost incredible amity. Of this, perhaps, no instance more remarkable can be conceived, than the conduct of the Covenanters, a sect still numerous in those two counties. By all the prejudices of birth and education, they appeared removed to the utmost possible extreme, from any kind of co-operation or intercourse with Catholics. Their adherence to the Solemn League and Convenant, bound them to the accomplishment of the Reformation in England, and Ireland, "according to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches"; while the traditional notions, which they inherited were, that the Reformation could only be brought about by coercion and penal laws. They were, however, lovers of liberty and republicans by religion and descent; their concurrence in the general system was, therefore, not unimportant. To this effect, it was laid before them that persecution, in itself unjust, had been also found insufficient for reclaiming Cath-

olics; that the desired Reformation could only be accomplished by the efforts of reason, which would be best promoted by mixing with the misled, and gradually convincing them of their errors; that affection worked more strongly upon ignorance and obstinacy than hatred; and that in doing justice to those men, by permitting to them the enjoyment of all their rights, the object of the Solemn League and Covenant would not be in the least counteracted, and the cause of liberty (for which an almost equal enthusiasm was felt), would be exceedingly promoted. Arguments so appropriate and just were too strong for prejudice. Covenanters in numbers became United Irishmen, and the most active promoters of the system. After this had gone on for some time among them, Quigley, a Catholic priest (whose name is since well known from his trial and conviction at Maidstone), went to a part of the country where they were settled, and was introduced as a fellow-laborer in the common cause. The affection which these poor men showed to one, whom, shortly before, they would perhaps have regarded as a demon, was truly astonishing. Intelligence was dispatched to every part, of his arrival, and from every part they crowded to receive and caress him. But when they learned that this Romish priest was so sincere a lover of liberty, as to have been actually fighting at the capture of the Bastile, their joy was almost extravagant.

Such were the efforts of this new system, as far as it had extended, while the zeal of its members was overcoming every other obstacle, and establishing it in every direction. It was almost entirely destitute of funds by which mercenary assistance could be procured; but numbers were found ready to quit their daily occupations and go on missions to different parts of the North.

As secrecy was one of its vital principles, care was taken, from the very beginning, to guard against large meetings, by an arrangement that no society should consist of more than thirty-six, and that when it amounted to that number, it should split into two societies of eighteen each, the members to be drawn by lot, unless in country places, where they might divide according to local situation; they were connected together and kept up their occasional communication by delegates. As they were now become very numerous, particularly in the County of Antrim, it was found necessary to form a general system of delegation, on a scale sufficiently large for their growing importance, and even capable of comprehending every possible increase. Accordingly, delegates were expressly appointed from almost every existing society, and the representatives of seventy-two met, for that purpose, at Belfast, on the tenth of May, 1795. In addition to what they found already established, respecting individual societies, they framed a system of committees, and thus completed the original constitution of the new United Irishmen, a brief abstract of which is as follows:

It first states the object of the institution to be, to forward a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty. It then proceeds to the rules of individual societies, such as the admission of

members by ballot; the raising of a fund by monthly subscriptions; the appointment of a secretary and treasurer by ballot, once every three months; the election by ballot of two members from each society, who with the secretary were to represent it in a baronial committee, the regulation of some minor internal affairs; the taking of the test by every newly-elected member, in a separate apartment, in the presence of the persons who proposed and seconded him, and of a member appointed by the chairman; after which he was to be brought into the body of the society, where he was again to take it publicly; the splitting of every society amounting in numbers to thirty-six, into two equal parts; the eighteen names drawn by lot were to be the senior society, and its delegates were to procure from the baronial committee a number for the junior, according to which it was to be classed and recognized, and its delegates received by that committee; no society was to be recognized by any committee, unless approving of and taking the test, and amounting to seven members; lastly was laid down the order of business at each meeting. From these societies committees took their origin, in an ascending series; the baronials consisted of their immediate delegates. When any barony or other district should contain three or more societies, it was determined that three members from each, appointed as already mentioned, were to form a baronial for three months. In order to preserve the necessary connection between all the parts, no committee in any new barony or district could act until properly constituted: for that purpose the secretary of the senior society was to request a deputation from the nearest baronial to constitute a committee for that barony or district. When the number of societies in any barony amounted to eight, in order to prevent the committee's becoming too numerous it had a right to form another baronial; but each was to represent at least three societies. That none might be unrepresented, baronials were empowered to receive delegates from the societies of a contiguous barony, which did not contain three. The baronials were also to correspond with societies or with individuals, who had been duly qualified as United Irishmen; and any business originating in one society, should, at the instance of its delegates, be laid by the baronial before the others. The county committees were to be formed when any county had three or more baronials, by two persons from each, to be chosen by ballot for three months: and until that took place, the existing baronial in any county had liberty to send delegates to the adjacent county committee. Provincials were in like manner to take place, when two or more counties in a province had their committees, by three from each, also chosen for three months by ballot; and where a provincial was not yet constituted, the county committees were to send delegates to the nearest provincial. The national committee was to consist of five delegates from each provincial. The names of committee men were not to be known by any person but those who elected them.

Whoever reflects on this constitution for a moment, will perceive that it was prepared with the most important views. It formed a gradually extending representative system, founded on universal suffrage, and frequent elections. It was fitted to a barony, county or province, while the organization was con-

fined within those limits; but if the whole nation adopted the system, it furnished a national government.

The tenth of May, 1795, therefore, produced the most important consequences to Ireland, and such as will be remembered by the latest posterity. Curiosity will naturally be solicitous to learn, who and what manner of men they were, that dared to harbor such comprehensive and nearly visionary ideas. They were almost universally farmers, manufacturers and shopkeepers, the representatives of men certainly not superior to themselves; but they and their constituents were immovable republicans. After the business, for which they had been deputed, was finished, the person whom they had appointed their chairman, stated that they had undertaken no light matter; that it was advisable to be ascertained whether their pursuits and objects were the same; and that he would, therefore, with the permission of the meeting, ask every delegate what were his views, and as he apprehended, those of his society. This being done, every individual answered in his turn, a republican government, with separation from England, and assigned his reasons for those views.

Statesmen and historians have been, perhaps at all times, too much inclined to characterize the people as a blind, unthinking mass; and to attribute its movements to the skill and artifice of a few factious demagogues, whom they suppose able, by false pretences, to excite or still at pleasure, the popular storm. In the present instance it is unquestionably a mistake, which has led to many erroneous conclusions, and even to some false steps, to imagine that the people were deluded into the United Irish system, by ambitious leaders, who held out as a pretence, Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform. These *were* very seriously pursued, until the first was to a great degree acquired, and the attainment of the last became desperate. From this despair, and the measures that produced it, arose a change of objects; but it arose with the people themselves. In Ireland the Catholics in general, particularly the poor, had long entertained a rooted wish for separation, which they considered as synonymous with national independence. The desire for this and the more modern spirit of republicanism, having been equally the result of undoubted grievances and protracted sufferings, sprung up principally where those grievances were most oppressive and longest endured—with the lowest orders, whose experience and feeling supplied the place of learning and reflection. As the United Irish system ascended into the upper ranks, it engulfed into it, numbers who afterwards indeed appeared as leaders; but while these men were ignorant of that system, and very earnestly aiming at reform, multitudes of the people, whom they are supposed to have deluded, were as earnestly intent upon a republic: and even after they coincided in endeavoring for that form of government, they would, perhaps, have been more ready than their poorer associates to abandon the pursuit, if reform had been granted.

In the meantime, Parliament was occupied with measures of a very different nature and importance, from those just described: its attention was engaged in discussing the motives of Lord Fitzwilliam's recall, and in adopting or rejecting the proposed measures of his administration. The bill for regu-

lating the treasury, the alteration of the police laws, substituting in lieu of that institution a parochial watch for Dublin, as well as the regulations restraining the abuses of spirituous liquors, and giving encouragement to the brewing trade, were allowed to take effect; the project of equalizing the commercial duties between the two countries, was evaded by adjournment; but the Catholic Bill introduced by Mr. Grattan was rejected on the fourth of May. That question had now lost much of its public interest, not only because its absolute importance was little, and that little daily vanishing, but also because, from the change of administration, the urging of it was attended with no prospect of success. It served, however, to produce a very long and animated debate in the House of Commons. The splendid talents and argumentative powers of Mr. Grattan were called forth again, to illustrate, adorn and diversify a subject on which he had more than once bestowed such efforts as would have exhausted any ordinary mind.

Opposite in opinions, reasonings, matter and manner was the speech of Dr. Duigenan, conceived and delivered in a style peculiar to himself.

On this night Mr. Arthur O'Connor first attracted public notice. Quitting the uninteresting question before the House, and profiting by a well-known argument against the Catholic claims, that if complied with, they would overturn the constitution and the Church Establishment, he took a bold and comprehensive view of both; examined what he alleged to be the principles on which they were founded, the corruptions by which they were supported, and the vices to which they gave birth: from thence he inferred, that if the predicted subversion were, in truth, to take place, great good to the whole nation would be the immediate consequence. Although it was impossible to arrive at this conclusion, except by arguments familiar to all reflecting republicans, and often, but covertly, urged in the "Northern Star" and other favorite publications, yet this speech excited the utmost astonishment: partly from its ability, partly as coming from an unknown man, that had previously supported the measures of Government, and partly because it was spoken within the walls of Parliament. It also procured to its author uncommon popularity with the Irish people, who are always ready to receive with open arms, a repentant friend.

The bill was lost by 155 to 84; a disparity that may perhaps excite conjecture as to what the numbers *would have been*, if Lord Fitzwilliam had continued chief governor.

Another question also relating to the members of the same religion, was still in agitation. Dr. Hussey had been sent over, as already stated, by the British Cabinet, to prepare and superintend a plan for educating their clergy, and one was accordingly submitted to Parliament. Whatever connection it may have had with the bargain, said to have been entered into between their prelates and Lord Westmoreland's administration, it was highly approved of by those reverend persons; but a strong petition was presented against it by a number of Catholic laymen. Their objections were, that in the college, which the proposed plan went to establish, trustees different from the prin-

cipal and professors were empowered to regulate the course of education, and also to appoint professors and scholars on the foundation, *without any kind of examination into their merits or qualifications;* and also, that the plan, as far as it operated, obstructed the educating together of Catholics and Protestants: the petitioners, therefore, strongly reprobated it as tending to perpetuate a line of separation, which the interest of the country required to be obliterated, and as preventing early habits from producing a liberal and friendly intercourse through life. Such objections might perhaps have deserved the attention of philosophic legislators; they were, however, entirely disregarded by Parliament, and the plan was adopted without alteration,—almost without discussion or debate.

The conclusion of this session was rendered remarkable, by something like impotency or unwillingness in the House of Commons to defend its own dignity. A Mr. Ottiwell, a subordinate clerk in the revenue, had proposed to the commissioners of wide streets in Dublin, for a large quantity of ground, near Carlisle-bridge: his proposal was accepted, and in consequence of the bargain, the public lost sixty thousand pounds. Some circumstances having raised a suspicion that it was the result of fraud and collusion, accomplished through the influence of Mr. Beresford, who was generally believed to be a partner in the profits, a committee to enquire into the transaction was appointed in the reforming administration of Lord Fitzwilliam. When that nobleman was displaced, however, the Beresford interest having been restored, Mr. Ottiwell took courage, and refused to answer to the committee certain questions not tending to criminate himself. The contempt was reported to the House, and he was summoned to the bar. Having refused there likewise to answer, it was moved to take him into custody. This motion being resisted, the speaker rose, and desired that, as the House was thin, gentlemen should not go away. Instantly above a dozen members withdrew, as if they had conceived the caution to be a hint; on a divison, the total numbers not amounting to forty, the House was of course adjourned, and Mr. Ottiwell returned home unmolested. In two days after, the motion was renewed and carried; but Mr Ottiwell stayed within doors, and his servants refused to let the sergeant-at-arms see him. Thus did this man, who appeared to be concealing, by contumacy, an alleged fraud upon the public to the amount of sixty thousand pounds, continue, to the very end of the session, to insult the dignity of that House, and to defy those privileges which had so often stricken terror into the editors of newspapers and others accused of abusing the liberty of the press.

The labors of Parliament were interrupted by prorogation on the fifth of June; but the business of the United Irishmen had been carried on, and still proceeded without interruption. It has been more than once stated, that they were anxious to procure the co-operation of France; and the circumstances about to be detailed, will show that they never lost sight of that cardinal object. Very early in 1795, while their organization extended no further than individual societies, communicating by delegates, they ventured to appoint a person to go to that country for the express purpose of soliciting an in-

vasion; his departure, however, was postponed by various circumstances; and the trial of Mr. Jackson took place. The facts that were disclosed on that occasion, and the payment of the vote of fifteen hundred pounds by the Catholics, which was not made till after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, determined Mr. Tone to go to America. His talents and inclinations were indisputable; it was, therefore, conceived that his emigration might be rendered subservient to the views of the United Irishmen, without the intervention of any other agent. At this time their system had reached no higher than a committee for the County of Antrim. Certain members of that committee, having then cast their eyes upon Tone, consulted with confidential friends, not actually in the organization, but with whom he had been in habits of unreserved communication. The result was, that after his arrival at Belfast, on his way to America, perfectly ignorant of the business and of the new system, to which he did not belong, he was empowered by those persons, some of whom held the highest situations at that time in the system, to set forth to the French Government, through its agent in America, the state of Ireland and its dispositions. For that purpose, they were completely developed to him; the rising strength of the organization was pointed out; and also the great probability of getting into it all the Defenders, the ground of which was, even then, actually laid.

Mr. Tone left Ireland on the sixteenth of June. When he arrived off the coast of America, he was near having all his prospects, personal and political, blasted by an outrage which British ships of war were in the habit of committing, with impunity, against the American flag. The vessel in which he took passage (the "Cincinnatus" of Wilmington), was stopped and boarded by three English frigates (the "Thetis", the "Hussar",. and the "Esperance"), for the express purpose of pressing into the British service, such sailors and passengers as might be thought fit. The party entrusted with the execution of this duty, after treating the officers and crew of the American ship with characteristic rudeness, pressed all the hands but one, and about fifty of the passengers, who were obviously not seafaring men, and. were sailing under the protection of a neutral flag. Mr. Tone, on one occasion, attempted to interfere in favor of the father of a family whose wife and children were on board; but the only consequence of his interference was, that he himself was dragged into the boat, to be made a common sailor in the British navy.

This would probably have been his fate, but that the heart of the commander was accessible to the distraction and despair of a sister, a wife and children. He was so far affected by the screams of Mrs. Tone, by the agonies of a beautiful and interesting female, and by the tears and cries of her children, that he released his victim.

Soon after Tone's landing in America, having waited on Citizen Adet, the French minister, he communicated to him the information and commission with which he was charged, but had the mortification to be very coldly received.

Those, however, who deputed him, had every reason to be convinced that their conduct met the wishes of the United Irishmen. Not long after Tone

had left Ireland, a provincial committee for Ulster was organized, in consequence of the committees for the Counties of Down and Antrim having been constituted. As this provincial was to meet only once a month, and its members to come from different and distant parts of the country, it determined, about the end of August, to form a body, not specified in the constitution, which was called the executive, because its duty was entirely confined within the limits denoted by that term, it having no originating power, and being totally subservient to the provincial. During the intervals of that committee's meetings, the executive was to execute what had been ordered, and afterwards to report its own proceedings at the next opportunity. It was to be a watch upon the Government, and to call extra meetings of the provincial, if necessary. As its connection was only with that committee, its members were unknown to any but those who appointed them.

While this organization was advancing, the wish of the people for French alliance developed itself more and more, in each successive stage. At a county committee held in Antrim, during that summer, a member from an obscure district, proposed it should be recommended to the provincial, to open a communication with France. This was unanimously agreed to, and the recommendation transmitted to the provincial, by whom it was unanimously adopted: it was then given in charge to be carried into effect by the executive; which, thereupon, was informed of everything that had been done respecting Tone. It therefore did not think fit to take any new step, further than causing fresh advices to be despatched to him, setting forth the state of Ireland at the time of writing; the risings, prosecutions and convictions at the assizes in Leinster and Connaught; the transportation without trial in the latter province during that summer, and the growing discontents that were becoming more apparent and formidable. He was, therefore, urged to press, both on the score of French and Irish interests, for an invasion. In consequence of this communication, he again waited on Citizen Adet, whose manner of reception was now entirely changed. That minister had in the interval written home for instructions, and the answer of the Directory had arrived, ordering him to press Tone to repair to France without delay. This was accordingly urged in the strongest manner, and Tone sailed from America on the twenty-fifth of December. After a very quick passage, he was received by the Government in the most confidential and respectful manner. In some time, and on a more intimate knowledge of him, he was placed in the army, and promoted to the rank of chef-de-brigade, and adjutant-general.

The statement which had been transmitted to him, amply justified his impressing on the Directory the magnitude and universality of popular discontent in Ireland; for after he had left that country, insurrection and open disturbances began to show themselves in many places, but particularly in the provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and Ulster. The Defenders in the two former were active in increasing their numbers, and seemed at length to imagine themselves equal to some great exertion; they assembled very frequently in the counties near Dublin, especially Meath, and stripped many houses of arms.

They appeared in still greater strength in the Counties of Leinster, Roscommon, and Longford, where at first there seemed no force equal to resist them. These proceedings made the summer assizes of that year remarkable for the number of convictions and capital executions. Of these, the trial and conviction at Naas, in the County of Kildare, of Lawrence O'Connor, a schoolmaster, and the most respectable person, in point of rank, that had been yet discovered in the Defender system, was made particularly conspicuous by his firmness and devoted attachment to his principles. When sentence was going to be passed upon him, he boldly defended the institution, on the ground of the oppressed state of the poor; and when the judge who was performing that awful office, struck with his appearance and conduct, asked him, had he any wife or children, "My lord", he replied, "God will take care of them, for I die in a good cause". He suffered on the seventeenth of September, without derogating from his previous demeanor.

In the Connaught counties, the trials were not as numerous in proportion as in Leinster. Lord Carhampton had gone down to quell the insurrection, and after he had succeeded, thinking perhaps that legal proceedings were tedious and sometimes uncertain in their issue, he delivered the gaols of most of their inhabitants, by taking such as he thought fit, and sending them, without form of trial, or other warrant but his own military orders, to serve on board the fleet. In this manner, nearly 1300 persons were transported, not by their own connivance, nor as a kind of voluntary commutation of what they might suffer if rigorously prosecuted. On the contrary, it was not even pretended, that those selected were accused of the most serious crimes, or the most likely to meet conviction before a jury; nor was the act attributed by the inhabitants of the country, to a misjudging lenity. Indeed, the objects of this summary measure were frequently seen tied down on carts, in the bitterest agonies, crying out incessantly for trial, but crying in vain. This conduct marked his lordship's attachment to Government too strongly not to have its imitators. Magistrates, therefore, without military commissions, but within the influence of his example, assumed to themselves also the authority of transporting without trial.

In the province of Ulster, the County of Armagh and its borders exhibited a scene of more melancholy disturbances, and more abominable oppression than afflicted or disgraced the rest of Ireland. The religious animosities that had raged so violently in 1793, appeared to have been subdued by the combined efforts of liberal Catholics and Dissenters, by the unremitting exertions of the United Irishmen of that day, and by the conciliatory sentiments which flowed from the press, as far as it was in the same interests. The press, however, was subsequently reduced almost to silence; and the recent coercive statutes had nearly annihilated all public efforts by United, or even liberal Irishmen, on any subject of general politics, except during the transitory administration of Lord Fitzwilliam. The barriers to the revival of those animosities being thus broken down, they again desolated the country with augmented fury. The Peep-o'-Day Boys, who originally pretended only

to enforce the Popery Laws by depriving Catholics of their arms, now affected more important objects. They claimed to be associated for the support of a Protestant government, and a Protestant succession, which they said were endangered by the increased power of the Catholics in the State, and they therefore adopted the name of *Orangemen,* to express their attachment to the memory of that prince to whom they owed their blessings. With this change of name, they asserted they had also gained an accession of strength; for the Peep-o'-Day Boys only imagined they were supported by the laws of the land, in their depredations on their Catholic neighbors; but the Orangemen boasted a protection greater than even that of the law, the connivance and concealed support of those who were bound to see it fairly administered. Thus emboldened, and as they alleged, reinforced, they renewed their ancient persecutions: but not content with stripping Catholics of arms, they now went greater lengths than they had ever done before, in adding insult to injury, sometimes by mocking the solemnities of their worship, and at others, even by firing into the coffins of the dead, on their way to sepulture.

The Catholics were by no means inclined to submit with tameness to these outrages. The Defender system had nearly included all of that persuasion in the lower ranks, and scarcely any others were to be found in the neighborhood. They seized some opportunities of retaliating, and thus restored to Defenderism, in that part of the country, its original character of a religious feud. These mutual irritations still increasing, at length produced open hostilities. An affray near Lough Brickland, on the borders of the Counties of Down and Armagh, and another at the Fair of Loughgall, preceded and led to a more general engagement in the month of August, at a place called the Diamond, near Portadown, in the County of Armagh. For some days previous to this, both parties had been preparing and collecting their forces; they seized the different passes and roads; had their advanced posts, and were in some measure encamped and hutted. No steps, however, were taken by the magistrates of the country; nor, as far as can be inferred from any visible circumstances, even by Government itself, to prevent this religious war, publicly levied and carried on in one of the most populous, cultivated and highly improved parts of the kingdom; nay, more, the party which provoked the hostilities, and which the event has proved to have been the strongest, boasted of being connived at, for its well-known loyalty and attachment to the constitution.

Whatever may have been the motives for this inaction, certain it is, that both parties assembled at the Diamond, to the amount of several thousands. The Defenders were the most numerous, but the Orangemen had an immense advantage in point of preparation and skill, many of them having been members of the old Volunteer corps, whose arms and discipline they still retained, and perverted to very different purposes from those that have immortalized that body. The contest, therefore, was not long or doubtful; the Defenders were speedily defeated, with the loss of some few killed and left on the field of battle, besides the wounded, whom they carried away. After this, in

consequence of the interference of a Catholic priest and of a country gentleman, a truce between both parties was agreed upon, which was unfortunately violated in less than twenty-four hours. The two bodies that had consented to it, for the most part, dispersed; the district, however, in which the battle was fought, being entirely filled with Orangemen, some of them still remained embodied, but the Catholics returned home. In the course of next day, about seven hundred Defenders from Keady, in a remote part of the county, came to the succor of their friends, and, ignorant of the armistice, attacked the Orangemen, who were still assembled. The associates of the latter being on the spot, quickly collected again, and the Defenders were once more routed. Perhaps this mistake might have been cleared up, and the treaty renewed, if the resentment of the Orangemen had not been fomented and cherished by persons to whom reconciliation of any kind was hateful. The Catholics, after this transaction, never attempted to make a stand, but the Orangemen commenced a persecution of the blackest die. They would no longer permit a Catholic to exist in the county. They posted up on the cabins of those unfortunate victims this pithy notice, "to hell or to Connaught"; and appointed a limited time in which the necessary removal of persons and property was to be made. If, after the expiration of that period, the notice had not been entirely complied with, the Orangemen assembled, destroyed their furniture, burnt the habitations, and forced the ruined family to fly elsewhere for shelter. So punctual were they in executing their threats that, after some experiments, none were found rash enough to abide the event of non-compliance. In this way, upwards of seven hundred Catholic families in one county, were forced to abandon their farms, their dwellings, and their properties, without any process of law, and even without any alleged crime, except their religious belief were one.

While these outrages were going on, the resident magistrates were not found to resist them, and in some instances were even more than inactive spectators. The arm of Government, too, seemed palsied; or its strength exhausted by its efforts in Connaught to restrain the subdued insurgents, and by the vigilant activity of the commander in that province, to transport the suspected without trial. The County of Armagh, however, and its neighborhood were not destitute of military force, able and willing to repress those outrages. The Queen's County militia, consisting mostly of Catholics, was there, and exceedingly incensed at the unresisted, unrestrained, and even unnoticed, persecution against that religion, which it was forced to witness.

But though the protecting hand of Government, or of the magistracy, was not held forth to the oppressed, they were not utterly abandoned. The United Irishmen endeavored to allay the animosities by conciliatory efforts, as well as to bring to punishment the most daring violators of the law, and the magistrates, from whose suspicious inactivity they derived most succor. This, it was hoped, would produce many advantages. The United Irishmen would convince those forlorn people of their sincerity in seeking for the entire abolition of all religious distinctions, and perhaps induce them, by gratitude and

interest, to enter into the union. If redress was to be obtained or the Protestant persecution to be checked, the Catholics would owe to their exertions at least a temporary relief from immediate sufferings, until the fulness of time should arrive for decisive remedies; but if the alleged connivance and support of magistrates and higher authorities should succeed in frustrating legal prosecutions, at least the horrible atrocities themselves would be exposed beyond the possibility of concealment or denial; and from the failure of the experiment, it was expected the proscribed would at last conclude, that their protection was not to be found in perverted laws, or delusive tribunals.

Prosecutions were therefore commenced and carried on by the executive, at the desire of the provincial committee of the United Irishmen, against some of the most notorious offenders, and some of the most guilty magistrates; but that measure appeared only to redouble the outrages. Many of those who attempted to swear examinations, were killed or forced to fly, and others compelled by the fear of death, to retract or contradict the depositions they had given. The applications were, in this manner, almost entirely defeated; or, if they succeeded, the proceedings were studiously protracted by every legal artifice; even the verdicts of juries, summoned by sheriffs, and influenced by magistrates, themselves laboring under heavy suspicions, were sometimes interposed between the prosecutors and justice. Effectual relief was thus indeed, for the most part, withheld from the oppressed; but they learned to look upon the United Irishmen as their only friends, to confide in the sincerity of those Protestants who had joined in the union, and no longer to look, with hope or affection, towards the existing law or its remedies.

These objects were likewise accomplishing, at the same time, by other means. The steps that were taken against the Defenders in Leinster and Connaught, and the house-rackings in the County of Armagh, had forced many wretches to abandon their homes, and seek for shelter where they might be unknown and unsuspected. Some of these unhappy fugitives were invited to Belfast, whence they were received by the Presbyterian families in the Counties of Down and Antrim; they were secure from danger, provided with employment, treated with affectionate hospitality, and the hereditary prejudices they had imbibed against Northerns and Dissenters were lost in the overflowings of their gratitude. To their friends, whom necessity had not compelled to flight, they communicated the intelligence of their safety and happiness; thus spreading the fame of United Irish sincerity and attachment to remote districts, where the system was then unknown.

But the most important accession of strength gained by that body, at this period, arose from their successful interference with the Defenders, particularly in the Counties of Down and Antrim. From the first formation of the Union, its most active members were extremely anxious to learn the views and intentions of the Defenders. The latter, it was manifest, wished a redress of many of those grievances, against which the efforts of the former were also directed; but their wishes were not sufficiently seconded by intelligence, nor did their institution appear calculated for co-operation on an extensive

scale; it seemed almost exclusively Catholic, and so far as could be ascertained, was not sufficiently representative. Besides, as most counties had something peculiar to themselves, either in their test, their formalities, or their signs, a Defender in one county was not, therefore, one in another; and the association, or rather mass of associations, wanted an uniformity of views and actions. As it owed its origin to religious animosities, and was almost entirely composed of illiterate persons, there was reason to apprehend, it might still be vitiated by bigotry and ignorance, and that instead of reserving its physical force for one object and one effort, it might waste itself, as was actually the case in Connaught, in partial and ill-directed insurrections against local grievances. The United system, on the other hand, by pursuing only one thing, "an equal, full and adequate representation of the people", secured an uniformity of views, and by fixing attention on the state of the representation, as the fruitful parent of every other evil, it suggested, wherever it gained admission, a remedy for the oppressions by which the inhabitants were most afflicted. Proceeding as it did, on the principle of abolishing all political distinctions on account of religion, and establishing a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, it struck at the root of bigotry, received the support, and secured the co-operation of every sect that was not rendered hostile by an immediate interest in the abuses it proposed to remedy. Organized as it was under a series of committees which were connected together to the highest rank, it was capable of the most perfect co-operation, and had in itself, all the advantages of a provisional representative government, to which it was habituating its members, before they could be called upon to establish a national constitution.

This immense superiority of advantages in favor of the United system, which clearly proved that it was the result of settled design and reflection, while the other seemed to derive its birth from accident and ignorance, was pointed out to the Defenders in the counties where the union was most prevalent. There was no repugnancy in the tests of the two bodies, and many Catholics had, from the commencement, belonged to both. They persuaded other Defenders to follow their example. Protestant United Irishmen, too, resolved to break the exclusively Catholic appearance of Defenderism; there being nothing in the test or regulations to prevent them, they were sworn into that body, and carried along with them their information, tolerance and republicanism. They pointed out to their new associates, all that has been already stated in the comparison between the two systems; and set before them, that the *something* which the Defenders vaguely conceived, *ought to be done for Ireland,* was, by separating it from England, to establish its real as well as nominal independence; and they urged the necessity of combining into one body, all who were actuated with the same views. At last their exertions were favored with entire success. The Defenders, by specific votes in their own societies, agreed to be sworn United Irishmen, and incorporated in large bodies into the union. Thus did they in those counties, merge into the broadest and best-concerted institution, which from henceforth, spread through their

Catholic districts with surprising rapidity; the inhabitants having abandoned whatever were the peculiarities of their own association.

The Northern United Irishmen likewise pursued their scheme still further. The executions in Meath, Kildare, and latterly in the capital itself, showed to them that Defenderism had reached so far, and was likely to extend through all the Catholic parts of the kingdom. Weldon, Hart, Kennedy, and others, were found guilty in Dublin, in the latter end of 1795, of high treason, all being Defenders, and met their fate with that enthusiasm and fortitude, which political as well as religious sufferers have, in almost all ages, exhibited. The evidence on those trials showed that the views of the Catholics of that rank of life, in and near the metropolis, though they had never yet heard of the United system, were perfectly conformable to those of the Northern republicans. This coincidence determined the latter to open a communication which should pave the way for the extension of their own organization. They accordingly despatched persons up to Dublin, who found means to explain themselves with some of the principal Defenders of the Counties of Meath, Dublin and elsewhere. This caused deputies from them to be sent to Belfast, to examine if the views of the North corresponded with theirs, and how far its sincerity might be relied on. These men, on their arrival there, were soon convinced that the Northerns were more enlightened, and as ardent as themselves, and that their sincerity was too often proved and too explicitly manifested to be doubted. On their return home, they communicated a detail of the views of the union, and laid the foundation for the adoption of that system by the Catholics who deputed them.

The impression which was made by all those measures on the Defenders, gave the United Irishmen a ready access to the militia regiments, as they arrived in the North. These were mostly composed of Catholics, having come from the other provinces; in many instances they were already Defenders, that association having spread into the counties where they were raised. The progressive steps were now made easy: the Catholic soldier had no reluctance to become a Defender; the Defender was quickly induced to follow the example of those where he was quartered, and to become an United Irishman. The union thus spread among them very extensively, and the militia regiments were often vehicles by which both systems were carried to different and remote districts.

The author would state that no leader of the movement in 1798, with the exception of Tone, and he only for a limited period, could have written so graphic and valuable a contribution to Irish history, based on personal knowledge in relation to every detail.

The one unique and remarkable trait in Mr. Emmet's character is here well illustrated, where, in absence of all vanity he as usual made no reference to himself. No one on reading the essay just given would suppose he was personally connected to some extent with every incident and was frequently an active leader.

Under all circumstances and throughout Mr. Emmet's life, he unconsciously assumed the position, and his associates recognized his leadership. With all his modesty of character, he was unyielding as a leader and always carried his purpose through by the facility

he possessed of impressing each individual with their own importance. There was no desire to mislead on Mr. Emmet's part, but to educate and make use of every one associated with him to the fullest extent of his intellectual development. While Mr. Emmet gave credit to every one but himself, he had the facility of gaining the fullest degree of confidence as a leader from all without question, as each felt when Mr. Emmet expressed an opinion, he had in some degree based the conclusion upon their conversation.

This faculty was as of value in a leader, but it caused his own services to be underrated.

The last of the men of "98" sleep peacefully in their graves, their sons are grey-haired men; but the nation for whose freedom they fought still wears her ancient chains, —her voice has been unheard amongst the nations, save where agony wrung from her a cry that reminded the world at once of her existence and of her misery.

Rev. Patrick F. Kavanagh.

Your interference was then, sir, made the pretext of detaining us for four years in custody, by which very extensive and useful plans of settlement within these states were broken up. The misfortunes which you brought upon the objects of your persecution were incalculable. Almost all of us wasted four of the best years of our life in prison. As to me, I would have brought along with me my father and his family, including a brother, whose name perhaps even you will not read without emotions of sympathy and respect. Others nearly connected with me would have been partners in my emigration. But all of them have been torn from me. I have been prevented from saving a brother, from receiving the dying blessings of a father, mother, and sister, and from soothing their last agonies by my cares; and this, Sir, by your unwarrantable and unfeeling interference.

T. A. Emmet.
Letter to Rufus King—
April 9th, 1807.

History of the Emmet Family

There is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet. I do not wish that there should while it is connected with England and yet it will perhaps be remembered in its history.

T. A. Emmet
to Peter Burrowes—
Nov. 19th, 1806.

To what extent I ought to yield to you for talents and information is not for me to decide. In no other respect, however, do I feel your excessive superiority. My private character and conduct are I hope as fair as yours; and even in those matters which I consider as trivial, but upon which aristocratic pride is accustomed to stamp a value, I should not be inclined to shrink from competition. My birth certainly will not humble me by the comparison; my paternal fortune was probably much greater than yours; the consideration in which the name I bear was held in my native country was as great as yours is ever likely to be, before I had an opportunity of contributing to its celebrity. As to the amount of what private fortune I have been able to save from the wreck of calamity, it is unknown to you or to your friends; but two things I will tell you: I never was indebted, either in the country from which I came, nor in any other in which I have lived, to any man, further than necessary credit for the current expenses of a family; and am not so circumstanced that I should tremble "for my subsistence", at the threatened displeasure of your friends. So much for the past and the present, now for the future. Circumstances which cannot be controlled have decided that my name must be embodied in history. From the manner in which even my political adversaries, and some of my cotemporary historians, unequivocally hostile to my principles, already speak of me, I have the consolation of reflecting, that when the falsehoods of the day are withered and rotten, I shall be respected and esteemed. You, Sir, will probably be forgotten when I shall be remembered with honour; or, if, peradventure, your name should descend to posterity perhaps you will be known only as the recorded instrument of part of my persecutions, sufferings, and misfortunes.

T. A. Emmet.
Letter to Rufus King, 1807.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Arms of the Emott, Emmott, Emett,
Emmett and Emmet families

From Robert Emmet's death and the emigration of Thomas Addis Emmet with his family to the United States there has been no one of the name in Ireland or elsewhere, except the daughter of their brother, Temple, who bore a legitimate relationship to the family nearer than 210 years.

Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D.

Chapter I

Documentary and Traditional History of the Emmet Family*

N the 3d of October 1619, Thomas Emmott, of Emmott Hall, died in the parish of Colne, Co. Pal. Lancashire, England, where he had been for many years the head of a family whose ancestors had lived for centuries on the same lands. The eldest son generally bore the name of William, while Thomas, Robert, John and Christopher were the Christian names most frequently used. This family has twice been reduced to a single female member, whose husband adopted the name. By special Act of Parliament, about 1745, Richard Wainhouse, the husband of Mary Emmott, took the surname of Emmott, and within a few years a similar change of name took place, so that the present head of the family is Richard Greene-Emmott, Esq. The family for an indefinite period—certainly previous to the seventeenth century, as shown by monumental remains—has borne the same arms.

In the Somerset Herald Office, London, is to be found the record of an Emmet family living in London at the time of the Herald's visitation in 1687. The right of this family to bear arms was then both recognized and recorded by the Herald. These arms are identical with those granted several centuries before to the Lancashire family of Emmott, and they are, moreover, the same arms that were used in Ireland by the ancestors of the American branch of Emmet. But "Edmondson's Heraldry", 1780, gives the arms of "Emmett, Emmott [Westminster] and of Emmot in Lancashire—Per pale az. & sa.: a fesse engrailed, erm., between three bulls' heads cabossed, or", and the crest, "out of a ducal coronet, or, a bull salient, ppr."

The arms used by the Emmet family in Ireland are shown on a silver salver in the possession of the writer. This was given in 1783 to Dr. Robert Emmet by the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin, an institution founded for the insane by Dean Swift in 1745, and it was the first public asylum for the insane ever established in Ireland. After a service of many years Dr. Emmet resigned his position, and was then made the recipient of this piece of plate, which is thirty-one inches in diameter, and on which is en-

*See Appendix, Note I, for the earlier history.

graved the following inscription:—"Presented by unanimous consent of the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin, to Robert Emmet, Esq., State Physician, as a Memorial, not compensation, of the many services rendered by him to that institution, as Governor, Physician, and Treasurer thereto.—Feb. 3, 1783". The Governors of this Hospital were, *ex-officio,* as a body, composed of the chief officials of the city of Dublin.

At that time great importance was attached to the use of heraldic arms, so much so that no one was allowed to bear them in Great Britain, or Ireland, unless entitled to do so and after paying a tax for the privilege. Therefore, under the circumstances, the presence of these arms engraved on this salver, and the fact that they were placed there by direction of this Board of Governors, proves beyond question that Dr. Emmet was entitled to use them. This is an important circumstance in its bearing on the history of the family, and in the inference to be drawn from it, that this branch at least came from the Emots of Lancashire.

It has also a more general bearing from the fact that wherever a branch of the family has been found entitled to bear arms, and without reference to the different modes of spelling the name, the arms have been essentially the same, or very similar to those which were used by the Emot family of Colne, Lancashire, and were in all probability the same as those granted or borne, by Robert de Emot in the fourteenth century. The three bulls' heads cabossed have been found with generally a fesse engrailed, erm.; but in one instance as borne by a London family of Emmet, a chevron engrailed was used. In the first grant of the arms it is supposed the color on the shield was azure, from the fact that this tincture appears on the earliest rendering found. The same is still used by the Emmott family, and generally by the Emmet branches, but a party per cross, as well as per pale, has been used with azure and sable.

The greatest variation has been found in the crest and motto, as the choice of either or both rested with the individual. In the original grant the crest was—"Out of a ducal coronet, or, a bull rampant, ppr," and not "salient", as given by Edmondson. The oldest motto, and the one still borne by the Emmotts of Lancashire, is "Tenez le Vraye", while Dr. Robert Emmet used "Constans".

The only exception met with in the use of the bulls' heads was found in the granting of arms to a Peregrine Emmit, of Spilsby, Co. Lincoln, about the middle of the last century. In this instance the two bulls' heads in the upper part of the shield were placed on an engrailed chief of ermine, with two crossed thighbones and four ants* on the basse in azure, and with a different crest.

This introduction into the Emmet Arms has reference to the old English and the root in the Anglo-Saxton, of Emmet, an Ant. The word is still to be found in some of the dictionaries. In "King James' Version" of the Bible, in the Book of Proverbs, the rendering is—"Go to the emmet, thou Sluggard"*. Shakespeare in "King Lear" shows the significance of the word, as typical of industry, *"Or we'll set thee to school to an Ant"*. The writer has been informed that there exists in the Hebrew a similar word signifying *constancy* or *trustworthiness*. If true, this would explain the use of the motto, *Constans,* derived from an old Gaelic root, a supposedly older language than the Hebrew. But there exists no trace of such a word in the modern Irish. In a record of over three hundred years of the Emmet family abroad, it is remarkable how large a proportion there were among them, of men of brains, enterprise, thrift, and steady workers.

Presented by Unanimous Consent of the Governors of St. Patricks Hospital Dublin to Robt. Emmet Esq. State Physician as a Memorial not Gratitude if he merit Esteem Remember by him to that Institution as Governor Physician and Treasurer thereto Feb.y 3d 1783
CONSTANS

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Salver presented to Dr. Robert Emmet by the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital, Dublin, Ireland

From the circumstantial evidence collected it seems probable that the immediate ancestry of Christopher Emett, of Tipperary, may have been connected with the following branch of the family, which had connections in Kent and Middlesex, living in London, bearing the same arms, and claiming to have been from the Lancashire stock:

Maurice Emmet, the son of ——— Emet, married Elizabeth Pynes, and at the time of the visitation of the Herald-at-Arms in 1687 he was living in Peter Street, London, and was in his sixty-eighth year of age. They had the following children at this visitation, and their ages were then recorded:

1. William Emmet, of St. Bride's Parish, married Elizabeth, a daughter of John Browne, and had one child, Mary.

2. Maurice Emmet, "His Majesty's Bricklayer", married Elizabeth Burrage, of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and in 1687 he was thirty-five years of age. His children were John, aged fifteen, Maurice, twelve, and Elizabeth, thirteen.

3. Richard. He had several children, but the particulars could not be obtained.

4. George Emmet, unmarried, and at the age of thirty-two years.

5. "Henry Emmet, citizen", "His Majesty's Glass Painter and Stainer". He was at the time thirty years of age, and had married Mary, the daughter of Edward Hill, also of London. Their children were John Emmet, then twelve years of age, and Mary, who died in infancy.

The visitation is signed by "Henry Emmett", with the following marginal note made at the time by the London Herald: "The arms, from a silver seal, and Mr. Emmet alleged the colours as they are here marked. He affirmeth that he is descended from Emmet of Emmet Hall in Lancashire, but nothing found of that family in the visitation of that county".

"Emmott Hall", as we have shown, existed at that time, and the family were recorded by the Visitation Herald, and they bore these same arms. It is, therefore, possible, as the original mode of spelling the name was Emot, that in a previous generation the name of this branch had been spelled Emmott; or, it is quite possible that the residence of another branch in the same county had been called "Emmet Hall", for the evidence is conclusive that the ancestors of all of the name, whatever the mode of spelling, came originally from this neighborhood.

It will now be well to consult the will of William Emet, of Tipperary, who expected his "kinsman", Henry Emet, to come from England according to his order. As William left a bequest to his brother George, Henry was probably the son of another brother. The eldest brother of Henry, of London, was named William, and he also had a brother George.

But for the facts that William, of Tipperary, died in 1671, and William, of London, was possibly living in 1687, it might be held that they were one and the same person. On the other hand, if William, of London, was living at the time of the visitation, it is remarkable that his age was not recorded in consequence of being the eldest son. In the same connection should be

considered the notes relating to "John Emmet of London, Esq.", who received a pension of one thousand pounds per annum in 1711, and left his property at his death to his wife and his son, Henry Emmet.

Notwithstanding that Maurice Emmet is styled "His Majesty's Brick-layer", and his brother Henry "His Majesty's Glass-stainer", it is not believed that either of them followed so humble a calling.* This family was evidently well off at the time, possibly wealthy, with an estate in Middlesex County, and had doubtless rendered some service to the Government. At that time no greater service could be rendered to the King than by making him a loan of money, which he was never expected to repay in any other manner than by a grant of some position or office, which afforded his creditors an opportunity to recoup with interest from the public purse and by methods not to be too carefully inquired into. "His Majesty's Brick-layer" and "His Majesty's Glass-stainer" doubtless received some stipend from their nominal offices until something better presented itself; and it might be readily assumed that, with some like existing obligation, Henry Emmet was given the contract for furnishing "clothing and accoutrements" for the regiment commanded by Schomberg, and that John Loudon, as copartner, was in all probability the man-of-straw selected to do the work in the most profitable manner. The circumstance of being entitled to bear arms renders the supposition impossible that under the then existing social code either Maurice or Henry Emmet could have followed a trade.

Henry showed by his seal that he used the arms in 1687, and at that time he satisfied the London Herald-at-Arms that he was entitled to bear them, and, as has been stated, the right was officially recognized and recorded at the time. On the other hand, if he had not fully satisfied the Herald as to this right, the seal would have been seized and destroyed.

Henry Emmet and his son John were for some reason closely connected with the town of Plymouth, England, in their business relations with Ireland, and at the same time with a Mr. White, a merchant of that place. Unless for some special reason the town of Plymouth had been selected, this circumstance becomes the more worthy of note, as many other ports in England were more favorably situated for commercial relations with Ireland. Dr. Christopher Emett, of Tipperary, also had some connection with the same town, as one of his sisters married a Mr. White, of Plymouth, and his wife, Rebecca Temple, had an uncle, Mr. Nathaniel White, a merchant, who was living in 1717. This fact is shown in a letter written at the time by Capt. Robert Temple, her brother. A copy of this letter was obtained by the writer from Capt. Temple's great-grandson, the late Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston. It is also known that Thomas Temple, the father of Robert, sailed from this port when he first went out to settle in New England, during the early part of the eighteenth century. It has been shown that a large branch of the Emmet family lived in Plymouth according to the record of the burial of Thos. Emmet in 1588, and the burial of Mary Emmet in 1707.

*The one was no more "His Majesty's Brick-layer" than the late Queen Victoria's equerry was her stableman.

Morrice Emmet of London aged 66 years 1687 = Elizabeth daur of [illegible]

a Mary Emmet of the Parish of St Brides aged 27 years 1687 = Elizabeth daur of John Browne of Westminster Clerk

Henry living 1687

Morrice Emmet His Majesty's Bricklayer living aged 25 years 1687 = Elizabeth daur of Lucas [illegible] Vic Parr of St Martins in the Fields Esqr

John aged 12 years 1687

Morrice aged 12 years 1687

Elizabeth aged 13 years 1687

Richard married & had several children dead

George [illegible] aged 21 years 1687

Henry Emmet Citizen & Bricklayer Master of London living aged 23 years 1687 = Mary daur of Edward Hall of London

John aged 12 years 1687

Mary dead an Infant

Signed Henry Emmett

Extracted from the Records of the College of Arms London

1st October 1930

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

PEDIGREE OF THE MORRICE EMMET FAMILY, LONDON, 1687

A family bearing the surname of Emmetson once resided there, and a Dr. Remmetson [R. Emmet's son] was a very distinguished physician in the town during the early part of the last century. The writer possesses a large folio engraving of this physician, which most probably was published by a dealer, for under ordinary circumstances it would have proved too costly for a private individual to have had it engraved for a limited circulation.

There exists no clue, but quite possibly there was some connection between the family of Dr. Christopher Emett and Thomas Emet, who was supposed to have died without children, and whose estate passed to Thomas Moore through his grandmother, Katherine Emet. The social relations of these two families were with the most prominent in the county, and they were more nearly the same than of any of the other branches then living in Ireland; they seem to have been associated with the same families in their neighborhood which were known to Dr. Robert Emmet and his children a generation later.

Many years ago a young man named Moore, from the south of Ireland, got into some pecuniary difficulty while in this country, and was aided by Mr. T. A. Emmet, an uncle of the writer. Moore knew nothing of the early history of his family, but came to Mr. Emmet for assistance on the strength of a tradition that in some manner Robert Emmet, "the patriot", was related to his family. In proof, he promised to send to Mr. Emmet, on his return, a Bible which had belonged to some one of the name of Emmet, but none of *his* family knew how or when it came into their possession. Moore kept his promise, and shortly after the book was received by Mr. Emmet it was presented by him to the writer. This Bible is an octavo volume, printed in London, 1638, and it contains a record of the birth of five children, placed, as usual, on the record sheet between the Old and the New Testament. The first two entries were made in the handwriting of an educated man in middle life, while the last three were written by a female who wrote with some difficulty; but, from the propinquity and order of the dates it is evident that the whole record was one of the same family of children. At the back of this book there had been written what seemed to have been an extensive family record, but apparently a child had seized these leaves and in an attempt to get them into its possession they were pulled out, leaving just enough along the binding to indicate the nature of the manuscript. In 1734, eighty-seven years after this record had been made, some one wrote in the tremulous hand of old age: "I desire this leaf may not be taken out."

On going through the Bible, on page after page was found written in a child's hand, "Mary Moore's", along the margin, as if it were done to mark the chapter which she had to memorize. The whole interest in the book turns on this name, and the possibility that it may have belonged to Mary Moore, the sister of Thomas, who inherited the property of Thomas Emet. The family tradition held by the Moores, that they were connected with Robert Emmet's family, cannot be accepted or be relied upon alone as evidence, since the origin of the tradition may have been due entirely to their possession of the book.

The following is the Bible record:

1647. My daughter Deborah Emmet was borne ye 7th day of November 1647,—being Sunday, and was baptized ye Sunday following, being the 14th day of November.

1650. My daughter Mary Emmet was borne and Baptized upon Fryday, being ye 22nd day of November, 1650.

My sonn Honri [Henry] Emott was borne upon Sonday, being the 25th day of November, 1653.

My daughter Elossoboth Emott was borne the 21st day of November, 1655.

My son John Emott was borne the 21st of November, 1658.

I desire this leaf may not be taken out.—1734.

As early as 1658 the name of James Emott appears among the first settlers in Amboy, N. J., and in 1686 he was appointed Secretary of that Province. There have been several distinguished men of this family, the most prominent being the late Judge James Emott, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., who died in 1850. Some years ago an uncle of the writer inquired into the early history of this family. Judge Emott, of Poughkeepsie, then stated that little was known of his ancestor, the first Emott settler in Amboy, and that he was ignorant of the date of his arrival; nor could he tell whether James Emott had emigrated from Holland with the first Dutch settlers, or had come from England at a subsequent period.

New Perth, on Ambo Point, hence in time Perth Amboy, was named after James, Earl of Perth, one of the proprietors of East Jersey, and it was settled by Scotch and emigrants from the north of England. Under the circumstances, that James Emott came originally from either Lancashire or Yorkshire, in the north of England, is a natural inference, connected as he was with the early settlement of Perth Amboy.*

Dr. William James Macneven, one of the United Irishmen during the troubles of 1798, was confined in Fort George, Scotland, with Thomas Addis Emmet. He married a Mrs. Tom, née Riker, of Bowery Bay, Long Island, who lived to an advanced age. The writer, when a young man, learned from her the history of a member of the Emmet family, who came with his brother to New York about the middle of the 18th century. She also stated that towards the close of the Revolution her family returned to their country place, which had been abandoned for some years, as the English held New York and the neighborhood. It was then found that the British soldiers in seeking for plunder had violated the family vault and had left the coffins broken and open. As a child Miss Riker was particularly struck by the dark hue of the bones in one of the coffins, in such marked contrast to the blanched appearance of the other skeletons. Her father told her they were the remains of a young Irishman, named Emmet, a great favorite with everyone who knew him, who had come to this country with his brother some years before the Revolution. Mr. Emmet had begun as a teacher, but later studied law. During one of his frequent visits to Mr. Riker's house he was struck by lightning

*The name Emott is quite a common one at the present time in Yorkshire, England. In a list of wills (Appendix, Note I) is one of James Emott, who died in York, 1561.

1647.

my daughter Deborah Emmet was borne 8th day of November 1647. b. ino Sunday & was Baptizd. ye Sunday following being the 14th day of November. /.

1650.

my daughter Mary Emmet was borne & Baptizd upon fryday being ye 22th day of November. 1650.

my Sonn Steuen Emmett was borne upon Sonday being the 25 day of September 1653.

my Sonn Robert Emmett was borne the 21 of September 1655.

my Sonn Iohn Emmett was borne the 21 of november 1658

Memorie this Leaf may not be taken out

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO SAINT MATTHEVV.

CHAP. I.

1 *The genealogie of Christ from Abraham to Joseph,* 18 *He is conceived by the holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, when he was espoused to Joseph.* 19 *The Angel satisfieth the unfaithfull thoughts of Joseph, and interpreteth the name of Christ.*

THE book of the * generation of Jesus Christ, the sonne of David, the sonne of Abraham.

2 * Abraham begat Isaac, and * Isaac begat Jacob, and * Jacob begat Judas and his brethren.

3 And * Judas begat Pharez and Zara of Thamar, and * Pharez begat Esrom, and Esrom begat Aram.

4 And Aram begat Aminadab, and Aminadab begat Naasson, and Naasson begat Salmon.

5 And Salmon begat Booz of Rachab, and Booz begat Obed of Ruth, and Obed begat Jesse.

6 And * Jesse begat David the King, and † David the King begat Solomon of her *that had been the wife of Urias.*

7 And * Solomon begat Roboam, and Roboam begat Abia, and Abia begat Asa.

8 And Asa begat Josaphat, and Josaphat begat Joram, and Joram begat Ozias.

9 And Ozias begat Joatham, and Joatham begat Achas, and Achas begat Ezekias.

10 And * Ezekias begat Manasses, and Manasses begat Amon, and Amon begat Josias.

11 And † Josias begat Jechonias and his brethren, about the time they were carried away to Babylon.

12 And after they were brought to Babylon, * Jechonias begat Salathiel, and Salathiel begat Zorobabel.

13 And Zorobabel begat Abiud, and Abiud begat Eliakim, and † Eliakim begat Azor.

14 And Azor begat Sadoc, and Sadoc begat Achim, and Achim begat Eliud.

15 And Eliud begat Eleazar, and Eleazar begat Matthan, and Matthan begat Jacob.

16 And Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.

17 So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; and from David until the carrying away into Babylon, are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ, are fourteen generations.

18 ¶ Now the * birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, (before they came together) she was found with child of the holy Ghost.

19 Then Joseph her husband being a just man, and not willing to make her a publike example, was minded to put her away privily.

20 But while he thought on these things, behold, the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph thou sonne of David, feare not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her, is of the holy Ghost.

21 And she shall bring forth a Sonne, and thou shalt call his Name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sinnes.

22 (Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the Prophet, saying,

23 * Behold a Virgin shall be with childe, and shall bring forth a Sonne, and they shall call his Name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.)

24 Then Joseph being raised from sleep, did as the Angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife:

25 And knew her not, till she had brought forth her first-born Sonne, and he called his Name Jesus.

CHAP. II.

1 *The wise men out of the East are directed to Christ by a Starre.* 11 *They worship him, and offer their presents.* 14 *Joseph flieth into Egypt with Jesus and his mother.* 16 *Herod slayeth the children:* 20 *Himself dieth.* 23 *Christ is brought back again into Galilee to Nazareth.*

NOw when * Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the dayes of Herod the King, behold, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem,

2 Saying, Where is he that is born King of the Iewes? for we have seen his Starre in the East, and are come to worship him.

3 When Herod the King had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.

4 And when he had gathered all the chief Priests and Scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born.

5 And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea: for thus it is written by the Prophet,

6 * And thou Bethlehem in the land of Juda, art not the least among the Princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governour, that shall † rule my people Israel.

7 Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, enquired of them diligently what time the Starre appeared:

8 And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go, and search diligently for the young childe, and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

9 When they had heard the King, they departed; and lo, the Starre which they saw in the East,

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

BIBLE RECORD OF AN EMMET FAMILY LIVING IN IRELAND, 1647

while mending a pen at an open door. The history of this young man interested her so much that she frequently got her father to repeat the story, and it apparently made an indelible impression on her, for she never forgot its details. Shortly after Thos. Addis Emmet's arrival in this country Mrs. Macneven made his acquaintance and told him the story of this young Irishman. Mr. Emmet then recalled having heard his father mention that, when a boy, one of his uncles, a brother of Christopher Emett, had come into possession of a farm near New York, and that he had sent two of his sons out to look after it. They were never heard of after their arrival in America, not an infrequent occurrence in the early settlement of this country, owing to the uncertainty of any intercourse by letter, which could only be transmitted by one individual to another. The coincidence in dates would lead to the inference that this young Emmet and his brother were these two nephews of Christopher Emett; and, moreover, Mrs. Macneven had the impression that Mr. T. A. Emmet believed that such was the fact. Nothing is known of the subsequent history of the brother.

James Emmet, of the Hillsboro' District, was appointed Captain in the Third North Carolina Regiment on April 16th, 1776, and served throughout the war. The writer has in his possession a copy of a letter written by Col. James Emmet on April 27th, 1781, to General Greene, and the late Mr. James A. Garland, of New York, had in his possession a number of others, showing that Col. Emmet was an active and trusted officer. The writer also recalls seeing among the list of officers of the North Carolina Confederate troops, who surrendered at the end of the Civil War, a Col. Emmet, who was, no doubt, a descendant of the Revolutionary officer. So far it has been impossible to discover the existence at the present time of this family in North Carolina. But the query here presents itself: Was Col. James Emmet of the Revolution the other nephew of Christopher Emett, of Tipperary, Ireland, or was he a descendant of James Emott, of Perth Amboy?

The name of Emmet seems to possess some special attraction for the struggling play-actor, the negro minstrel, and the clog-dancer. The writer has known of three instances in this country, and of one in England, where persons on the stage have assumed the name. One of the most noted instances was the late clog-dancer, "J. K. Emmet," whose real name, it is said, was Kline, and who had not the slightest claim whatever to the name of Emmet; however, his family still continues to use it.

Among the early settlers in the neighborhood of Frederick, Md., was a family of Emmitts, and their place was the site of the present Emmittsburg. The writer has been unable to obtain any information concerning the early history of this family.

It is most remarkable that, occupying so prominent and influential a position as did the progenitors of the American branch early in the eighteenth century, a break could exist in the family record which obscures entirely all previous history. It is well known that the church records, as well as those in private hands, were frequently burned or otherwise destroyed in Ireland

by the British troops; in fact, both public and private property was wantonly destroyed whenever the pretext of a possible rebellion could be made. This is one reason for the obscurity which surrounds this portion of the family history, but the lack of traditional information in the family is to a still greater degree responsible for it. This condition must to some extent be attributed to Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, who had suffered so much during the troubles of " '98," and had so little pleasure associated with the past in Ireland, that after his arrival in this country neither he nor his wife ever referred to Irish affairs or to the family history if it were possible to avoid doing so. He felt bitterly about the tragedies of this portion of his life—so much so that in a large number of his letters which have come to the notice of the writer, and which cover many years of his life in America, in but three instances did Mr. Emmet make any allusion to his family or past history. In one letter to a daughter he made reference to the fortitude with which his wife had borne the privations of her prison life. In another letter he expressed the hope that "no one of the name would ever put foot on the soil of Ireland while she remained under British Rule". And the other instance was to the effect that he wished the past forgotten, and the history of the family to begin with its settlement in this country.

In a letter by T. A. Emmet, given in the twenty-fifth chapter and written on November 10th, 1806, to Mr. Peter Burrowes, an old associate in Ireland, we find expression of the same sentiment: "There is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet. I do not wish that there ever should while it is connected with England, and yet it will perhaps be remembered in its history".*

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*The following letters may be of interest to the reader, as they were written by the first individual of the name to visit Ireland over forty years after her father had been banished from his native land. These letters were written by Miss Margaret Emmet, Mr. Emmet's eldest daughter, who was born in Ireland, and was with him during his imprisonment at Fort George, being then about eleven years of age. Mrs. Graves, her youngest sister, born in New York, and her husband, formed the party.

The first of these letters written by Miss Emmet is to her niece, Susan Le Roy, the daughter of her sister Elizabeth:

DUBLIN, August 1st, 1842.

"MY DEAR SUSAN:

As you have redeemed your character, as a correspondent, by a pleasant letter which I received the other day, I must avail myself of a very few spare moments to write to you a short answer, which is all that I can do at this time as the steamer sails so soon. You will wonder, I have no doubt, that we should have so much to occupy us in such a quiet place as Ireland, but we are staying at Uncle John's, and although they have seen great reverses of fortune, from loss of property, still the hospitality of the land will break out in them and we are feasted either at home or abroad every day, and after being here almost a week this is the first chance I have had of writing. Your Uncle Graves is writing to Mount Alto [the country place of Bache McEvers] and of course giving a glowing account of our first reception in Paddy land, which was rather in the loafer style, as we spent the night in the street begging admittance from door to door without success. I longed for uncle Bill to sing Barney Brannigan while I was sitting on the handle of the wheel-barrow that held our luggage. I think he would have made the windows of the houses around fly open by the magic of his voice, and our disconsolate situation would have been made known to more than the flinty heart who answered us from behind the closed door that there "was not a spare bed in the house." But long life to the moon, for a sweet noble creature, as she shone out in all her splendor silver bright; and when we had no other resource we returned to another hotel and there got a carriage and drove into Dublin by broad daylight, for the steamer landed the passengers at King's town, seven or eight miles from Dublin, and immediately falls back into the stream,—otherwise we would have returned to sleep in it. When we reached Dublin we went to bed for a few hours and breakfasted before we drove to Uncle John's, who lives about two miles from Dublin. When once inside of a house the warm feeling of the country began to show itself, for the waiter who attended at breakfast shed real silent tears when he heard who we were and I have no doubt told the other servants in the Hotel, for there were men and women on every landing as we went down stairs, and all looked kindly at us.

At Sandy Mount, where we are staying, we are treated like spoiled children, and nothing can exceed the kindness of all. Even every member of Uncle John's wife's family, who although in constant attendance on a brother who is very ill, have asked us to their houses. We went out today and I am obliged to finish my letter in the small hours, as Mr. Delprat says. On that account we went out to a beautiful country seat of a cousin of your grand mother, who asked after his cousin Jane and called me Margaret soon after he knew me. At that place I am sure we would have spent some pleasant

In a letter written by Thomas Addis Emmet to Rufus King, of New York, in 1807, during a political contest, he writes, "and even in those matters which I consider as trivial, but upon which aristocratic pride is accustomed to stamp a value, I should not be inclined to shrink from competition. My birth certainly will not humble me by the comparison, my paternal fortune was probably much greater than yours; the consideration in which the name I bear was held in my native country was as great as yours is ever likely to be, before I had an opportunity of contributing to its celebrity".

Dr. Madden states that "Emmet's vanity was of a peculiar kind; he was vain of nothing but his name." Robert Emmet when answering, at his trial, the accusation that he was an emissary of France that he might advance his own ends, repudiates the charge as follows: "Oh, my country, was it personal ambition that influenced me! had it been the soul of my action, could

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days, but one of the family, a favorite son, is lying at the point of death and Mrs. Colville, his mother, could only leave him for a few moments to see us when we called there. But they are constantly sending fine fruit &c. and showing what they would do but for circumstances.

I must draw this to a close per force, but your uncle Graves has written so long a letter to your Aunt Jane, that this is only to tell you that I have not forgotten you and tell Libby [her sister Elizabeth] that her little letter was very nice indeed. Your Uncle will not allow me to write another word.

Yours ever,
MARGARET EMMET."

Miss Susan Le Roy,
New York.

The next letter from Miss Emmet is to her sister, Mrs. Le Roy:

DUBLIN, August 15th, 1842.

"After sipping the sweets of the Devil's Punch Bowl at Killarney, you will think, My dear Elizabeth, that I must be just in good order to answer your folio letter of six pages, which I received on my return to Dublin and read with the greatest pleasure; not excepting the two scrub epistles at the end, and were I not again pressed for time while writing I would try what virtue there is in crossing, but I am afraid I cannot today. Mary Ann also received one from you a week later, we conjecture, for Jane began it and put no date.

I am grieved to learn that John [her brother] is still so much a sufferer as you state. I had hoped that he would have recruited fast when among you all and with summer weather. It seems too hard that he should be obliged to go before our return when we are so near it, but I know how necessary a warm climate is to him and the end of September may be too late for him to travel.

We leave this for Scotland in a couple of days taking the North of Ireland first. We spent four days in Killarney and would willingly have remained longer, as we had such torrents of rain some part of the time that we had to forego several excursions on that account. The lakes are very beautiful and the mountains fine and water falls, all with some legend of fairies and enchantment about them, with O'Donoghues and O'Sullivans for the heroes. Indeed there is not a rock or island that has not its tale of romance.

We have not been able to hear as much genuine Irish wit as I expected. But the common people we have come in contact with, have been spoiled by being guides &c.—and training their wit. However, the old man who took us in for the night, in our trouble on the road, told me that I "spoke a deal entirely plain" for one coming from America and a day or two in the bogs would have brought the real stuff out I am sure. The same ill luck about houses attended us on our return from Killarney, although travelling a different route and we were once actually floored by two or three country gentlemen "who pay the rent," (pigs) who in settling some private quarrel dashed between our horses' legs and threw them both down, postilion and all. It had been raining hard and we had to dismount from the carriage in a perfect sea, and found both horses' knees shockingly cut. They proved to be but flesh wounds, but had we had any other resource our humanity would have prompted us to take it instead of going on with them, which we were obliged to do after a time on a slow walk, however, and for a short distance. From Limerick we had no trouble, and on our way we paid a visit to Mrs. Harper, a cousin of Mama who was Miss Colville, and Miss Margaret Colville. They had written to Dublin hoping we would spend a day with them on our way to Killarney, but we went a different direction and the family are in much trouble about a son of Mr. Colville at Clontarf who died the day after our visit. As we passed through the town, where they were living, coming back, we thought we would call even if they were not at home, and I am glad we did, for it is delightful to see how affectionately Mamma is remembered and to feel so warmly welcomed for her sake. Had Mr. Colville's family not been in distress I am sure we would have spent part of our time with them, and they seemed to live very pleasantly in the country. As it is they have been constantly sending fine fruit and the delicacies of the season to Uncle John for us. Uncle John is a perfect contrast to Mamma, slow in speaking and very absent, but he has a great deal of fun and such perfect good humor that everybody loves him and he has a mind stored with information. In traveling whenever we were in a difficulty, he always had some improvement or invention which was just making that would have suited our case exactly, had it been in general use. Once when our boat was aground, he said there was one just invented with wheels at the bottom, for such an emergency; again when we could not stem the rapids and were wishing our boat could be carried, there was an India rubber one making by some one, and so on in his quiet way.

We have seen Mr. Holmes twice; he was absent when we first arrived and did not return until a day or two before we went South. He is a fine looking old man, but not one my heart warms to, for altho' he is not what you would call a reserved man, there is no glow about him which would draw you near to him as a relation."

I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family, have placed myself among the proudest of your oppressors."

In the history of the family a series of letters will be given which were written to T. A. Emmet while in prison. Frequent reference is made in these letters to prominent persons in Ireland, and in a manner to show clearly what had been the social position of the family before the political troubles of the day overwhelmed its members.

The writer recalls seeing his grandmother, Mrs. T. A. Emmet, burn a large mass of letters, or other papers, during the winter of 1841, while on a visit to one of his uncles, then living in Broome Street; in fact, as a thoughtless boy, he aided her in doing so by gathering up what had fallen from the grate. But one single record seems to have been preserved, and that is a Bible containing the family record of the grandfather and father of T. A. Emmet; but for this nothing would be known beyond the name of his father.

It has, unfortunately, been only within the past fifty years that any attempt has been made, and only by the writer, to ascertain anything of the family history. While this search has been essentially an exhaustive one in both England and Ireland, it was productive of little beyond the accumulation of a mass of material bearing only on a part of the general history of the family, and chiefly relating to the political courses of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet.

A portion of these papers showed that there were certain striking peculiarities or facts strangely associated almost everywhere with the name of Emmet. We may recall the circumstance stated in relation to the close resemblance of the arms borne by the different branches of the family for centuries past, and without relation to the different modes of spelling the name. It has also been found in nearly every generation, and in every branch, that the Christian names of Christopher, Robert, William, Thomas and John have been those most commonly used. Again, the records of England and Ireland show, during the past three hundred years, that an unusually large proportion of the Emmets, with the various modes of spelling, have been professional men, generally "married well", and evidently to superior women, as a rule, who were able to train their children to the best advantage.

So far as could be judged, from a large number of wills examined, there is no evidence that the Emmets at any time possessed great wealth, but all seemed to have been in comfortable circumstances, as, with a single exception, no one of the name was found on the records of the Bankruptcy Courts. This would indicate a prudent, thrifty race, with little taste for show, and one inclined to live within its means. But the most remarkable circumstance noted was the fact that the family has occupied essentially the same social position from our earliest records to the present day—a fact doubtless to be attributed to the training of professional life and to the consequent development and maintenance of the intellectual faculties. Medicine seems to have been a favorite profession, and many have been successful at the Bar, but not a clergyman bearing the name has been found in Ireland. In the north of England there have been several of the Established Church of the name of Emmott,

and at a more recent period the Rev. M. Emmet became prominent in England as a Methodist minister.

Spooner, in his "History of the Fine Arts", etc. (New York, 1865), mentions Wm. Emmett, "an English engraver, who flourished about 1710. He engraved a number of prints for the booksellers, among which is a large view of the interior of St. Paul's Church, executed with the graver in a neat, clear style."

In O'Hart's "Irish Pedigrees" it is stated from Agnew's "French Protestants" that an individual bearing the name of Emet was naturalized in Ireland between 1689 and 1701. It would seem that he was of Huguenot descent from Holland, and came over to Ireland among the followers of William, Prince of Orange.

Within the personal experience of the writer there have been seven different families of Emmet (with the name variously spelt) unknown to each other, and from different parts of the world, who have claimed to be in direct descent from Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, or more remotely connected with the same family. So fixed has the tradition become that it is impossible to prove how the question of relationship originated, it becoming finally accepted as true, on the alleged claim of some progenitor who knew the facts, but has since died.

I recall two noted instances; that of Mrs. General Botha and the Reverend Thomas Addis Emmet, S. J., whose father was an Irishman. A member of the Tucker family who was of position in the East India Company, when the British Government annexed India, was a first cousin of the writer's grandfather, on his mother's side.

After a visit to Bermuda some sixty years ago the writer became possessed of some papers connected with this official, where frequent mention was made of a General Emmott, who had spent his life in the East India service. He was a native of Yorkshire in England, and when the East India Company ceased to exist the General was pensioned and given some office connected with the government at Cape Town, where he finally died. Mrs. Botha's father was undoubtedly descended from this General Emmott, but her name had been changed to Emmet and she had two brothers, Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet who served through the Boer War with great credit. Through the aid of the late Michael Davitt, the writer was able to correspond with Mrs. Botha, but she had no proof of relationship nor extended knowledge of her own family's settlement at the Cape nor of any connection with Ireland, and yet the family continues to hold the claim.

The family of the Catholic clergyman was from Ireland, but he possessed no knowledge of his history and held nothing more than the tradition that a relationship did exist.

From the birth of Christopher, the grandfather of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, every connection of the family is perfectly well known. Christopher, who was born in 1700, may have had a brother or sister of whom the present members of the family have no record.

But Christopher, as will be shown, had only two children. The eldest son, and his child, died young. Dr. Robert Emmet, the remaining child and the youngest, had three sons and a daughter who passed the period of adolescence. Temple, the eldest, died as a young man, and had but one daughter who also died at an early age.

The children of Thomas Addis Emmet all settled in New York, except the writer's father, and an uncle, who died early in life as a midshipman in the United States navy. The history of all these was known to the writer in as close detail as ever the life of one individual could be to another. Therefore, the claim of relationship with the family of Robert Emmet at any time within at least 210 years can only rest on an illegitimate connection.

But from the writer's intimate knowledge of the lives of the male members of the family, it seems an absurdity to suppose they ever had any illegitimate children. There can not exist the slightest basis for the claim of those who hold they have descended directly from Robert Emmet. He never married and both friend and foe who knew him from childhood, agree that his moral character, in every relation, was in accord with the highest standard of purity.

The Irish question has never passed into history because it has never passed out of politics.

Lord Rosebery.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Christopher Emett and Rebecca
Temple, his wife

In the sad picture of her destruction Ireland exhibits not the majestic ruins of a nation. Before Ireland could be a nation she became a province; before Ireland could be a people her inhabitants were made slaves, attached not to their country, but to their soil.
T. A. Emmet.

Chapter II

Irish relations and ancestors of the present generation of the Emmet family in the United States of America—Christopher Emett, M.D., marriages and connections—Dr. Robert Emmet of Dublin—Author—Medical work and a number of poems.

IT has been shown that different branches of the Emmet family were in Ireland during three hundred years, and in England for centuries before. Yet between them and the ancestors of the family now in the United States no direct communication could be traced, nor is there any record of this branch earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The American family came from Thomas Emett, the father of Christopher Emett, of whom nothing more is known. Christopher was born in 1700, as was ascertained from the headstone over his grave in the yard of the Tipperary parish church. He was a physician or surgeon, and, according to Dr. Madden's statement, had a large practice at the time of his death. He probably practised surgery chiefly and did not take the degree of Doctor of Medicine, which would explain why he had never styled himself "Doctor", and in fact nothing more than "Christopher Emett, Gent^{n}," as his signature appears upon several documents. He married, February 9th, 1727, Rebecca, only daughter of Thomas Temple, Esq., of Ten Hills—near Boston—and granddaughter of Sir Purbeck Temple, Bart.* Her father resided for the greater portion of his life in America, as did his son Robert, and his grandsons Robert and John Temple. They married in New England, and their descendants, as will be shown, became afterwards more closely related to the Emmet family.

Christopher and Rebecca Emett had but two children:

1. Thomas Emett, who was born in 1728, married Grace Russell, and had one child. The father died of smallpox June 27th, 1758. His child expired on the following day from the same disease, and both were buried in the same grave in the town of Tipperary. Mrs. Emett died in Dublin, about 1788, at the house of Dr. Robert Emmet, and in her will she directed that she should be buried in the same grave with her husband and child.

*See Appendix, Note II, for history of the Temple Family.

2. Robert Emett was born in Tipperary, November 29th, 1729, and the details of his life will be given hereafter.

Christopher Emett died in Tipperary, leaving the following will:

In the name of God, Amen. I, Christopher Emett, of Tippperary, in the County of Tipperary, being at present in a bad state of health, but of sound mind and memory, thanks be to God, do make and declare this to be my last Will and Testament, revoking all former wills by me made and declaring this and no other to be my last Will and Testament, in the manner following:

First, I give to my dearly beloved wife Rebecca Emett the sum of fifty pounds, and my plate and household linen, which fifty pounds I desire she may be paid first, the debts justly due of me having been discharged. I farther bequest unto my wife, during her widowhood, the use of her choice Room, and the furniture thereof, in the House we now dwell in, together with the Interest I now have in the Fairs and Markets of this Town, she discharging, paying, and fullfilling the several Articles which I am subject to in the Lease which I have of the same, and if my said wife should think proper to marry after my decease, my will is that both my sons pay her two hundred and fifty pounds sterling over and above the fifty pounds first given and bequeathed to her, or if my said wife and all, or any, of my Executors, jointly with her hereafter named, shall think proper to lett or sell all or any of my Freehold Leases, real or personal Estate, which I hereby empower them to do, my Will is that She receives the said fifty pounds as in case of such marriage.

The remainder of my worldly substance to go and be equally divided between my two sons Thos. Emett and Robert Emett, and in case of the death of both before arriving at the lawful age, then my Will is that if my wife be living that she may be paid two hundred pounds more than heretofore given her, but if she should not be living my Will is that one hundred pounds of the above two hundred pounds intended for her be paid to my sister in law Elizabeth Temple, of the city of Dublin, if she be then living, and fifty pounds to my sister in law Agnes Cuthbert, of Castlebarr, if she should be then living, and not otherwise, and if not, that and the remainder of my Substance to be equally divided between my brothers and sisters, or as many as shall be living of them, except fifty pounds which I leave to my nephew Christopher Emett, son of William Emett, and forty pounds to my nephew John Mahony, in case of such contingencies as hereinbefore expressed; and it is further my will and desire that neither of my sons should marry before they arrive at the age of twenty-two years without the consent of my wife first had, and the consent of Joseph White, Esq., or of Ambrose Harding with hers, and in case either of them should, then he to receive twenty-five pounds and no more, and the Legacy herein intended for him to go to his brother. But in case they should both marry before they arrive to such age, then their legacies to be disposed of between them, as my wife, Ambrose Harding, Esq., and Joseph White, Esq., see proper, and it is my will that if any dispute arise between my sons on account of the legacy herein intended for them, that the same may be determined by Ambrose Harding, Esq., Joseph White, and my wife, or any two of them, and in case of them refusing, then to any other three honest gentlemen, of which James Reardon, of the town of Tipperary if living be one, which determination shall be final to such dispute, and in case either of them shall not abide by such determination, then to receive twenty pounds and no more.

I nominate, constitute and appoint the aforesaid Ambrose Harding, Joseph White, Rebecca Emett, my wife, and Samuel Taylor, of Waterford, Gent^{n}, executor of this my last Will and Testament; I appoint my said wife Rebecca and said Samuel Taylor guardians of my said sons Thomas and Robert during each of their minorities.

In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this twentyeth day of April, in the year of our Lord God one thousand and seven hundred and forty-three.

CHRISTOPHER EMETT [SEAL].

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Testator to be his last Will and Testament in presence of us who have signed our names as Witness in his Presence, the words "and I appoint my said wife Rebecca and Samuel Taylor, guardians of my said sons Thomas and Robert during each of their minorities", being first above interlined between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth lines.

Witness:

John Armstrong, Saml. Corbett, Rudolph Hobb.

The last Will and Testament of Christopher Emett, late of Tipperary, in the county of Tipperary, Gent., decd., leaving and so forth, was proved and approved in common form of law and registered in his Majesty's Court of Prerogative and the Burden of the Executive of the said Will and administration of the goods of the said decd. were granted by the Most Rev. Father John and soforth, also Judge and soforth, to Rebecca Emett, widow and relict of the said decd., and Samuel Taylor, of the city of Dublin, Gentn., two of ye Execrs. named in ye said Will, they being first sworn. Saving the right of Ambrose Harding and Joseph White, Esqs., the other Execrs. and soforth. Dated the fourteenth day of November in ye year of our Lord 1743—and they have to exhibit an Inventory on or before the last day of May next ensuing.

Christopher Emett evidently had a number of brothers and sisters, as is shown by the provision made in his will that under a certain contingency the property should "be equally divided between my brothers and sisters, or as many as shall be living of them". He mentions by name only his brother William, and so far no clue has been obtained to indicate the names of his other brothers or their place of residence, consequently it is impossible to trace the relationship between those of the name known to have been living at that time in Ireland. Possibly Christopher's other brothers were without male children, or if this was not so their male descendants, as well as those of their nephew Christopher, died out in the next generation.

The proof of this rests on the letter given in the twenty-fifth chapter and written to Peter Burrowes by Thomas Addis Emmet, shortly after settling in this country, and already referred to, in which he states—"there is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet." This positive assertion must be accepted without question, as it cannot be supposed that Mr. Emmet could have been either ignorant of the facts or indifferent to the truth of such an important statement.

It seems not unlikely, from evidence to be presented, that one of Christopher's sisters married a Joseph White, who was probably of the same family as Nathl. White, the Plymouth merchant, and that the Joseph White who was executor to Christopher Emett's will was the son of Nathaniel. It is also likely that one of the sisters of Christopher married a Mr. Taylor, and that he was the father of Samuel Taylor selected by Christopher Emett as one of his executors and to be the guardian of his children. It is also likely that still another sister of Christopher married Thomas Addis, a merchant of Cork. It is thought that Mr. Addis married twice, Joana Emett being his first wife and Jane his widow. His will was dated May 19th, 1719, and it was proved June 6th, 1724. It may be inferred from the date of proving the will that Mr. Addis died in the spring of 1724.*

*The Addis family was one of importance in Cork, Ireland, throughout the 17th century. Members of this family frequently served as mayor or sheriff of Cork. The cutlery, and particularly the

He left one son, Fenton Addis, who was an only child and by his first wife. Fenton Addis was a lawyer by profession and practised in Cork for many years. While we have no positive proof of the exact degree of relationship, it is known that one did exist. Mr. Addis lived well past the middle of the eighteenth century, and his connection with Dr. Emmet's family could only have been based on some relationship. Fenton Addis's wife died in 1744; he had no children, and evidently on his death his effects passed to Dr. Robert Emmet. In proof of this surmise the writer has a number of books which he inherited from his father and which doubtless originally formed part of the library of his grandfather, T. A. Emmet. These books contain the bookplate or signature of Fenton Addis, and from the date of publication of some of them it is evident that he was alive as late as the birth of Thomas Addis Emmet. In precisely the same manner the family inherited a silver snuffbox with a large bloodstone on the top set around with Irish garnets. On the inside of the cover is inserted what is supposed to be a rare form of bloodstone, perfectly white, with a blot in the center resembling a fresh drop of blood. Around this stone is the inscription: "This Box to be kept in ye family of Thomas Addis for ye last of his male line, A.D. 1708.—Value 10 pds." At the time of Fenton Addis's death his immediate family had apparently died out, and this snuffbox naturally went to Dr. Emmet for his son bearing the name of Addis.

One of the bequests made in Christopher's will was to Elizabeth Temple, his wife's sister, and also "fifty pounds to my *sister-in-law* Agnes Cuthbert, of Castlebarr, if she should be then living, *and not Otherwise.*"* There is nothing to show who this "sister-in-law" could have been. The only possible explanation seems to be that she was his sister and not a sister-in-law, as stated in the will. This view is suggested from the reading of the will of Dr. Wm. Cuthbert, as follows:

In the name of God, amen. I William Cuthbert, of the city of Dublin, gent., being of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, do make my last Will and Testament in manner following,—that is to say I give, devise and bequeath unto my beloved wife Mary Cuthbert, otherwise Phibbs, in addition to her marriage articles with me, which I hereby confirm, all my real and personal estate of what kind and nature so ever towards her better support and maintinance, except my books in physick and chirurgery, which I hereby devise to my former wife's nephew Dr. Robert Emmitt, and do nominate, constitute and appoint my said wife Mary sole executive of this my will, hereby revoking all former wills by me made and declaring this to be my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal, this twenty-fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three. WILLM. CUTHBERT [SEAL]†

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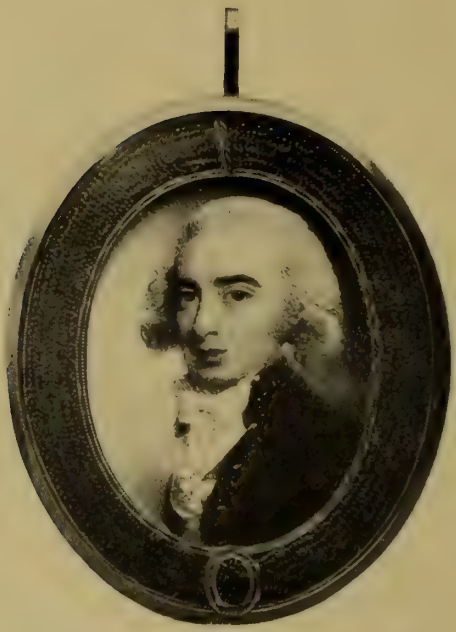
carving tools, made by the Addis family, were noted features of Irish industry for generations. The family seemed to have died out during the following century in Cork or emigrated to New England. The following newspaper cutting was sent to me while writing this work and it would seem to indicate that some of the family had settled in Connecticut:

(3651.) 1. *Addis,* Ancestry wanted of the following-named: *James Addis* of Durham, Conn., a soldier in Revolution. *Samuel Addis* who married Submit Bartlett. *Thomas Addis* of Durham, Conn., born 1739, died April 14, 1827. *Thomas Addis* of Westbrook, Conn., 1764. *Thomas Addis* of Litchfield, Conn., who married Abby De Wolf. *Thomas Addis,* who married Susanna Larrabee in Boston, 1748.

*The author recently looking over a file of papers printed in Dublin during the later portion of 1797, saw the advertisement of a house to be let in Dublin, and "possession given immediately or *sooner* if desired".

†Among the State Prisoners at Fort George and a leader in the organization of United Irishmen



REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

DR. ROBERT EMMET
of Dublin, from a miniature, about 1760

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the Testator as his last Will and testament in presence of us who in his presence at his request, and in presence of each other, have subscribed our names as witnesses:

THOMAS TAYLOR, WM. BILL, ALEXR. SPAROW.

It is evident from this document that Agnes Cuthbert was a sister of Christopher Emett and the first wife of Dr. Cuthbert.

Christopher Emett also mentions his nephew, John Mahony, whose mother was Diana Emett, another sister. John Mahony's sister married a Dr. Macoubry, of Anacloy, Downpatrick, Ireland. A letter from T. A. Emmet to his kinswoman, Mrs. Macoubry, relating to the birth of a son, and one from Dr. Emmet, referring to the arrest of his son, will be given hereafter, and reference to these letters is made, as through them the relationship to Diana Emett was traced. Mrs. Macaubry's daughter, Diana, married Mr. John Gerdwood, originally of Edinburgh, but who settled afterwards in the north of Ireland. The widow of her son, Mrs. Sarah Gerdwood, presented the writer with these letters to Mrs. Macoubry, with an account of the family connection.

Another point of interest is presented in this last will. The testator designates himself as "Wm. Cuthbert, of the city of Dublin, Gent.," without making any reference to his profession, which he most likely would have done if entitled to the degree of "Doctor of Medicine." This explanation applies equally to Dr. Christopher Emett, who was termed by others a physician, though he never used the title himself, notwithstanding that he no doubt practised both medicine and surgery. The only explanation is the one already given, that he obtained the degree of surgeon, and consequently would have been addressed, according to the English custom, as Mr. Emett, while his social position entitled him to the designation "Gentn."

Robert Emmet, the youngest son, became a noted physician. He received his degree of medicine from the University of Montpellier, France, about 1750, and began the practice of his profession in Cork, Ireland. In 1753 Dr. Emmet wrote a medical work* on some of the diseases of women, which was originally published in Latin and was afterwards translated into French and English, with two editions printed in Paris, and one in England.†

Dr. Robert Emmet wrote quite a large volume of poems‡ while a medical student, and for several years after, between 1750 and 1765. The writer felt a delicacy in making any attempt to pass judgment on the merit of these poems

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was a Joseph Cuthbert, but no mention is known to have ever been made of him by Mr. Emmet, as would have been the case had he been a relative of Dr. Wm. Cuthbert.

*Tentamina Medica, de Mensium Fluxu et de Curatione Morborum Cephalicorum. Auctore, Roberto Emett, Med. Bacc. è Societate Regiâ Scientiarum, Monspeliense, MDCCLIII.

†The writer has possessed the four editions.

‡The volume in which these poems were written is bound in vellum, made of thick Dutch paper, and despite its having been subjected to rough usage, the skill of the book-binder has preserved its condition.

Previous to being put to its present use, 25 or 30 pages were cut out, so close that the nature of the manuscript which has been removed cannot be determined. The first poem written in the book bears the title "A Poem on a Harvest Day, in three parts, (Morning, Noon and Night), Cork, Sept. 1758". The poems bear various dates between the first written and the last in 1763 while near the end, 1754 and 1755 are given, showing these had been composed at a previous time and were copied in after "The Harvest Day" was written. These poems were written while Dr. Emmet lived in Cork, a number, before his marriage, and several while a student. Many years after, it would seem, Robert Emmet, Jr. had as a child been reading his father's poems, many of which he had seen were signed by the elder. A particular one he noticed had not been signed so he supplied the deficiency with the signature "Robbert Emmet", in a large copy-book form, an accomplishment he had evidently but recently acquired.

of Dr. Robert Emmet and hesitated to choose what parts were worthy of publication. He, therefore, submitted the matter to an old friend, Mr. J. I. C. Clarke, the journalist and poet. Had Mr. Clarke never written more than "Kelly and Burke and Shea", in prose or poetry, he would be entitled to a most prominent position in the literary world. Mr. Clarke's reply was as follows:

I have found Dr. Emmet's verses extremely interesting. He was, I presume, at the time a young man, probably under thirty, educated to the full and in touch with all the literature and art of his day. He had the true poetic bent, and an admirable technique. As you know, it is impossible for anyone to write outside his cycle, that is he must express himself in the line of the greater writers around him. Hence the influence of Pope, the dominant note of his time, is most felt, but in a particular way he was influenced also by Gray. The "Harvest Day" is very largely so, several phrases from the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" finding their way into his lines. However, I have chosen the third or "Evening" part for copying, because it gives a picture of country life in Ireland of 1758 that is fairly illuminative. The affectation that colors most of the poetry of the eighteenth century is naturally present. These were described in a pompous way. The classics were plentifully drawn on for illustration. The names of gods and goddesses are sprinkled over it. You get the idea when you read the eighteenth century poets of England that they wrote with ruffles on their shirts, with periwigs and wore red heels. I am having a number of the poems copied, making them as varied as possible. He is most natural in "A Letter to a Friend".

In a subsequent letter, as to the advisability of placing the remaining portion of The "Harvest Day" in the Appendix, Mr. Clarke wrote—

The whole poem is good mid-eighteenth century verse. The thing that is most valuable in it to me is the light that it throws on the agricultural and rustic customs of the times in Ireland. "Evening" has most of these. The other parts "Morning" and "Noon" are poetically all right, to go in the Appendix. As I wrote before, the "Letter to a Friend" is the best and most human thing in the book, and the Lyrics are good also. (See Appendix, Note III.)

EVENING*

No more the cooling streams delight
  The coverts please no more,
The Sun descends his mid-day height
  And coasts Ierne's shore.
The lab'rer eyes his steep career,
  And marks well pleas'd the ray
Which speaks the well watch'd hour near
  And ends the hir'd day.

2.

The goaded oxen now set free
  Tend loweing in the vale
And slowly winding o'er the lee
  Their fellow oxen hail.
And now wide stretching o'er the lawn
  The lengthen'd shades appear
Of peasants who at russet dawn
  The silent valleys cheer.

*See Appendix, Note III, for remainder of the poem.

3.

In sportive groups they quit the field
Nor toils their vigour marr
For there behold one active wield
And toss the massive barr.
Here with a rock's enormous weight
High on his arm upbore
Each arduous strives to emulate
The Swains who cast before.

4.

Still more laborious, there one joyns
A seeming frantick train
Which tightly girt around their loins
Drive furious o'er the plane.
The youth of neighb'ring villas, they
Met eager to decide
Superior strength and skill in play,
For villagers have pride.

5.

And active now they hurl the ball
And eagerly pursue,
They cross, they jostle, tripp and fall
Each other to outdo,
And stung with love of rustick fame
Each anxious plays his part
Runs, pants and toils to win the game
And prove superior art.

6.

But hark! the Groves harmonious ring,
And crowding to the fray
The fledg'd musicians fondly sing
The vespers of the day.
In concert wild their notes arise
As fades the setting light
An instinct hommage to the skies
And bid the Day good night.

7.

For now disrob'd of all his blaze
The West'rn Sun behold
His glory cropt and dimm'd his rays
A lucid sphere of gold;
Now scarce above the upland height
Appears the fading ray
And sudden now withdrawn from sight
It dips into the Sea.

8.

Now home the peacefull sheperd tends
His fleecy charge secure
Th' endearing glance fond Mopsa sends
And greets him at the door.

And there light tripping o'er the vale
The merry milk-maids come
Or burthen'd with the foaming pail
Return jocund home.

9.

The attentive ploughman there behold
Gaze on the ruddy sky
And from just observation bold
Pronounce the morrow dry.
Or now tho' settl'd and serene
The gilded clouds appear,
He dooms it lost in constant rain
Without one ray to cheer.

10.

His knowledge not from books he draws
Or schoolmen's learn'd pride
Hydraulick rules or nature's laws,
Experience is his guide.
Instructed hence the field he leaves
Eve low'rs the' impending tide
And counts the future harvest's sheaves
Stretch'd by his fire's side.

11.

Instructed hence, t' elude the flight
And save the embryo grain
He waits the moon's returning Light
Nor trusts th' abortive wane.
But hark! in close of Ceres rites
The hagart's toil complete
The frolick bagpipes' sound invites
The Lab'rers to a treat.

12.

And there behold the sportive band
Pleas'd with th' Eolian sound
Give each to each the willing hand
And dance the merry round.
No artfull modes of dance they know
The Louvres measur'd pace
The Rigadoon, the Pasby slow
Or minuet's easy grace.

13.

By nature's laws alert they move
And vigour wings their heels,
And there observe intent on Love
How gracefull Sic'ly wheels.
With looks intent wher'ere she turns
Young Roger's eyes pursue,
And Sic'ly too for Roger burns
Could Roger but be true.

14.

But see pale Cynthia lights her lamp
And spreading o'er the sky
Thick charg'd with chilling aguish damp
The dusky vapours fly.
Now home the rustick Swains retire
That peacefull happy home
Where dread cabals and vengefull ire
Are seldom known to come.

15.

Nor sooner on the peacefull bed
Their cumbrous limbs are thrown
Than Somnus waves the scepter'd lead
And marks them for his own.
Sleep on, ye Sons of healthfull toil,
Enjoy the soft repose,
No tortur'd dreams your slumbers spoil
With scenes of fancy'd woes.

16.

The sultry heat is now forgot
The day's fatigue is o'er
Joy, Health and Peace await your Lot,
What has a monarch more?
Not oft so much, since anxious cares
Their secret hours employ
And thousand doubts, distrusts and fears
The regal peace destroy.

17.

Learn hence this truth, ye grave and gay
Wherewith intent to please
The rustick muse would close her lay
And set each heart at Ease.
In want or wealth, in hinds or kings
Proportion'd bliss you'll find,
Content from no condition springs,
Its source is in the mind.

The education of a people must be its own work, the spontaneous effect of its own genius.

T. A. Emmet.

It has been the curse of Ireland to derive no advantage from the wisdom and virtue of the English sovereigns, yet to be the peculiar victim of their crimes.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter III

Poems of Dr. Robert Emmet continued—Marriage—The Mason family—Families in Co. Kerry connected with the Emmet family by this marriage—Their mode of living—Never very loyal to Great Britain—Dr. Emmet's residence in Dublin—Birthplace of Robert Emmet, Jr.—Names of some of the visitors to Dr. Emmet's house—Buckingham, appoints Dr. Emmet State physician, and to other positions—Different modes of spelling the name of Emmet—Madden's opinion of Dr. Emmet and his wife—His sons—The writer's meeting with Dr. Madden—The Temple family in New England—As loyalists returned to Ireland and lived with Dr. Emmet—How Dr. Emmet became a republican—Thomas Addis Emmet a republican—How the sons were influenced—The family's distrust of Napoleon—Ireland would probably have been a French province had the brothers Emmet acted otherwise—Patten's account of Dr. Emmet's course in training his sons—Dr. Emmet the father of seventeen children—All but four dead in early childhood—The supposed cause—Injustice of Grattan and Curran in their account of Dr. Emmet—Training of his sons—The loss of the Emmet effects after the imprisonment of T. A. Emmet—Grattan's portrait in possession of Dr. Emmet—Emmet residence at "Casino".

AS it was felt that "Harvest Day," the poem from which the selection given in the last chapter was made, was too lengthy to incorporate in the text, the "Morning" and "Noon" portions will be found in the Appendix (Note III). The following selections consist of shorter complete poems.

FROM A POEM—ON THE DEATH OF A FRIEND

IN IMITATION OF MR. YOUNG

Almighty God, thou great eternal cause,
Primœval source of all things which exist,
Who by the mere volition of thy will
Didst call forth matter from the shapeless Void,
And on the warring Elements impress
That beauteous harmony which all pervades.
Thou God to whom this perdurance of time
Which seems so wondrous to the human thought
Appears as bounded as immense to man.
Oh! how can we, the helpless sons of earth,
Of whom such millions perish in the birth
Without one bit of judgement or of thought
And loose Existence 'ere they well exist.

2.

Or if existing for so short a space
Its longest period seems but a day,
Much less! a moment, with respect of thee
How can (I say), this helpless human race,
The short liv'd tenants of a pigmy sphere,
Which when in ballance with creation's scale
Seems like an atom ballanced with a world,
How can such beings impotent to stretch
And Life protract one moment to their wish
Expect to rise immortal from the Grave
Exist eternal and coequal Thee?
Here Reason staggers and Reflection fails
'Tis Faith alone, enlivening faith can cheer
And give the glad assurance of hereafter.

1757.

A Letter to a Friend

1.

Whence, prithee, Bob, proceeds this sullen mood
This sulky silence which you have pursu'd
For three whole weeks? What, not one word of news
But what the Journal can supply or Pues?
In vain you'll plead attention to the Laws
For that, my friend, could never be the cause
Silent and guiltless now the Four Courts stand
And Justice still may loiter in the Land.
But if to silence me your scheme was meant
'Tis all in vain, I'll baffle your intent
And write to you as free as I'd converse,
Nay more to plague you too, perhaps in verse.
'Tis true this method may take up some time
To sort the words and hitch them into Rhime
But that I may comply with; for to you
My friend, I own I've little else to do.

2.

Physicians now in vain would boast their knowledge
Improv'd by books, and ripen'd at a colledge
It stands them, faith, in very little stead
As Boerhäave great, as elegant as Mead
'Tis all a jest in vain they'd hope to rise
In twenty thousand men how many wise?
Perhaps one dozen; good, the odds are great;
And could this dozen wise afford them meat?
I fancy not; then take the saveing Rule
A wise man's interest is to play the fool;
Judgement and sense are trimmings to his coat
But 'tis address that makes a man of note;
And hence it is the art of every trade
Is that by which a fortune must be made,
Hence fawning Quacks defraud us of our bread
And safe since silence rules the toung-ty'd dead.

3.

Still on they venture with assassin hand
Heavens great vice-gerents, to destroy the Land
As bold as Ignorant, they wickedly advise
Nor think by them the victim patient dies,
But talk familiar on all points inform'd
And boast of cures miraculous perform'd.
Miraculous indeed! if potent nature
Or Providence in pity to its creature
Eludes their Ignorance with doubtfull strife*
And bids the poison'd wretch escape with Life.

4.

Lamprey sells sword blades yet has too much sense
Because he sells them, to inferr from thence
That he might venture to instruct by rule
And from a cutler keep a pushing school.
Read makes good Lancets, Bistories, Trephines
Gripes, Scalpels, Crochets, Gorgerets, Grephines,
Yet (farr as I could ever learn) the man
Has never yet attempted to trepan,
Nor do I think it could be fairly shewn
He ever cut one patient for the stone
Much less the Hands employ'd about the wheel
To give the polish or fine edge the steel.

5.

Not so by Physick all whom she employs
Nurse tenders, midwives, pothecaries' boys
Druggists of both sorts, a tremendous tribe
With wondrous ease and confidence prescribe,
Surgeons and barbers horrid to endure!
The very pestle-boy can boast some cure.
Well, then, suppose our knowledge thus despis'd,
I should resolve on what you have advis'd,
Read Wood's Institutes and then proceed
To Coke on Littleton, the lawyers creed,
With tropes and figures all in order plac'd
Conscience thrown off and Bashfullness effac'd
For here I own true modesty appears
To stop preferment for at least ten years,
And thus equipt should enter at the barr
A willing soldier for the quibbling warr.
Heavens, what a thought! my very heart recoils
At the bare project and your counsel spoils;
What.—Hire out my Lungs, my Life, and more
My very honesty—to prove some whore,
Some publick prostitute a virtuous mother,
And for her bastard cheat her husband's brother;
To crush the orphan, swell the widow's cries,
Oppress th' oppress'd and on their ruin rise.
Term after term, still protract a cause
Expound, mistake, distort, confuse the laws,

*The expression seems a little bold here, as if the omnipotence of Providence was scarce able to overcome and baffle the ignorance of quacks, I own it is so. I have not a properer to substitute, and certainly if omnipotence could be baffled it would be in this instance. [Dr. Robert Emmet's note.]

Wrest honest words from their most obvious meaning
And baffle justice by my false explaining.
Or if supporting in so strange a way
So slow, so venal, for such monstrous pay
That equity gives up, alike undone
If costs go for her or against, all one.
No, rather still let poverty be mine
Than by such methods heap th' Asturian mine
What wealth in millions of such illgot gold?
None sure to me when decripit and old
Reflection holds her mirrour to record
The actions past, and seal the great award.
January, 1760.

The Ninth Ode of Horace

Avoid my friend th' unlicens'd stretch of mind
To know what Length, or State of Life's assign'd;
Nor ask the Babylonian Cheats what Power
Or Starrs presided at your natal hour.
If fate allows you many years to run
Or with this Season the short thread be spun,
Be wise alike and proffit of your time
At best 'tis short; indulge in mirth and wine
Nor trust to Hope: for that in prospect lies
Whilst with each breath a hasty minute flys.
Then snatch the present, that alone is given,
Resign'd, submit futurity to Heaven.

In Vain My Dear Betty

1.

In vain, my dear Betty; your bosom you steel
Against the soft anguish you surely must feel;
In the bloom of your youth and so pleasing to sight
You'll be teaz'd into Love and must yield to delight.

2.

Even now while you slight me examine your heart
Yet a novice in Love, and a stranger to art,
Don't you feel some emotions you cannot explain,
A something you know not if pleasure or pain?

3.

The innocent blush spreads a bloom on your face
And beauty disordered acquires new grace;
Consult your own heart, what I say it will prove
I tell you my dear, they're symptoms of Love.

4.

Then since you must love; and sure love is no crime,
Indulge its first essays, the present's your time;
Enjoy life's best blessing, improve the soft flame
Whose joys can't be painted, whose bliss wants a name.

5.

Nor dread those distastes which so often are said
To ruffle Love's pleasures and Hymen's blest bed,
For believe me, my dear, they can only take place
When choice has been founded on fortune or face.

6.

Their rage you may smile at 'tis all a mistake
Distrust should attend but where merit is weak,
You may ever depend on your power to sway
Whose temper must please tho' your beauty decay.

7.

Then choose from amidst the fond youth of the town
Some one to make happy and call you his own,
But oh, dare I counsel, and speak my wish free,
1758. The choice, my dear Betty, should fall but on me.

Let Green Spring Deck the Fields

1.

Let green Spring deck the fields and the meadows look gay
With Enamel of flowers and graces of May,
From each spray let the warbling songsters proclaim
Their joy to see Emma advance on the plain.

2.

Attentive, ye fair ones, behold how she moves,
With what ease in her shape, how invested by loves,
Yet repine not the rivals that Emma's more fair
Since a Goddess and you the same judgement must share.

3.

For Venus herself struck with rage and surprize
Laid a hold on young Cupid and banded his eyes
Afraid least the urchin should rather approve
To call Emma his mother and Goddess of Love.

No More My Fond Bosom

No more my fond bosom with anguish shall heave
Or Love unpropitious my reason enslave,
No longer her conquest coy Phillis shall boast
Alarm my peace or give *gout* to the toast;
To Reflection and Reason the reins I'll resign
Nor regret the dear fair that can never be mine.

What tho' she says no; I'm resolved not to fret
And since she can't love me must strive to forget;
Yet how vain our resolves, and how weakly maintain'd
Whilst obstinate Love keeps the ground he has gain'd
And by Reason or Right or by Passion betray'd
Still approves of the choice which in Phillis I made.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Dr. Robert Emmet's residence in Molesworth Street, Dublin, in the house to the left, in front of the lamppost

Dr. Emmet married, November 16th, 1760, Elizabeth Mason, of Cork. His marriage was announced in the "Dublin Journal" November 22, 1760: "Married; Robert Emmet, Esq., of Cork, Doctor of Physic and corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Montpelia in France, to Miss Mason of said city." Her father, James Mason, Esq., was from Ballydowney, Co. Kerry, where he was born and still held a country place. Her mother, Catherine, was a daughter of Pierce Power, Esq., of Elton, Co. Kerry. Up to this date the family of Emmet never had any direct connection with or interest in the Irish people. They had been members of the English garrison living in Ireland, and in all probability, as was generally the case, regarded the Irish people proper as a conquered and inferior race.

By this marriage the children of Dr. Emmet became affiliated with Irish blood through the Power, O'Hara, McLauklin, Blennerhassett, Conway, Mason, Spring-Rice and other families. These were all English originally, but had freely intermarried with the native Irish people of Co. Kerry, and other portions of the West of Ireland, so that eventually many of the descendants became more Irish than the Irish people themselves, and were always in conflict with the English Government, as they were all free traders, and regarded smuggling as a most praiseworthy occupation. (See Appendix, Note IV, for record of the Mason family.)

It is not known where Dr. Emmet lived in Dublin when he began the practice of his profession. His residence from about 1770 to 1776 was on the north side of Molesworth-street, near Kildare with a street lamp in front as shown in the print. Mr. David S. Quaid, solicitor, of Dublin, in 1902 issued a little work, "Robert Emmet, His Birthplace and Burial", and as a result of his investigation it is now proved that Robert Emmet was born in Stephen's Green and not in Molesworth-street, as held by Dr. Madden. Mr. Quaid states:

The Dublin Directory for 1777, and the entry of his son Robert's Baptism, on 10th of March, 1778, in St. Peter's Church Record, show conclusively that Dr. Emmet's residence was Stephen's Green, West, for at least two years earlier than the date mentioned by Dr. Madden. . . . If further proof is thought necessary that the houses Nos. 124 and 125 Stephen's Green, West, at Glover's Alley corner, were Dr. Emmet's it is afforded by a partnership deed of February 27th, 1808, made between David Sherlock and Thomas Sherlock. "McCready's Dublin Street Names" states: "that Glover's Alley (which runs from Stephen's Green, West, to Lower Mercer Street) was known by that name as far back as 1766, that Glover's Alley was formerly known as Gregory's Lane, that the house had certainly been refronted and divided into two houses". The house, on a lot 34 feet in width, may have been divided into two by Dr. Emmet as seems likely because I find that Thomas Addis Emmet, according to the Dublin Directory, was living, about 1796, next door to Dr. Emmet. The baptism of John Patten Emmet [father of the writer], a son of T. A. Emmet, is thus recorded in the Parochial Register of St. Peter's Church, on the 15th of April, 1796—"John Patten Emmet, son of Thomas (Addis) and Jane Patten of Stephen's Green." It would seem, therefore, fairly certain that there were two houses beside each other in 1796, Nos. 109-110. The present numbers are 124 and 125. There is a good deal of difference in the appearance of the brick work in front of the houses from that in the side back wall. The roof, too, is very old.

No alteration seems to have been made in the back of the houses, which, viewed from Glover's Alley, seem antiquated. There had been no alteration in the appearance of these houses since the building of the College of Surgeons in 1828, as shown by a large engraving of that building in the possession of the writer, but changes had been made at the time of the marriage of T. A. Emmet. Dr. Madden gives the names of some of those who were frequent visitors at Dr. Emmet's house. Dr. William Drennan, Arthur O'Connor, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Rev. Walter Blake Kirwan, Mr. (afterwards Chief Baron) Pennefather and his brother Judge Pennefather, Surgeon Richards, Dr. Macneven, Mr. (afterwards Judge) Chamberlain, Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice) C. K. Bushe, Mr. (afterwards Judge) Peter Burton, Sir Edward Newenham, of St. Donlough's, Peter Burrowes, K. C., Lady Anne Fitzgerald and Mr. (afterwards Baron) George. Mr. St. John Mason, B. L., a nephew of Mrs. Emmet, was also a constant visitor. He was an intimate associate of Robert Emmet, the two being first cousins. So oblivious was Mr. Baron George of his early friendship with the Emmet family that he actually sat with Lord Norbury in 1803, at the "trial" of Robert Emmet.

Shortly after Dr. Emmet's marriage, Earl Temple, a relative, then the Marquis of Buckingham, became Viceroy of Ireland. He advised Dr. Emmet to settle in Dublin, and then appointed him "State Physician." Through the appointments thus afforded him Dr. Emmet soon became a prominent man and most successful in his profession. He took an active part in politics and acquired a reputation as a noted political writer of the day.

Christopher Emett spelled his name with one *m* and double *t*, and so did his son Robert while studying medicine and for some time after he began the practice. It is not now known when he made the change or the reason for doing so, but he apparently adopted the present mode of spelling about the time of his marriage and while living in Cork. The first positive evidence we have is from the marriage contract made with Elizabeth Mason on November 15th, 1760, when he signs his name "Robert Emmet", but in the body of the instrument it is differently spelled. He again made a change within the next ten years, when he moved to Dublin. Dr. Madden writes:

> In 1770, Dr. Robert Emmett, as he then wrote his name, appears to have commenced practice in Dublin. In 1771, the name of Robert Emmett first appears in the "Dublin Directory," and in the list of State officers as "State Physician," having been appointed Feb. 25th, 1770, and his place of residence "Molesworth-street,"—the name is thus given with double *t* 'till the year 1781, when it appears in the Directory of that year "Emmet," and so continued, while he lived on Stephen's Green, and to the last appearance of his name in the Directory of 1802.

It is thus shown that Dr. Robert Emmet changed the method of spelling his name no less than four times during his life—from Emett to Emmett,* then Emmet, again to Emmett, and finally to Emmet. Other like instances were noticed in looking over the public records, where the change was made

*The minutes of the Irish House of Commons for 1771, have a record of the presentation of a petition of Robert Emmett, M.D., stating that the Petitioner is Physician to St. Patrick's Hospital for the reception of Lunatics and Idiots; setting forth his duties, and the lack of adequate compensation, and praying such aid as to the House should deem fit.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

RESIDENCE OF DR. EMMET AND HIS SON T. A. EMMET TO THE RIGHT, FACING STEPHEN'S GREEN

at different periods of life, as in the case of Dr. Emmet. But the most remarkable variation in spelling the name has been found in several instances where the letters *o* and *e* seemed to have been used indiscriminately by the same individual.

Dr. Madden states that:

> Dr. [Robert] Emmet was a man of warmth of feeling, frank, upright, and steadfast in his opinions. His lady was a person of noble disposition, and of a vigorous understanding, fit to be the mother of three such children as Christopher Temple, Thomas Addis, and Robert Emmet.

When giving the "Folk-lore of the Emmets," at the beginning of the second chapter in the "Life of T. A. Emmet", Dr. Madden refers to the material which has been furnished as follows:

> The notes of the sons of Thomas Addis Emmet, that have reference chiefly to the career of their illustrious father, leave many deficiencies to be supplied in the accounts given of the origin of this remarkable family—perhaps one of the most remarkable, in an intellectual point of view, of any family we have authentic account of.

During a visit to Ireland in 1880 the writer had the good fortune to meet Dr. Madden, and on one occasion he expressed the opinion, as one based upon his personal investigation, that the father and mother, the three sons and the daughter of this branch of the Emmet family constituted the "most talented family, in every respect, that he had ever known of."

Sir John Temple and his brother Robert were natives, it is believed, of New England, having at least lived there for the greater portion of their lives, and had by their marriage with the Shirley, Bowdoin and other families become connected with many of the prominent people of New England. When the American Revolution began they were rather in sympathy with the movement, and were personally acquainted with many of the leaders. But when separation was brought about by the passage of the Declaration of Independence, the Temples, as loyalists, left the country and went abroad.

Robert Temple and his family after their arrival from New York and Boston resided in Dublin for some eighteen months with his cousin, Dr. Robert Emmet, after whom he had been named. Mr. Temple had been opposed to a separation of the colonies from the "mother country", but his views underwent a great change, and he became more of a sympathizer with the movement before his sudden death, which occurred towards the close of the struggle. While Robert Temple was residing in Dublin, Christopher, Dr. Emmet's eldest son, married his cousin, Anne Western Temple, a daughter of Robert. On the death of the father, Dr. Emmet became the executor of Mr. Temple's will and the guardian of his two youngest daughters. Shortly afterwards the youngest, Mehitabele, married the grandfather of the late Marquis of Dufferin.

In a list of pensions on the Civil Establishment, taken from "The Parliamentary Register," Vol. IV, there appears the following:

> Robert Emmet, Doctor of Physic, in trust for Harriet Temple, from 4th of February 1782, during pleasure—£50.
>
> Mehetable Temple from 4th of February, during pleasure—£50.

Dr. Emmet a Republican

The following letter written by Dr. Emmet to an unacceptable suitor for the hand of one of his wards, would show that he at least made the attempt to discharge his duty—

Presuming that a Letter which I had the honor of writing to you about a month ago had not reached you by the sixth of last month; when you addressed a second letter to a young Lady under my guardianship and which was this day delivered to her by Mr. Nelson, I think it but proper again to inform you, that all applications on the subject of that Letter will be unproductive to you and disagreeable to the Lady. Your own Prudence, Honor and Discretion will therefore I hope determine you not to prosecute it farther. In my last I inform'd you, by desire of the Lady: that subsequent Letters from you would not he received; if however, or if receiv'd not reply'd to. As my former, however, possibly might not have reached you; am again necessitated to repeat that Resolution to you.

Indeed it is not to be avoided. The young Lady's father's dying injunction was, that such a proposal should not be accepted—his testamentary appointment—that if accepted, no division of his property should accompany it. Under such circumstances you see Sir, that even Hope must be precluded. The young Lady is not in the least degree dispos'd to violate her father's Injunctions; on the contrary, she is determined in the most strict and punctual means to adhere to it and so must Sir Your obed'nt Humb. Servt.

Robt. Emmet.

Dublin, Feb. 2, 1783.

This letter was addressed to "Mr. Saml. White—in care of Mr. Johnthn Williams, Mantz, France."

It is evident that Mr. Temple and his brother exercised a great influence in changing the views which must have been held by their kinsman, Dr. Emmet. This is shown by the gradual withdrawal of Dr. Emmet from the associations which his family had always held with those still termed the "Castle people", who were in sympathy with the British Government. He gave up the different governmental positions which he had so long held in consequence of being the "State Physician", the salaries of which, it has been stated, aggregated over two thousand pounds a year. The last move was to sever, after so many years of service, in 1783, his connection with St. Patrick's Hospital, and then it was that he was presented with the silver salver, the history of which has already been given. From this period Dr. Emmet became an enthusiastic advocate for a republican form of government as understood in the United States of America, and in time he fully indoctrinated his two sons, Thomas and Robert, with his principles.

Far-reaching, indeed, was his teaching. It is impossible to estimate its full bearing upon the immediate past or the future history of Ireland for many generations to come, while its influence upon the fortunes of his own family was great indeed. Temple died before there was any special trouble in the country, and he died a loyal subject of George the Third.

Thomas Addis, uninfluenced to any great degree by his father's teaching, thought for himself. He did not contemplate a separation from England unless driven to the decision as a last resort, after failure in obtaining certain needed changes in the Constitution.

Not a member of the family wished for disunion until Pitt, the Younger, by his merciless policy of misrule, had purposely forced the greater portion of

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ST. PATRICK'S HOSPITAL, FOR THE INSANE, DUBLIN

the Irish people into rebellion. The situation was such that there seemed to be no future for Ireland unless a separation was brought about, by which means, it was expected from the effort of 1798 and 1803, the people would gain Home Rule in a more complete form than the present generation can hope to acquire it in the near future after a century and more of agitation.

By a letter to be given hereafter, it will be shown that on the arrest of his son Dr. Robert Emmet had no knowledge as to how far he was implicated, beyond being dissatisfied with the general mode of governing the country. Eventually every member of Dr. Emmet's family favored separation from England as the only preliminary to any change for the better in the government of Ireland; and they held the greatest admiration for the republican principles formulated by the United States. Under these circumstances they loathed the teaching brought forth by the French Revolution. Yet, it is persistently held that Dr. Emmet and his family were in full sympathy with the French movement. Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, as their father in the previous generation, had many warm personal friends among the titled and educated classes in Paris, who subsequently lost their lives at the hands of the French rabble. With these friends they were in full sympathy, and naturally detested French politics, so incompatible with a true republican form of government. Above all, not a member of the family had the slightest confidence in Bonaparte's truthfulness or honesty of purpose. The sons, in politics, were often obliged to yield, from expediency, their personal views to the will of the majority among their associates. This policy Thomas Addis Emmet was able to follow, with great success, until his arrest, and the delay enabled him to exercise his personal influence. The Emmets were at one time in hope of being able to obtain a *controllable aid* from France, such as was given to the United States, but never ceased to fear that if France rendered any aid, the result would only be a change of masters. Whether this was a fortunate or unfortunate circumstance for Ireland will always be a matter of conjecture. The result would in all probability have been different had the Emmet brothers for personal advantage been willing to become satellites of Napoleon. At least the separation of Ireland from England would have been accomplished, and the country would have remained a French province until the fall of the Emperor, when the Allies would have restored Ireland to England, if an exchange had not already been made by Napoleon with England for some of the sugar-bearing West India Islands, but Ireland's condition would beyond a doubt have been infinitely worse than it is today.

Madden states:

> The person living who is the best qualified to speak of the habits and principles of Dr. Emmet [evidently John Patten], a gentleman intimately connected by ties of friendship with his family, who lived under his roof and still has a perfect remembrance of his character, and of his conduct towards his children, declares that beyond passing observation on the duty which every man owed to his country, there was no ground for these injurious statements now to be considered.

Dr. Emmet was the father of seventeen children, but only four lived beyond childhood.* These were Christopher Temple, Thomas Addis, Mary Anne and Robert. In reference to these sons of Dr. Emmet it is stated in Grattan's "Memoirs" that they "were three most singular men, few families could boast of such individuals." While these three men were particularly noted for their intellectual development a stranger would scarcely draw the inference from the statement. Henry Grattan had been a school-mate and for many years was an intimate friend of Dr. Emmet in early manhood,† so that he was as familiar with the doctor's views as any friend could be, yet in this Life it is recorded in a most unjust and cynical manner:—"Emmet had his pill and his plan and he mixed so much politics with his prescriptions that he would kill the patient who took the one, and ruin the country that listened to the other." Dr. Emmet was said to have resigned the positions of honor and profit he held under the government and misled his two sons with false views in relation to a republican form of governmet based *"upon the teaching from the leaders of the French Revolution"*. Doubtless it was on Grattan's authority that Charles Phillips, in "Curran and his Contemporaries", based a version of the same story accredited to Curran:

The memorable year 1803 reintroduces—sadly enough upon the scene—the name of Emmet. The father of this remarkable family was a physician in good practice, resident in Dublin, he was a very ardent politician and according to Mr. Grattan, was ever "mixing up his pills with his plans," sometimes much to the perplexity of the patients. He had three sons, all gifted with very rare genius, and these it was his delight to educate in his principles. Curran used facetiously to describe the old doctor giving them what he called 'their morning draught:—"Well, Temple, what would you do for your country? Addis, would you kill your brother? would you kill me?"

Grattan's version of the story is slightly different.

Little, alas, did that unfortunate father foresee the consequences of the lesson he was inculcating! and little also did Curran dream, when he turned this inappropriate tuition into a jest, how mournfully it was one day to affect himself! How revolting, how heart-rending it is to hear the unfortunate Robert thus apostrophizing that deluded parent on the eve of his execution: "If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns of those who were dear to them in this transitory scene, dear shade of my venerable father look down on your suffering son *and see has he for one moment deviated from those moral*

*In a subsequent chapter will be found a letter written by Mr. Emmet to his daughter in 1822. He here mentions the fact that the water was so unwholesome in that part of Ireland where he lived as a boy, that it all had to be boiled before drinking. He doubtless refers to some place near Dublin where Dr. Emmet sent his children during the summer where the water was contaminated from sewerage. It was not then known that washing the dairy utensils in this water would poison the milk. This may account for the unusual proportion of deaths among Dr. Emmet's children, where both parents were healthy. The milk carried off the infants, and typhoid fever the elder children.

†At the time of Dr. Emmet's death he had in his possession an oil portrait of Grattan as a young man, presented to him by his friend. On closing "Casino", with Thomas Addis Emmet in prison, and never likely to return to Ireland, Mrs. Holmes, through fear of confiscation of Mr. Emmet's effects, distributed many articles of value and all the library among the friends of the family for safe-keeping. Very few of these things were ever returned, or could be traced in after years. Unfortunately Mrs. Holmes did not make a list of where these things were left. A few years ago two photographs claiming to be of Robert Emmet, Jr. were sent to the writer, stating they were held as heirlooms and not for sale. Although one of these portraits was marked R. Emmet and had been in the possession of the family for an unknown period, neither of them could have been a portrait of Robert Emmet, Jr., for he was a younger man at the time of his death, but it is very likely that both were at one time the property of Dr. Robert Emmet, and this is rendered the more probable as the holder claimed to have been a distant relative. From an anatomical study of the shape of the bones forming the brow and nose, as shown by enlarging the photograph, the writer is willing to accept one as the likeness of Dr. Robert Emmet without any knowledge of its history beyond the resemblance to the death mask. As a portrait of the Doctor the other is doubtful, it is most probably a photograph of the oil painting of Henry Grattan.

and political principles which you so early inculcated into his youthful mind, and for which he has now to offer up his life"!

Alas! Alas! indeed unhappy father, could this mournful appeal have reached him! Of this family, Temple, the eldest, passed through the University with such success that it is said the examiners changed in his case, the usual approbation of "Valde Bene" into the laudatory one of "O Quam Bene"! His rise at the Irish bar was unexampled, and at the early age of thirty with a reputation to which time could not have added, he was called away.

The second brother . . . had he confined himself to his profession there could have been no doubt from the eminence to which he soon attained, of his ultimately realizing every object of his ambition. But the aspish-seed sown in his youthful mind had fallen on a too genial soil and was rising fast to obscure the brightness of his prospects. He devoted himself to the unhappy politics of the day and became at last so inextricably compromised that with the consent of the government he was self-expatriated. . . . Emmet himself I never saw. He was in America some years before I was called to the Irish bar. But I found his memory still fresh there, and many of his associates still remaining. From their report of him, it was quite clear that his presence in Ireland was incompatible with its peace, and his public manifestations were the more dangerous, because in private life he was altogether irreproachable. Peter Burrowes, his friend and correspondent (in the Oath of an act of Parliament) used to revel in the recollections of him.

These comments are from the pen of a man who desired to be just, and was so to the extent an Irishman with English sympathies could be. Curran, to make a good story, was not always truthful.

Dr. Emmet's position has never been understood. As will be seen in the memoir of his son Robert, neither he nor any member of his family held any sympathy with French republicanism.

The only insight we have, casting any light upon the domestic life of the family, is given in the letters to Thomas Addis Emmet and received while at Fort George. These were all written from "Casino", the family country place, at Miltown in the suburbs of Dublin, where Dr. Emmet retired after relinquishing his practice, in consequence of his advanced age and after his son's arrest and imprisonment. The town house was then rented and the family remained at "Casino" until the final breaking up. After the arrest of his son, Thomas Addis, many old friends and acquaintances drifted away in consequence of the family troubles. While Doctor Emmet and his wife were deserted by a large proportion of their fair-weather friends, this most worthy couple held the sincere sympathy of many among the middle-class and the poor of Dublin. This city had always been burdened with more than a fair proportion of the destitute, and at this time the number was unusually great, and not the slightest effort was made by the authorities for their relief. During a long life Mrs. Emmet was probably the only woman in her station of life in Dublin who had ever made any individual effort for the relief of the poor. Dr. Emmet derived a large income from the official position he held as "State Physician", so that he was able to devote the great part of his professional life to the charitable relief of the indigent, and for many years he held the largest medical practice in Dublin among the rich and poor. In consequence of the fact that Dr. and Mrs. Emmet were so well known for their charitable life, their youngest son Robert became known to a larger number of persons in

Dublin than many a noted man. While he was at Trinity College many became aware that he had been dismissed on account of his political views. This was resented to a remarkable extent and Robert Emmet was regarded, by these people, as a martyr for the popular cause years before he had become identified with the politics of the country. He was devoted to his mother and as a young boy was constantly by her side and had few other companions. She probably made use of him in her charitable work and he thus became acquainted with many whom he would never otherwise have met.

For years before Doctor Emmet's death he had devoted much time and money to improving the grounds and gardens at "Casino", and the result was one in which he took great pride. After the arrest of Thomas Addis Emmet and the long delay to which he was subjected, without preferred charges or prospect of trial, these poor old people in their seclusion, rapidly lost their interest in their surroundings. With the knowledge that their son Robert was in full sympathy with the views of his brother, and that his life's prospects were already lost from being unable to engage in any professional work after expulsion from college, they became crushed by the uncertainty of the future. Their death blow had been received, long before the fact was realized by their friends.

That England should govern Ireland by the Parliament of Ireland was not enough. It remained to close the scene of conquest by a mortification of the feelings as well as a triumph over the liberties of the conquered.

T. A. Emmet.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

THE GARDEN AT CASINO

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

CASINO, THE COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF DR. ROBERT EMMET, NEAR DUBLIN

The English Parliament at a very remote period had occasionally exercised the power of legislation for Ireland, particularly as to foreign trade. . . . This occasional exercise of legislative authority on the part of England, however, had been generally protested against by the Irish Parliament as a manifest usurpation.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter IV

"Casino" and its history for fifty years after it passed from the family—Dr. Emmet's death and place of burial—The fate of the Earl of Clare—Dr. Emmet's will—Thomas Addis Emmet's letter to his mother—Her answer and its history—Death of Mrs. Emmet—"Casino" closed—Town houses rented—The Emmet family a remarkable one at this period—Something about permanent traits of character among the Temple, Mason and Emmet families—Speculations by the writer—Those along the same line of Louise Imogen Guiney, the author of Robert Emmet's Life.

N 1880, before any material change had been made, the writer had the good fortune to see "Casino" near Miltown beyond the city about three miles to the south, and the family arms were still in evidence on each stone gate-post. A Mr. Meldon, who died shortly afterwards, owned it at that time. He had held the property some fifty years and before it had undergone any change. The previous owner had purchased it from the family and had taken care to preserve everything intact. So in 1880 the appearance of the house and grounds was essentially the same as when occupied by the family, with the single exception that the window-frames in the front of the house, having become decayed, new ones filled with plate-glass had been substituted. The garden had been preserved just as Dr. Emmet laid it out; and when the greenhouses became decayed, new ones in facsimile had been put up in their place. The wall-fruit, too, which the doctor had planted and trained was all preserved by building new trellis work about it when necessary. It was stated that even the vegetables found on the place were continued of the same stock and occupied the same locality. The parlor was still covered by the tapestry paper which no doubt had been a source of delight to the younger generation of the past.

After the death of Mr. Meldon and the expiration of his lease, the house was said to have been pulled down, but this was proved not to be the case and it is still occupied as a private residence.

Dr. Madden states:

Dr. Emmet died at Casino, near Miltown, in the autumn of 1802. He was buried in the graveyard of St. Peter's Church, in Aungier-street (Dublin), on the right-hand side of the entrance, close to the wall on the south side.

He also notes that the tomb of vault has the following inscription on it:

Here lies the remains of
Robert Emmet, Esq., M.D.,
who died the 9th of December, 1802,
In the 73rd year of his age.

In 1880 the writer could not find his tomb, nor that of any other member of the family. On inquiry he ascertained that all the tombstones had been removed some years previously, but were yet preserved, and several feet of earth had been put on the original surface of the ground to raise it to the level of the street in front. The tombstones after removal were all placed in piles at a distance, and though these were carefully examined, no trace of any connected with the family could be found. The only compensation for the labor of investigation was that at the bottom of the pile was found the headstone of John, Earl of Clare, broken and forgotten, notwithstanding the fact that it had been elaborately emblazoned with the arms of his mushroom title. This man had been honored by the British Government for services rendered in bringing about the so-called "Union", with which the Irish people themselves had nothing to do, and by means which we know today were the most corrupt and damnable ever devised by mortal man or designated as statecraft. The enjoyment by Clare of his honors was deservedly brief. He died in January, 1802, despised by every honest man in the country, and but for this accident no one today would know where the remains of this unhallowed man had been hidden away.

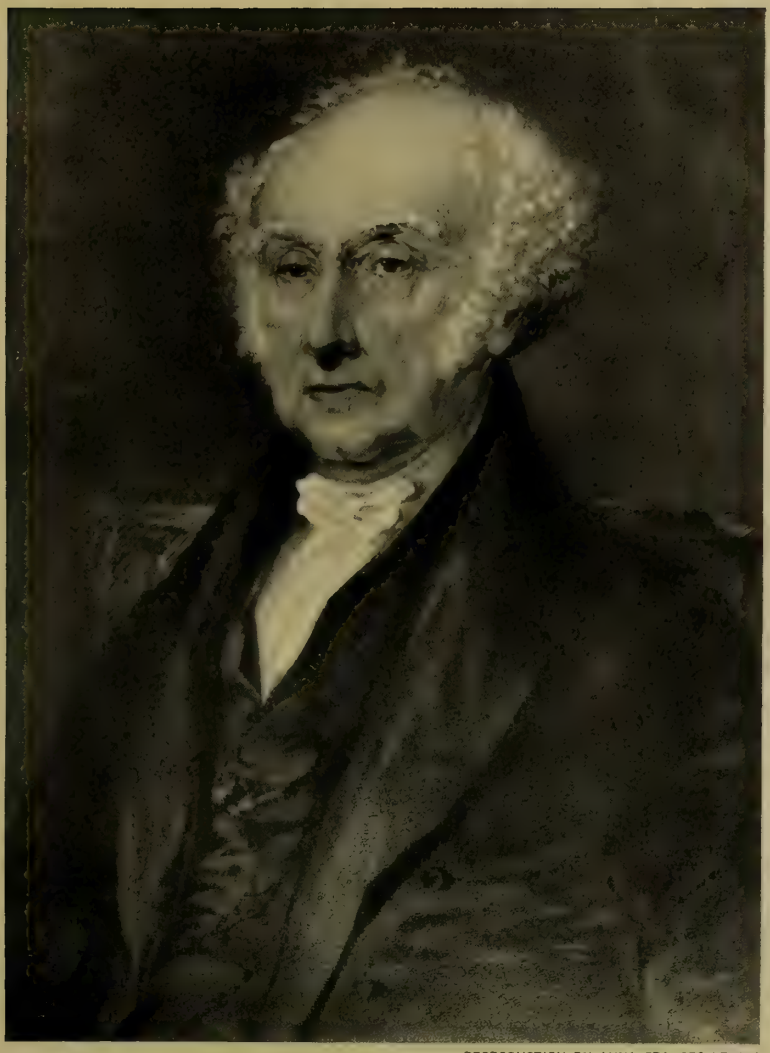
Mr. Quaid states:

Dr. Emmet, by his will, dated 3rd February, 1800, appointed as his trustee, his son Thomas Addis Emmet, then a State prisoner in Fort George, and by an undated codicil, [which, so far as I can learn, has never been published before] he directed that "in case it should be inconvenient to my son, Thomas Addis, to act as my executor as by the within will appointed, I then and hereby appoint my son-in-law, Robert Holmes, Esq., to that trust".

Here in the events which happened we find Mr. Holmes occupying a position of the greatest trust in relation to his wife's family.

Thomas Addis Emmet never saw his native land again, and on the 28th of December, 1802, Mr. Holmes obtained, as executor, a grant of probate to Dr. Emmet's will, of which I give the following extracts:—

In the name of God, amen, I, Robert Emmet, of Casino, near Miltown, in the County of Dublin, Doctor of Physic, being of sound and disposing mind and memory and understanding do make and publish this my Will and Testament in manner and form following. I order and direct that my just debts be paid. . . . I give, devise and bequeath my leasehold interests in lands of Knockena in the County of Kerry and also my leasehold interest whether freehold or chattel in the dwellinghouse and lands whereon I now reside. . . . with my household furniture, plate, stock of cattle and farming utensils to my eldest son now living, Thomas Addis Emmet, subject to the payment of £2,500 to be paid by him as purchase money and to be considered by him as part of the residue . . . . of my fortune, and in case my said son shall not choose to accede or agree to the foregoing bequest upon the said terms, then my will is that my said two leasehold



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ROBERT HOLMES
[Father of the Dublin Bar.] From an oil painting in Dublin

interests, together with my said furniture, plate, stock of cattle and farming implements shall be sold, and the money arising therefrom shall be paid into and considered as part of my personal estate.

Thomas Addis Emmet did not accept the terms of the will as proposed by his father, as he was absent from Ireland with no expectation of ever returning.

Mr. Quaid continues to elucidate Dr. Emmet's will as follows:—

By the terms Mrs. Emmet was to have been entitled during her life to the invested proceeds of £5,500, which was directed by Dr. Emmet to be raised for that purpose. The testator's direction was "to pay and hand over unto my dearly beloved and most deserving wife Elizabeth Emmet, formerly Mason, the interest money accruing . . . . upon the said principal sum of £5,500 . . . . which, with £30 per annum settled upon her at her marriage and charged upon the lands of Ballydowney, in the County of Kerry, will make her income £360 per annum".

Dr. Emmet also directed that after the decease of his wife "the interest money, of £2,000, part of the said sum of £5,500, shall go and be paid to my daughter Mary Anna now married to Robert Holmes, Esq., during her life, and after her decease the said interest money to be applied for the maintenance of her child or children", and included a provision in his will for the payment of the entire £2,000 to Mrs. Holmes' child or children after her decease. If she had no children, which did not happen, the testator directed that the £2,000 "shall revert to my two sons, Thomas Addis Emmet and Robert Emmet, to be divided equally between them". The testator also directed that "as to £2,000 more of said principal sum of £5,500 the interest money whereof I have bequeathed to my dearly beloved wife during her life my will is that after her decease, said £2,000 shall be handed over and paid to my son Robert Emmet, and as to the remaining £1,500 of said principal sum of £5,500, . . . my will is that said £1,500 shall be paid to my grand-daughter, Catherine Emmet, daughter of my late son, Christopher Temple Emmet . . . . ." The last-mentioned provision made by Dr. Emmet for his grand-daughter, Miss Catherine Emmet, clearly indicates that Dr. Emmet was one of the most high-minded of men. It appears, as recited in the will, that Mrs. Temple, mother of Mrs. C. T. Emmet, paid over £1,000 to C. T. Emmet in consideration of being paid an annuity of £50 a year for life. Through some oversight the £1,000 was never received, but notwithstanding the annuity was regularly paid to Mrs. Temple, until her daughter, Mrs. C. T. Emmet, died after her husband. The testator stated he had afterwards paid the £1,000 himself, and directed the life annuity to be paid to Mrs. Temple, after his death out of the lands of Ballydowney, County Kerry, and if it was not so paid, that it should be paid out of the interest on the £1,500 bequeathed to his grand-daughter.

Dr. Emmet's will concludes with a bequest of the remainder of his fortune to his sons, Thomas Addis Emmet and Robert Emmet, share and share alike. The codicil is in Dr. Emmet's handwriting.

The testator directed that the rent-charge of £150 per annum before referred to should, after his wife's death, be paid to her son Thomas Addis Emmet, and he was also to have "Casino". The testator adds—"By which here above regulation I think that my dearly beloved wife and both my sons will be eventually benefited, as she will be given an addition of £30 per annum to the provision first appointed for her. My son, Thomas Addis, will after her decease acquire an annuity of £150 per annum during his own and his brother Robert's life, peaceably and well secured, instead of a disputable and uncertain interest . . . . I hereby appoint the above regulation, written by myself of a codicil to my within will, and in case it should be inconvenient to my son Thomas Addis to act as my executor as by the within will appointed, I then and hereby appoint my son-in-law, Robert Holmes, Esq., to that trust". The testator added—"And whereas,

my said grand-daughter may die without being married or leaving any issue by marriage whereby her fee-simple estate in the County of Kerry would rest with my son Thomas Addis, now, my will and appointment in that case is that the sum of £1,500 herein bequeathed to my said grand-daughter, shall in that contingency, go and be paid to my son, Robert, and his heirs".

In December, 1802, Thomas Addis Emmet learned of his father's death and wrote to his mother in the following strain:—

The first comfort you can know must spring up from within yourself, from your reflection and religion, from your recalling to memory that my father's active and vigorous mind was always occupied in doing good to others, that his seventy-five years unostentatiously and inestimably were filled with perpetual services to his fellow-creatures. That although he was tried, and that severely, with some of those calamities from which we cannot be exempt, yet he enjoyed an uncommon portion of tranquillity and happiness, for by his firmness and understanding he was enabled to bear like a man the visitations of external misfortunes, and from within no troubled conscience or compunction of self-reproach ever disturbed his peace.

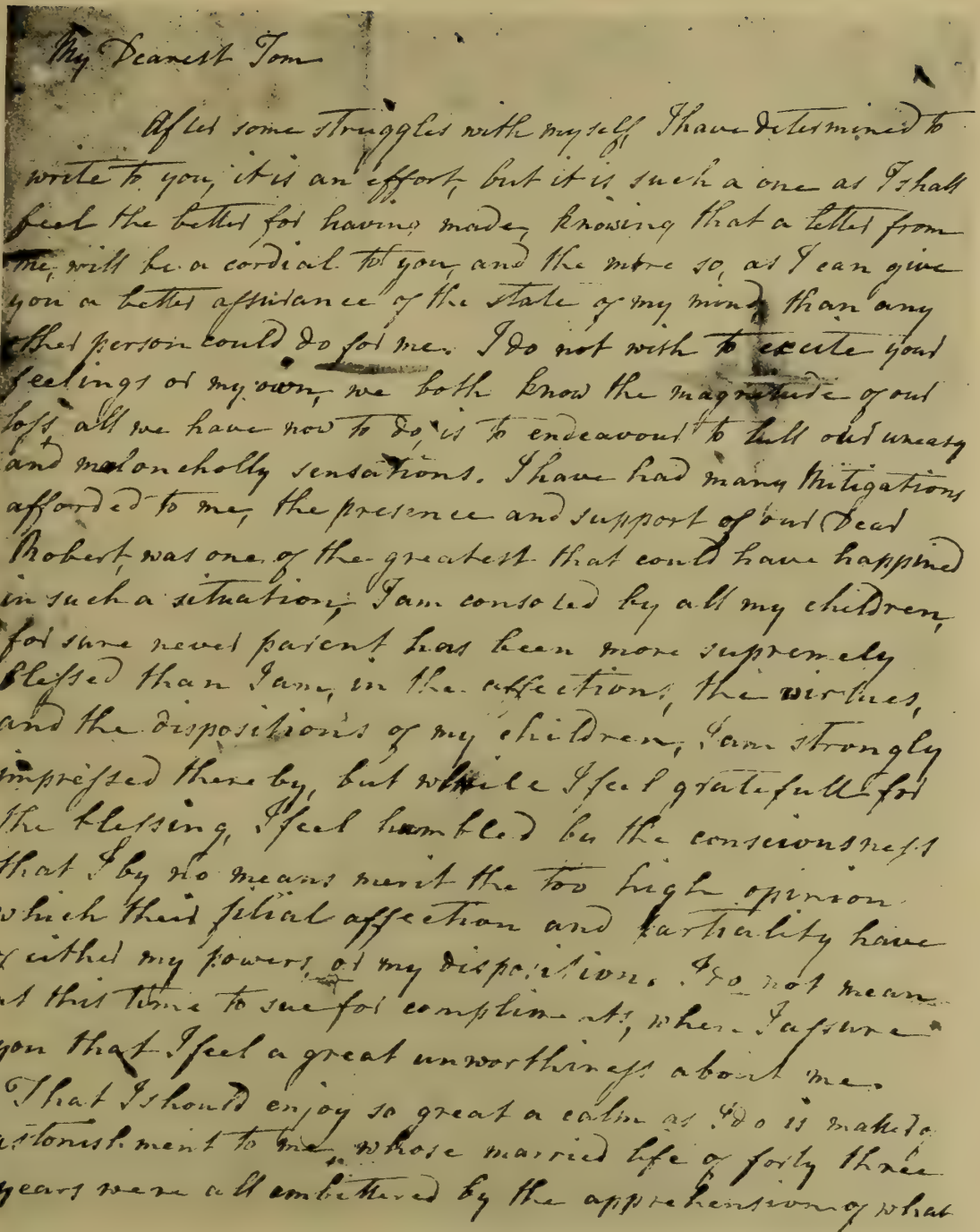
Some one indorsed on this letter: "In his father's character his own has been drawn".

Within a month after her husband's death Mrs. Emmet wrote to her son, but as she directed it to New York, *Poste restante,* it did not reach Mr. Emmet until long after her own death. It is a most pathetic piece of writing, and, one well worthy the last place in their correspondence. That it was the last letter which passed between them is most probable, as all communications with Ireland was soon afterwards cut off by reason of the war with France. This letter shows that her son Robert was with her at the time of his father's death. It doubtless was a fortunate circumstance, for, poor broken-hearted woman that she was, his support must have been most grateful and even necessary to her. Her letter shows how fully she appreciated it. The following is a copy of this letter.

January 7th, 1803.

My dearest Tom,

After some struggle with myself I have determined to write to you; it is an effort, but it is such an one as I shall feel the better for having made, knowing that a letter from me will be a cordial to you, and the more so as I can give you a better assurance of the state of my mind than any other person could do for me. I do not wish to excite your feelings or my own. We both know the magnitude of our loss, all we now have to do is to endeavor to lull our uneasy and melancholy sensations. I have had many mitigations afforded to me; the presence and support of our dear Robert was one of the greatest that could have happened in such a situation. I am consoled by all my children, for surely never parent has been more supremely blessed than I am in the affection, the virtues, and the disposition of my children. I am strongly impressed thereby, but while I feel grateful for the blessings, I feel humbled by the consciousness that I by no means merit the too high opinion which their filial affection and partiality have of either my power or disposition. I do not mean at this time to sue for compliments when I assure you that I feel a great unworthiness about me. That I should enjoy so great a calm as I do is a matter of astonishment to me, whose married life of forty-three years were all embittered by the apprehension of what has now befallen me; it is of such a kind as to cause self-reproach that it is unworthy of my situation or of the strong affection which I bore, and which both you and I know was pure, ardent,



My Dearest Tom

After some struggles with myself I have determined to write to you, it is an effort, but it is such a one as I shall feel the better for having made, knowing that a letter from me, will be a cordial to you, and the more so, as I can give you a better assistance of the state of my mind, than any other person could do for me. I do not wish to excite your feelings or my own, we both know the magnitude of our loss, all we have now to do, is to endeavour to lull our uneasy and melancholly sensations. I have had many mitigations afforded to me, the presence and support of our dear Robert, was one of the greatest that could have happined in such a situation; I am consoled by all my children, for sure never parent has been more supremely blessed than I am, in the affections, the virtues, and the dispositions of my children, I am strongly impressed there by, but while I feel grateful for the blessing, I feel humbled by the consciousness that I by no means merit the too high opinion which their filial affection and partiality have of either my powers, or my dispositions. I do not mean at this time to sue for compliments, when I assure you that I feel a great unworthiness about me. That I should enjoy so great a calm as I do is matter of astonishment to me, whose married life of forty three years were all embittered by the apprehension of what

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Facsimile of a letter written by Mrs. Elizabeth (Mason) Emmet, the last letter to her son Thomas, in which she refers to the death of her husband and the presence of her son Robert

has now befallen me, it is of such a kind as to cause
self reproach that it is unworthy of my situation
of the strong affection which I bore, and which both
you and I know was pure, ardent and sincere. I
do not delude myself by a spiritual vanity that any
supernatural aid has been afforded to me, not can I
console myself that it is the effect of religious resignation.
I know it proceeds from a cessation of long endured
agonizing agitations that tore my heart. Tho they have
not impaired my frame. I have for a length of time lived
under an uplifted axe, it has fallen, and I am not
destroyed: My Dear, Dear Tom, I am unfortunately
at liberty to see you, I shall not go to Brussells, because
I should only impede your plans, and till our affairs are
arranged, I do not wish to incur any expence that I do
not know how far I may be warranted in. If life is
granted to me, I mean the Summer after next to spend a
year with you in America, and if the dangers of a voy
do not operate too strongly upon a coward heart, the
rest of my life will probably be divided between you
and Mary Anne; she has besides the ties of affection
strong claims upon me, and upon us all, she has stood
and has born the first assault of all our
distresses, she has allways endeavoured to lighten
them, generally to the prejudice of her own health.
Your dear tender and best to be honoured father had
so arranged his affairs as to enable him if he had
been spared to allow an hundred a year to you, and

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anothed to Robert during his life. the too ample provision that has been made for me. Tho it will not enable me to do thees much will I trust leave it in my power to allow fifty pounds a year to each of my children, they all deserve alike, and all hold an equal place in my affections, I do not want riches for myself, but I wish I could do more for all of you. as for Jane of my best affections, I know how she has felt, and I know that however strong her attachment it was no more than adequate to that which was felt for her. Mary Anne is but just recovering from a bilious fever, which succeeded her lying in, it was what was to be expected as a natural consequence of the preceding circumstances. Mr Holmes is heavily taxed with our business, the confidence was great, and he will fulfill the [illegible] placed in him with rectitude and ability. your children here, are as they should be, the dear ones with you. I feel an unwearied affection for you. May the blessings of the best of fathers light upon you, and may the prayers and wishes of my heart be heard in favor of you, your wife and children, how strongly do I feel myself inclined to invoke a dear departed spirit. Adieu my dearest Tom, I am your truely affectionate Mother T. Adams

Jan.y 4th

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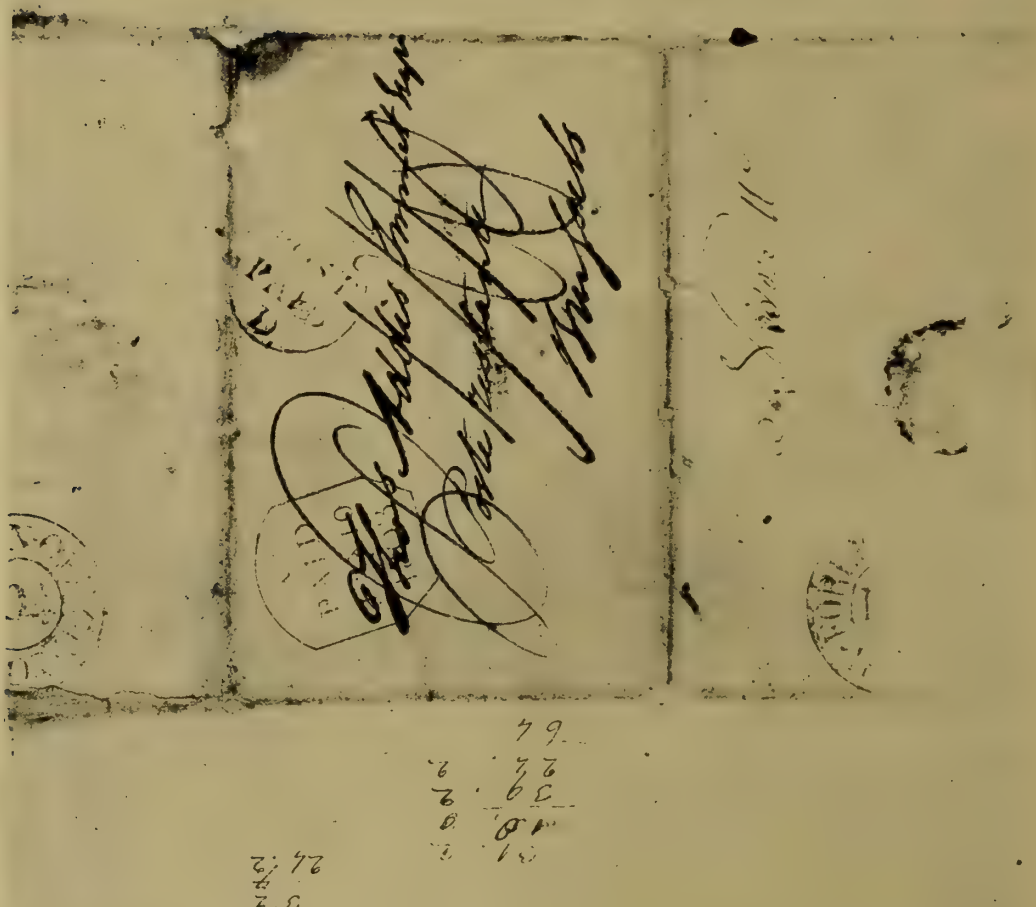
Kitty feels to you as towards a father, & affection she bears to all of us including Jane, and your children is more than proportioned to the relationship.



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and sincere. I do not delude myself by a spiritual vanity that any supernatural aid has been afforded to me, nor can I console myself that it was the effect of religion or resignation. I know it proceeds from a cessation of long-endured, agonizing agitations that tore my heart tho' they have not injured my frame. I have for a length of time lived under an uplifted axe, it has fallen, and I am not destroyed. My dear, dear Tom, I am unfortunately at liberty to see you; I shall not go to Brussels because I should only impede your plans, and 'till our affairs are arranged I do not wish to incur any expense that I do not know how far I may be warranted in. If life is granted to me, I mean the summer after next to spend a year with you in America, and if the dangers of the voyage do not operate too strongly upon a coward heart, the rest of my life will probably be divided between you and Mary Anne [Mrs. Holmes]. She has, beyond the ties of affection strong claims upon me, and upon us all, as she has stood in the pass and borne the first assault of all our distresses, and she has always endeavoured to lighten them, generally to the prejudices of her own health.

Your dear, tender, and ever to be honoured father had so arranged his affairs as to enable him, if he had been spared, to allow one hundred a year to you and another hundred to Robert during his life. The too ample provision that has been made for me, tho' it will not enable me to do thus much, will I trust leave it in my power to allow fifty pounds a year to each of my children; they all deserve alike and all hold an equal place in my affections.

I do not want riches for myself, but I wish I could do more for all of you. Assure Jane of my best affections. I know how she has felt, and I know that, however strong her attachment, it was no more than adequate to that which was felt for her. Mary Anne is but just recovering from a bilious fever which succeeded her lying-in; it was what was to be expected as a natural consequence of the preceding circumstances. Mr. Holmes is heavily laden with our business; the confidence we have in him is great, and he will fully fill the trust your father had in him with rectitude and ability. Your children here are as they should be; the dear ones with you I feel an increased affection for them. May the blessings of the best of fathers light upon you, and may the prayers and wishes of my heart be heard in favour of you, your wife, and children; how strongly do I feel myself inclined to invoke a departed spirit. Adieu, my dearest Tom, I am

Your truly affectionate mother,
E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Poste restante, New York.

As the stone found by Dr. Madden in St. Peter's churchyard over the Emmet tomb was a flat one covering the entrance to the family vault, doubtless it was simply covered in and not disturbed. Dr. Madden writes in addition:

Here also the remains are interred of the widow of Dr. Emmet, who survived her husband only nine months. She preceded her youngest son, Robert, to the tomb by a few days. From the period of the arrest of her son, T. A. Emmet, in March, 1798, her existence was a blank. She died, mercifully was it ordained, some days before the execution of Robert Emmet. The death of this amiable, exemplary, and high-minded lady, whose understanding was as vigorous as her maternal feelings were strong and ardent, took place at a country residence of the late Dr. Emmet, on the Donnybrook-road, at the rear of the Hospital of the Society of Friends. She survived her husband about nine months, and evidently, like the mother of the Sheares, was hurried to the grave by the calamity which had fallen on her youngest son, who, it was vainly hoped, was to have occupied one of the vacant places in the house, and in the hearts of his afflicted parents. Vainly had they looked up to Thomas Addis Emmet to supply that place which had been left void by the death of their eldest and most gifted

son, Christopher Temple Emmet. And when Thomas Addis was taken away from them and banished, to whom had they to look but to that younger son? and of that last life-hope of theirs they might have spoken with the feelings which animated the Lacedemonian mother when one of her sons had fallen fighting for his country, and looking on the last of them then living, she said:—"Ejus locum expleat frater". And that son was taken from them, incarcerated for four years, and doomed to civil death. Thomas Addis Emmet was then a proscribed man in exile. The father had sunk under the trial, although he was a man of courage and equanimity of mind; but the mother's last hope in her youngest son sustained in some degree her broken health and spirits, and that one hope was dashed down never to rise again, when her favorite child, the prop of her old age, was taken from her, and the terrible idea of his frightful fate became her one fixed thought,—from the instant the dreadful tidings of his apprehension reached her 'till the approaching time of the crowning catastrophe, when, in mercy to her, she was taken away from her great misery.

In Chapter XIII of the second volume will be found an account of the last interview between Robert Emmet and his devoted mother.

The mental and physical individuality of Dr. Emmet and his wife was remarkable, and all their children, although there was no family resemblance as to mind or countenance, reached a still higher degree of development. It is not unusual for a child to be born, whether of a noted family or in the lowest walks of life who, resembling no member of his family, in after life becomes noted for his intellectual attainments, but it is unique for an entire family to reach an extraordinary degree of perfection.

Before the marriage of Christopher Emmet and Rebecca Temple, no member of the Emmet family, during several hundred years, reached a higher position than that of a successful professional man who thus gave evidence of possessing more than the average amount of brains, and this success was more the rule than the exception. It was a well marked trait of all bearing the name of Emmet, to attend strictly to their private business, seldom to hold office or take the least prominence in public affairs.

The Temples, on the contrary, having with the Emmets been in the country since the Norman Conquest, at an early date became connected with the dominant race by marriage, and were from the beginning prominent in their self-assertion as military leaders and directors in the management of State affairs. They were always typical Normans and were seldom at home, while the Emmets made good husbands and, the Saxon element predominating, their whole happiness seemed to rest on their domestic relations.

When might made right, the Temples were ever ready to take what they could get and sometimes were not over-scrupulous. As a rule, they had always been narrow-minded and bigoted in everything relating to religion and politics, but were truthful, trustworthy and fearless. Withal, their religion was generally based on the simplest form, dogma carried little weight and their chief reliance seemed to be on human judgment. Until a late period they favored the simplest form of government, one in which all power should rest with the people. The writer has given much study to this subject and has been able to recognize many characteristic features which the Emmet family of later days inherited from their Temple ancestors. In the same connections the

Masons of County Kerry were found to have much in common with the Temples and from their isolated position for centuries on the west coast of Ireland, they were never much impressed with England's claims to Irish loyalty.

But it was through the Masons that all bigotry and intolerance in religion or politics which previously existed in the family, disappeared, Dr. Robert Emmet's wife being the person who brought about the change. No woman outside of a convent could have passed through life more influenced by the teaching of Our Lord, as to Christian charity and love of her neighbor. So completely was the life of this noble wife and mother passed in a spirit of self-abnegation and good deeds in the service of others that almost all knowledge as to her own humanity was obscured, leaving us only the results to base any judgment on as to her well-spent life in charitable work.

Several years after the completion of this portion of the writer's work, his attention was accidentally called to a statement along the same lines of investigation expressed by Louise Imogen Guiney in her sketch of Robert Emmet, and it may be of interest to give here the views of one unbiased.

The Emmets were of Anglo-Norman stock, Protestants (converted by the methods of Henry 8th) settled for centuries in Ireland. The Masons, of like English origin, had merged it in repeated alliances with women of Kerry, where the Normans, the Dane, and later invaders from nearer quarters had never settled down to perturb the ancient Celtic social stream. Dr. Emmet was a man of clear brain and incorruptible honor. The mother of his children, to judge by her letters, many of which have been privately printed, [in the "Emmet Family" and reproduced in this volume] must have been an exquisite being, high-minded, religious, loving, humorous, wise. Her eldest son, Christopher Temple Emmet, was named for his two paternal grand-parents, Christopher Emmet of Tipperary and Rebecca Temple, great-great-granddaughter of the first Baronet Temple of Stowe, in Buckinghamshire. The mention of the prolific, wide-branching, and extraordinary family of Temple, as forebears of the younger Emmets, is like a sharply accented note in a musical measure. It has never been played for what it was worth; no annalist has tracked certain Emmet qualities to this perfectly obvious ancestral source.

The Temples had not only in this case the bygone responsibility to bear, for in a marked manner they kept on influencing their Emmet contemporaries, as in one continuous mood thought engenders thought. Says Mr. James Hannay:—"The distinctive ἦθος of the Temples has been a union of more than usual of the kind of talent which makes men of letters, with more than usual of the kind of talent which makes men of affairs". The Emmets, too, shared the "distinctive 'ἦθος' in the highest degree. Added to the restless two-winged intelligence, they had the heightened soberness, the moral elevation, which formed no separate inheritance. The Temples, were, and are, a race of subtle but somewhat austere imagination, strongly inclined to republicanism and to that individualism which is the norm of it. The Temple influence in eighteenth century Ireland was, obliquely, the American influence; a new and heady draught at that time, a "draught of intellectual day". If we seek for these unseen agencies which are so much more operative than mere descent, we cover a good deal of ground in remembering that Robert Emmet the patriot, came of the same blood as Sidney's friend, Cromwell's chaplain, and Dorothy Osborne's lean and philosophic husband. And he shared not only the Temple idiosyncracy, but unlike his remarkable brothers, the thin, dark, aquiline Temple face.

Rebecca Temple, only daughter of Thomas, a baronet's son, married Christopher

Emmet in 1727, brought the dynastic names, Robert and Thomas into the Emmet family [correct as to Thomas, but Robert de Emott was the first of the name known in England]. Mrs. Emmet lived in the house of her son, the Dublin physician, until her death in 1774, when her grandchildren, Temple and Thomas Addis, were aged thirteen and ten; Robert being yet unborn. Her protracted life and quiet character would have strengthened the relations, always close with the Temple kin. Her brother Robert had gone in his youth from Ireland to Boston, where his father was long a resident; and where he married a Temple cousin. This Captain Robert Temple died April 13, 1754, at his seat, Ten Hills, at Boston, in New England. His three sons, the eldest of whom, succeeding his great-grandfather, became afterwards Sir John Temple, eighth Baronet of Stowe, all settled in New England and married daughters of the Bowdoin, Shirley, and Whipple families—good wives and clever women . . . . The latter day Winthrops of the Republic are directly descended from him, and the late Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, from his brother. A certain victorious free spirit, an intellectual fire, whimsical and masterful, has touched the whole race of untamable Temples and the Emmets, the very flower of that race. Love of liberty was, in both Robert Emmet and in Thomas Addis Emmet, no isolated phenomenon, but their strengthened and applied inheritance . . . . This community of ideas was further cemented by the marriage of Anne Western Temple, Robert Temple's daughter, to Temple Emmet, Doctor Emmet's eldest son.

The only daughter of Dr. Emmet, Mary Anne, had what was termed, by way of adequate eulogy, a "masculine understanding", with which she wrote pertinently and well. Her husband was the celebrated barrister of Dublin and devoted Irishman, Robert Holmes. He was the true friend and adviser of the whole Emmet family after the death of Doctor Robert Emmet.

Ireland has not received her education from herself, she has been educated by another country, which for a long time had but little to bestow, would not communicate even that little, and at length studied to check the growth which it feared.

T. A. Emmet.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

ANNE WESTERN TEMPLE
wife of Christopher Temple Emmet

The malignant jealousy toward Ireland increased with the increasing commerce of England.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter V

Christopher Temple, the eldest son of Dr. Emmet—Sketch of his life from the "Dictionary of National Biography"—A man of remarkable ability and a distinguished lawyer in Dublin before the age of twenty-seven—His death and burial—Grattan's statement as to Emmet's talents—Emmet's only child a daughter who died young and unmarried—Something of her life—Peter Burrowes' recollections of his college-mate—Burrowes a noted lawyer, but absent-minded—Mr. Emmet's early poems—Two of these poems printed in Edkins' Collection after his death—"The Decree", an allegory from his pen—Remarkable production, as Emmet took no special interest in politics—He predicts the ultimate fall of England if justice be not rendered Ireland—"The Myrtle"—At the time of his death he holds from the government the position of King's Counsel, indicating that no doubt of his loyalty was entertained—Temple Emmet a member of the "Monks of the Screw"—History of this exclusive society of professional men of Dublin.

ERFECTLY in accord with the Family records the "Dictionary of National Biography" states:

Christopher Temple Emmet, barrister, eldest son of Robert Emmet, M.D., and elder brother of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet, was born at Cork in 1761. He entered the University of Dublin in 1775, and obtained a scholarship there in 1778. He was called to the bar in Ireland in 1781, and in that year he married Anne Western Temple, daughter of Robert Temple, an American loyalist who had settled in Ireland. Emmet attained eminence as an advocate; he possessed a highly poetical imagination, remarkably retentive memory and a vast amount of acquired knowledge of law, divinity, and literature. Under the chancellorship of Lord Lifford, Emmet was advanced to the rank of king's counsel in 1787. His death occurred in February, 1788, while he was on circuit in south of Ireland, and his widow died in the following November.

The "Hibernian Magazine", Feb. 1788, states that he died in York-street in Dublin. This is an error. Temple Emmet died away from home, at the age of twenty-seven, but was buried from his residence in York-street, and the tradition exists in the family that he died from over-work. As has been stated, his wife, Anne Western Temple, of Ten Hills, near Boston, Mass., was a second cousin.

The following is a copy of the official entry in the Church Records, which is in the possession of the writer:—

Register—St. Peter's Parish, Dublin—

This is to certify that Temple Emmet, Esq., late of York Street in the City of Dublin, was interred on the ninth day of March, 1788, as appears by an entry thereof in the Register of this Parish.

Given under our hands this 10th day of March, 1830.

John [Illegible], Minister

George Gray
Edwd. Brewster } Church Warders

Dr. Madden wrote of Temple Emmet:

His brilliant talents and eminent legal attainments obtained for him a character that in the same brief space was probably never gained at the Irish Bar.

He also quotes from the testimony of Mr. St. John Mason, that:

He was certainly one of the most bright ornaments of the Irish Bar, and the most eloquent man of his day . . .

His death created a great sensation at the time and notices of his character and death and the high estimation in which he was held, will be found in the public journals of the day.

Mr. Grattan, in the life of his father, the celebrated Henry Grattan, gives it as his opinion that:

Temple Emmet, before he came to the Bar, knew more law than any of the judges on the bench; and if he had been placed on one side and the whole bench opposed to him, he could have been examined against them, and would have surpassed them all; he would have answered better both in law and divinity than any judge or bishop in the land. He had a wonderful memory, he recollected everything, it stuck to him with singular tenacity.

C. Temple Emmet left one child, Catherine, who died unmarried. Nothing is now known of Catherine Emmet's life after the death of her grandparents, Dr. Emmet and his wife, beyond the fact that she once visited her uncle in America and there established a friendship with his two older daughters. It would seem that she did not preserve the acquaintance closely, as only one letter from her to her cousin, Elizabeth Emmet, has been found among the family papers. This letter, however, gives every indication that she was a talented woman, and we learn from it of her bad health, which was probably the reason that she was not able to keep up a correspondence with her relatives. It is also probable that Miss Emmet was an invalid for many years before her death, as she inherited a delicate constitution from her mother. The following is a copy of her letter:

Combe Down, near Bath,
27th February, 1817.

My beloved Elizabeth will not, I hope, reject a few lines from me to whom she is very dear, though various circumstances have for some time obliged that one to be silent towards her and the other members of the family. That every one of these members of the family is nevertheless as tenderly beloved as ever, she can, however, most sincerely assure them, and she trusts that they will not refuse their pardon for an offence which she could not in fact avoid, since the debility to which she was at one period reduced, rendered her incapable of writing to anybody whatever. Do not, therefore, my friend, condemn me without hearing, but rather grant me a generous pardon, and let me if possible soon hear from you, and hear

too some particulars concerning my uncle and aunt, my dearest Robert, and all those other friends so dear to you as well as to myself, and in whose society you have the happy prospect of spending your days, a bliss of which I have given up even the remotest hope on this side of the grave. I have promised in this to give you some account of my health and of my present situation.

I must not therefore allow myself to run forth into fine speeches, but will begin with telling you that, persuaded by the arguments of Mrs. Tinton, who had paid me several visits since I came to Bath, and likewise by those of the excellent family in which I reside, I have entirely given up the system of Dr. Parry as it contributed only to weaken me without diminishing the complaint which it professed to eradicate. This you may suppose was to me no trifling disappointment, for if I had set my mind too earnestly upon any earthly object, it was upon getting free from a complaint which must render me a burden to those around me and prevent me from feeling that independence which nothing could otherwise deprive me of. Since however it is so ordained I must only remain satisfied, and most grateful do I feel for having met with a friend such as my dear Miss Hazlitt, who can feel and allow for all my weaknesses. We are now, together with her good Father and Mother, residing on Combe Down, near the town of Bath. The situation itself is most delightful, and the air is reckon'd uncommonly wholesome for all who have in their constitution anything of a consumptive tendency. My dearest Elizabeth Holmes* has more than half promised to pay me a visit here in the course of next summer, on her return from Devonshire, where she is now spending some time and where she has already derived some benefit from the mildness of the climate. I saw her as she passed through Bath on her journey thither, and was much shocked by the visible weakness of her frame, but I trust from the favorable accounts which I have received since that all may yet be overcome. She spoke to me much about those friends in America whom she so much long'd to see and from whom a few lines were, she said, to her more precious than anything besides. This I could easily believe, for I myself felt the same emotion. I look forward to some hours of enjoyment in the summer with this object of my fond affection, and I think that she too will enjoy herself amid the scenes about, and, what is more to be desir'd than anything, that each of us will become acquainted with the character and disposition of the other. Such are the hopes in which I at present indulge.

To any greater happiness I durst not look forward lest the whole should terminate in disappointment. Sometimes, when I think of you and those around you, I cannot help indulging in the wish that I could once more see you and converse with you, though for ever so short a space of time. But the idea vanishes from my mind, almost as soon as formed, for I quickly perceive its fallacy. My dear Miss Hazlitt could tell you how often our conversation is of New York, and how at such moments rather than any other, my tongue can discover the art of extending itself without fatigue in praise for those most dear to my heart. As to company, we see none. Our enjoyments are totally of the domestic kind. In strength I can perceive myself daily to be gaining something, and when again established to the same point of health which I enjoyed before I entered upon this unfortunate experiment, when able to use my limbs for myself and those around me, as I then did, I shall be thoroughly satisfied, for I shall then have it in my power to be useful, and you, my dear Elizabeth, do not know and cannot well form an idea of the horror of that sensation connected with the consciousness that you are of use to no one, and perhaps forgotten by those whom you best love.

Forgive me for saying this. The thought will sometimes enter into the soul, and it cannot always be banished just at pleasure. The way by which you will oblige me totally to dismiss it will be by writing soon and sending me even the most trifling particulars that relate to my belov'd aunt and uncle. To yourself,

*Her cousin; afterwards Mrs. Lenox-Conyngham.

or my dearest Margaret, or to any other member of that Family which I so frequently reflect upon, and for whose happiness these lips daily offer up so many prayers, to all these you must remember me as if particularly named, and I hope that from some of you I shall soon hear.

In the meantime I can only assure you that whatever may be the distance that lies between us and however long the time of our separation, you will at all times and in every situation possess in me a most faithful friend and affectionate cousin.

C. EMMET.

Miss Elizabeth Emmet,

Peter Burrowes' "Memoir" contains the following notice of his college mate:—

Temple Emmet died prematurely. His eloquence was great, but spoiled by imagery. He could not speak prose; it was poetry. Having on one occasion to close the sitting of the College Historical Society by a speech from the chair, he prepared the speech and sent it to Mr. Burrowes desiring him to curtail it as he thought proper, and so alter it, if necessary as that it should appear to the best advantage. Mr. Burrowes tried, but ineffectually; he could not alter it without changing the entire. It was all poetry. One passage he used to repeat wtih great earnestness and animation: "America! America! the land of arts and arms, where that goddess, Liberty, was wooed and won, and twelve young eaglets springing from her nest, bore freedom upward on her soaring wings".

The entire speech was in this style; and Mr. Burrowes returned it, being unable to comply with the speaker's wishes. He did however pronounce a most flowery and eloquent address from the chair on that occasion; it was full of talent, but it was a speech of blank verse.*

Temple Emmet's professional standing is indicated by the fact that he was a founder and member of a social club called the "Monks of the Screw", composed of fifty members selected from the learned professions in Dublin, who dined together at least once a week at the club-house on Dublin Bay.†

Mr. Emmet possessed a most logical mind, and it had been stated that when he engaged in the practice of his profession, his arguments were so concise in statement and so logical in the deductions drawn that there was no one at the Irish Bar during his service who could equal him. In this respect Temple Emmet possessed a mental development rarely found in any individual with a poetical tendency. In his early life Mr. Emmet had published in London a large volume of his original poems. So diligently and

*This is a very clear criticism from one said to have been the most absent minded man in Ireland. According to Phillips in "Curran and His Contemporaries": "It is recorded of him [Burrowes] that on circuit, a brother barrister found him at breakfast time standing by the fire with an egg in his hand and his watch in the saucepan."

†Some years ago the writer possessed a work of two or three volumes bearing the title, he thinks, of "The Monks of the Screw", written evidently by one who had obtained access to their minutes, or who had known some one most familiar with the individualism of the different members and their work. This book gave a report of much that was said and done by the members at their Dinners. These men were the most learned in their professions, and noted for their wit and story-telling. In a recently published work "John Philpot Curran", 1750-1817, by R. W. W., Dublin, 1907, it is stated:—"When Lord Avonmore [Barry Yelverton, a friend of Curran] founded the patriotic convivial society of 'The Monks of the Screw' in 1779 [to 1795] Curran was made Prior of the Order; and a glance at the names of the men who accepted him at twenty-nine as a special leader will attest the position he had already won.

"Their chapter song, written by the Prior, and a picture of their proceedings, will be found in 'Charles O'Malley'. Curran, who was a host in himself—though according to Lever's pun, his elevation could not be depended on—gloried in his title, and named his estate of Hally Park, near Rathfarnham, some four miles from Dublin, 'The Priory'.

"He gravely told the inmates of a French monastery who thanked him for his advocacy of the Catholic cause and offered him the keys of the house, that he was a prior himself in Ireland, and that he would merely accept the key of the wine cellar."

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

CHRISTOPHER TEMPLE EMMET

during so many years had this work been sought for, that the writer would doubt the accuracy of the statement, were it not that the elder members of the family, who have long passed away, all remembered seeing the work and hearing it spoken of in Ireland during their early childhood.

That Temple Emmet possessed a poetical faculty and that his poems were published there can be no doubt. By means of the cross-reference card catalogue at the Public Library in New York city, two poems of some length from his pen were found which were previously unknown, to the present generation at least.

"The Decree" was found to have been printed several times, and for the last time in "A Collection of Poems, Dublin, MDCCLXXXIX, issued for the editor Joshua Edkins". In the Public Library of New York there were found copies of three annual issues for 1789, 1790 and 1801—"The Decree" was published in the first volume of the series, known as "Edkins' Collection of Poems", and the following year appeared "The Myrtle" by Emmet with an anonymous poem supposed to have been also from his pen. "The Decree", an allegory of thirty-two stanzas of four lines each, according to the "Dictionary of National Biography":—

Was written during the administration of, and inscribed to, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, Viceroy of Ireland from 1777 to 1780. In these verses the author predicted that the future eminence of England would be imperilled if she delayed to act justly toward Ireland, by annulling harsh laws, and by removing the enactments which prohibited commerce between the Irish and America, which he styled 'the growing western world'.

It is not known when "The Myrtle" was written, but the volume of poems by Christopher Temple Emmet was published in London during his lifetime and must therefore have been written previous to 1788, in which year he died, and these poems reprinted in "Edkins' Collection of Poems"* must have been taken from the work issued by Mr. Emmet himself years before.

THE DECREE

Written During the Administration of, and Inscribed to

HIS EXCELLENCY

JOHN EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

By Christopher Temple Emmet, Esq.

High enthron'd, in godlike state,
Rising from the wat'ry plain,
Mighty Neptune sat, elate;
Neptune's trident shook the main.

*Thomas Addis Emmet's name appears among the list of subscribers with Henry Grattan, Edmund Burke, Richd. Brinsley Sheridan, The Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox, George Robert Fitzgerald ("Fighting" Fitzgerald, afterwards hanged for murder), John Kemble, Saml. Whyte, Dr. Drennan, and many others.

Dazzling glory, round his head,
Beam'd a blaze of orient light;
Mermaids left their sea-green bed,
Gaily, rob'd in azure bright.

In their shells, blue Tritons rode
Round their monarch's wat'ry car;
Naiads hymn'd a nautic ode,
And the shores resounded far.

Then, sweet Sirens, gently, sung
"Rule, BRITANNIA, rule the waves!"
And responsive Tritons rung
"Britons never shall be slaves".

Distant valleys caught the sound,
On a swelling surge convey'd,
And the sportive Echoes round
Tuneful, lent their mimic aid.

Ere the notes well dy'd away,
Lo! a beauteous form arose,
Zephyrs, soft, began to play,
Soft as new-born April blows.

Drest, she stood in vernal green,
Floating, loosely, to the wind;
At her side, an harp was seen,
And her hair flow'd loose behind.

Careless, circling round her head,
Gather'd fresh from off the plain,
Three-leav'd gràss compos'd a braid;—
Gayer dress may suit the vain.

Soft, she struck her trembling lyre;
Soft, the warbling notes were play'd;
Soft, addressing then her sire,
Thus the mild-ey'd beauty said.

"Ne'er be BRITAIN's honours faded,
Long may BRITAIN rule the main,
Long, her flag fly, undegraded,
Dread of France and haughty Spain.

"May she humble ev'ry foe,
May her honours ever rise,
Still, in greatness, may she grow,
May her glories reach the skies.

"Happy, thus, that she is great,
Happy, thus, that she is free,
May I, humbly, ask what Fate
Has resolv'd on, touching me?"

Neptune wav'd his hoary head,
Tritons trembled at his nod,
Ocean shrunk beneath its bed,
Nature felt the lab'ring God.

Pausing, then, at length, he cry'd,
"BRITAIN's monarchs long shall reign,
Long her fleets, in triumph, ride,
Neptune's bulwarks, on the main.

"But if ere, in thoughtless hour,
Freedom's rights she shall invade,
Struck with lust of lawless pow'r,
BRITAIN's laurels, then, shall fade.

"Vainly, then, her fleets shall roam,
Half mankind, combin'd, her foes;
She may strike—but not strike home;
Heav'n itself shall blast her rose.

"Older, stronger, mark'd by Fate,
Hers it is to rule the main,
Nor do thou the humbler state,—
Stiller joys of life, disdain.

"BRITAIN, in that higher sphere,
Must ten thousand ills endure,
Whilst, divest of anxious care,
You may sit and smile secure.

"But should BRITAIN ere forget
What to Sisters' claims are due,
Madly, should she ever threat
Tyrant laws, or force, to you;

"Should she ever claim a right,
IRELAND's commerce to restrain,
Should she ere presume, by might,
Such oppression to maintain;—

"In that day, her doom is seal'd;
By that act, her charter void,
Heav'n's condition'd grant repeal'd,
Heav'n's intended boon destroy'd;

"In that day—'tis so decreed,
Letter'd large, enroll'd by Fate,
You to BRITAIN shall succeed,
Yours shall be the rising State."

"Oh! far distant be the day,"
Quick, the mild-ey'd Maid reply'd,
Ne'er let BRITAIN's pow'r decay,
Ne'er be BRITAIN's title try'd.

"Ne'er let wrongs her honour stain,
Still, her sway let BRITAIN keep;
In her stead should IRELAND reign,
IRELAND in that pomp would weep.

"Never may I so be prais'd,
Never so obtain renown;—
If on BRITAIN's ruin rais'd,
I reject the proffer'd crown."

"What Jove wills must be obey'd,
What Jove wills is ever best,"
Neptune said, with voice dismay'd,
And, in sorrow, smote his breast.

"Hark!—methinks, I hear the word;
Hark!—methinks, the loud alarm;
See!—oh, see! the half drawn sword!
See! the half uplifted arm!

"Right, provok'd by wrong exceeding,
Drest in Terror's garb appears;
Oh, how stay my children bleeding!
How prevent the widow's tears!

"Prudence, mild, must sooth the storm;
Prudence stop my children's woes;
Prudence, drest in HOBART'S form,
Must the growing ills compose.

"Patient, faithful, mild, and just,
He shall make their discord cease,
Greatly, godlike in his trust,
He shall seal their mutual peace.

"Injur'd IRELAND he shall guide,
BRITAIN'S errors shall upbraid,
He shall open Wealth's fair tide,
And set free restricted Trade.

"Then shall Commerce gladly smile,
In each flying gale, unfurl'd,
Hov'ring 'twixt her fav'rite Isle
And a growing Western world.

"IRELAND, happy in redress,—
BRITAIN, sav'd by cancel'd laws,—
Each shall HOBART'S conduct bless,
Each proclaim her loud applause.

"High, amidst the good and great,
Honour shall enroll his name;
Friend and father to each state
He shall fill the trump of Fame!"

IRELAND, raptur'd struck the lyre
Neptune still'd the roughen'd main
Nymphs and Tritons caught the fire;
Heav'nly music clos'd the scene!

Sent to a Lady With a Present of Myrtle

By Christopher Temple Emmet, Esq.

Once on a time, as poets tell,
And poets, sure, knew old times well,
When simple swains and virgins fair
Tended in vales their fleecy care,
And each, like the wild flocks they fed,
On earth's soft lap reclin'd their head;
Then Jove, for Jove o'er Ida reign'd,
On Ida's top the Gods conveyn'd;
And each God, e'er th' assembly rose,
Some Tree from hill or valley chose,
Jove took the Oak, a tree divine!
And little Bacchus took the Vine;
The Laurel Phœbus made his care,
For still he lov'd the Flying Fair;
The Olive pleas'd the blue-ey'd Maid;
But Venus chose the Myrtle's shade.

First Jove arose, and first he spoke,
And gifted thus his chosen Oak;
"O'er all the mountains thou shalt reign,
And spread thy branches to the plain;
High on the hills, my Oak shall rise
And, first of trees, approach the skies;
In vain loud storms and rattling hail
Thy leafy honours shall assail;
But, in the Dodonæan grove,
Men shall thy pow'r prophetic prove;
While priests in holy madness wait
To catch from thee the voice of fate;—
And thou shalt grace the wat'ry plain,
Long as Britannia rules the main,
Her floating bulwark thou shalt prove,
To Britain sacred—and to Jove."

Next Bacchus to his Vine began,
"Sweet Tree! which smooths each care of man;
To thee shall truth her altars raise,
Parent of mirth and child of ease,
By thee shall dull reserve be drown'd,
When with thy fruit the cup is crown'd;
Thy floods shall fright away despair,
Dazzle deep thought, and drown old care;
And all, who feel the force of wine,
Shall pay due honours to my Vine;
For thou can'st ev'ry grief destroy,
And, in their place, plant ev'ry joy".

Apollo, too, his Tree display'd,
And, speaking, wept the Penian maid;
"Henceforth 'tis will'd, fair favour'd Tree!
Each honest breast shall beat for thee;
And who feel fame's pure kindling fire
To thy green honours shall aspire;
Thy leaves shall prove the victor's praise,
And sacred make the poet's lays;
Thy wreaths shall twine the champion round,
And conquest, with thy boughs, be crown'd".

Minerva, thus, her Tree addrest;
"When men by war's black scourge are prest,
And discord, high in air, displays
Her bloody torch and wasteful blaze,
My Olive shall its branches wave,
To snatch from death the bold and brave;
No more the trembling maid shall weep,
Nor frightful visions scatter sleep;
No starting fair, with faded cheek,
Her promis'd love in vain shall seek;
No more the orphan's tears shall flow,
Nor death awake the widow's woe;
To white rob'd Peace shall Terror yield
His gorgon crest and snake-hung shield;
Nor sullen, view th' ensanguin'd plain
And whirl his car o'er heaps of slain;
But fury pale shall learn to cease,—
My Olive still the pledge of peace".

Last, Venus took her Myrtle fair,
And drest each sprig with happy care;
"For thou shalt be supremely blest,
And far more favour'd than the rest;
In future times her care you'll prove
Who reigns on earth the Queen of love;
For her my Myrtle I design,
To her I'll give whate'er is mine;
In proof whereof, her waist around
With my own cestus shall be bound;
At present, you'll remain with me—
Hereafter, one more fair you'll see;
And each new day and each new year,
In beauties new like her, appear,
Unsully'd as her native truth,
And blooming like her op'ning youth;
Perhaps with gentle hand, she'll pour,
From steaming urn, a silver show'r;
Perhaps, in gayest verdure drest,
You'll chance to deck her snowy breast,
There flourish, with superior bloom,
And, thence, your chiefest sweets assume,
And while, with concious grace she treads,
And Love around his glory spreads,

The nymphs shall all in envy vie,
And all the swains with envy die;
The nymphs shall envy her they view,
The swains, blest MYRTLE! envy you;
Because, design'd to give delight,
Your sweets attract my DELIA's sight;
Because you grace her gentle breast,
Where Sorrow's self might learn to rest!
And thus what each aspires to be
Becomes the fate reserv'd for thee".

Man looks to antiquity for a right to be free; as well might he look to antiquity for a right to breathe.

T. A. Emmet.

The policy of England towards Ireland, even as a dependent state, was unwise, illiberal and unfeeling, but it was uniformly the policy of the despot to the slave.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter VI

Birth and early life of Thomas Addis Emmet—His course at Trinity College, Dublin, compared with the standing of his brother Temple—Studies medicine in Edinburgh—His course there—Thesis for graduation—Dr. Samuel Mitchell's account of Emmet's career—His great popularity in the literary societies—His college friends—Served in Guy's Hospital, London—Begins practice in Dublin—Gets rapidly into a large practice—Associated with his father—He and his father become state physicians for the king—Sudden death of his brother Temple—Studies law at the wish of his father and is equally successful as a student—His acquaintances while a law student among men afterwards distinguished—In less than a year he fully establishes himself at the Dublin bar—His early connection with the United Irishmen—Takes an active part in forming the organization prior to becoming a member—Takes the oath of the United Irishmen in open court, during the trial of his client for the same offence—Emmet's early association with Theobald Wolfe Tone—Dr. Madden's work—An early advocacy of Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform and work in advancing the movements—Tone's visit to the United States—Pitt's course towards Ireland for bringing about the Union with England—England's promises to Ireland never observed in good faith—Had Pitt and Napoleon an understanding?

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, the second son of Dr. Robert Emmet and Elizabeth Mason, was born in Cork, Ireland, April 24, 1764. He was educated in a school kept by Mr. Keer in Dublin. Nothing is now known of his course beyond the fact made evident from the number of prize-books gained by him that he possessed more than average ability and application. According to family tradition Mr. Emmet, when passing into manhood, was fond of all out-door sports, particularly of hunting, and he was considered to have been an unusually good horseman. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, 1778, when he was fourteen years of age, and was graduated at the end of the course with very high honors. His elder brother Temple was graduated a few years previous with such distinction as to establish a standard so high as never since to have been reached by any other individual. Thomas Addis Emmet obtained a scholarship in 1781, and the Degree of B.A. in 1782, and established for himself a standard which has remained to his individual credit. During a visit to Trinity in 1880 the writer learned from an official, who seemed fully acquainted with the circumstances, that while some individual occasionally reached Temple Emmet's standard in some special line, as in mathematics or the Classics, no student up to that date, in his final examination for graduation, had since reached the standard established by these

brothers for the whole course. The early death of the one and the political difficulty and exile of the other so soon after graduation had caused this remarkable fact connected with them to be forgotten.

After receiving the Degree of LL.B. from Trinity University, Mr. T. A. Emmet began the study of medicine in Edinburgh and graduated in 1784, achieving there comparatively as high a standard as he held at Trinity. We are indebted to the funeral oration delivered by Dr. Samuel Mitchell, who was a fellow-student with Mr. Emmet, for the following information:

In October, 1784, I found T. A. Emmet at the University of Edinburgh. He had in the September preceding received the degree of doctor of medicine in due form, pursuant to a decree of the faculty, and an order of the academic senate. The velvet cap had been put upon his head by the distinguished Principal William Robertson. He staid there during the winter which succeeded his graduation, for the purpose of further improvement. Gentlemen who can afford it, and are not pressed immediately into business, not unfrequently do so. I soon became acquainted with him. I even sought an introduction, for he was in high consideration among the students, and he was reputed by the professors and seniors as having performed his exercises, and gone through the prescribed course of study, with more than common ability.

The statutes imposed upon a candidate for the doctorate among other tasks, the publication of a dissertation upon some professional subject in the Latin language—Mr. Emmet possessing a taste for chemistry did defend at the solemn examination [for the degree of medicine] a composition* "De aëre fixo vel acido aëreo": the production upon which Professor Black had founded much of his well-earned fame. Experiments had proceeded at that day far enough to ascertain that it was an air, fixed in, or attracted to other bodies as by chalk, for example, and they had proved that it was an acid quality, capable of changing the purple of litmus to red. But they had not discovered that its basis was elementary charcoal, nor, that in correct nomenclature, it ought to be called *carbonic* acid. The performance was considered to have been his own, and not the work of one of those useful hirelings, who prepared exercises for the dull and lazy.

As to the style, it was deemed a good specimen of modern latinity, and in regard to the matter, it was reckoned one of the best inaugural tracts. Mr. Smellie, one of the printers to the University, a good naturalist and a fair judge of literary and scientific matters, had made a selection of those collegiate pieces that went through his hands, which he published in a volume from time to time, under the title of "Thesaurus Medicus". Emmet's dissertation had the honor of being reprinted, and preserved among the choice articles there. . . . The dissertation states that it is Chymico-Medical. . . . The first section or chapter, contains the history of the substance, as it was understood forty-seven years ago. That his diligence may be duly appreciated it becomes me to tell you he quotes the English philosophical transactions, and the writings of Priestley, Cavallo, Falconer, Lavoisier, and Bergman, as reigning authorities. He likewise manifests his acquaintance with the labors of Percival, Nooth, Black, Macbride and Pringle, to whom he makes becoming reference and acknowledgment.

In the next division of his subject, he examines the "nature of the Aereal Acid", and after an elaborate discussion of the matter from the facts and opinions before him, he concludes his enquiry, by observing, like a candid, modest and sensible man [p. 45]: "If I should be required to give a theory of the Aereal Acid, I should not venture to do it at present; we are probably ignorant of many qualities belonging to the gases; but further removed from an acquaintance with their peculiarities and constitutions! This, however, I will venture to assert, that fixed air, as far as I can judge, approaches as nearly

*Tentamen Chymico-Medicum de Aëre Fixo sive Acido Aëreo, Edenburg MDCCLXXXIV. See Appendix, Note V.

to a simple substance as any gas, or any acid, and in the two cases, we are equally unacquainted with their constituent ingredients"!

The chief part of his discussion is directed to the employment of the aereal acid in medicine. Herein he exhibits a summary of its use in gangrene, diseases of the stomach from a defect of vigor, in putrid typhus fever, in angina maligna, in confluent smallpox and putrid measles, in consumption of the lungs, in dysentery and in scurvy, after the manner of an industrious enquirer, who had exerted every effort that health, opportunity and assiduity could apply, for the elucidation of the subject.

Mr. Emmet's paper on aereal acid was read at the first meeting of the National Philosophy Society in its new hall, which on the same occasion was dedicated, and he took his seat as president. At this time he was also president for the year of the Royal Society of Medicine and the Society of Natural History and Research. The work was dedicated by Mr. Emmet to: "Nobilissimo et integerrimo viro, Georgio Grenville Nugent Temple, comiti de Temple &c."

Dr. Mitchell goes on to say:

The capital city of Scotland abounds in Societies, composed mostly of the higher order of students, who meet for mutual improvement.

The Royal Medical is one of these, in which memoirs are read and debated. Mr. Emmet was a conspicuous orator in these discussions. He was thought to be one of the best speakers if not the very best. He was sufficiently esteemed, to be chosen one of the four presidents. It was a regulation that a part of the discussion in the order of business should be in Latin, and therein perhaps Mr. Emmet excelled every person who took the floor. His knowledge was various, his memory retentive, his ideas methodical, and his utterance impressive.

There was another society in which he appeared to great advantage, in these juvenile pursuits. This was the Royal Physical Society. The objects of this association were virtually the same with the former. A new hall had been constructed and a formal inauguration ordered. Dr. Emmet, one of the presiding officers, was appointed to deliver the discourse. This he executed much to the satisfaction of his audience in the Latin tongue; although in the preface of the pamphlet he informs the reader that it was but a work of three days [tridui opus]. The copy I possess of the tract is noted as having been received from the author. I recollect, almost as well as if it was yesterday, his attitude and manner, and the motion of his right hand which grasped a roll.

There was a third society, to the presidential chair of which he was elevated. This was the association for the promotion of Natural History.

I believe I am correct in remarking that the distinction and praise he obtained while yet at the university, operated upon me as incentives to industry, after a model so conspicuous and admired, with the hope of gaining similar rewards.

There was yet another society, called the "Speculative", to which he belonged, and over which he also became presiding officer. The exercises here were of a different character from those of the others; inasmuch as they embraced almost every subject except physical, natural and medical science. The whole extent of politics, metaphysics, economics, literature and history were considered at the meetings.

He was the presiding officer of five of the literary societies at the same time, while it was a great honor to have held the position once.

Young Emmet had gained in this place as much reputation as one of his years could attain. He was prepared to enter the world of business and give counsel to rich and disabled. And in this function he would probably have been able and successful; adorning from year to year a profession he had cultivated with extraordinary diligence and ardor.

Dr. Mitchell mentions among Dr. Emmet's intimate friends the names of Sir James Mackintosh, Dougal Stuart, Mr. Hope, Dr. John Rogers of New York and Dr. Casper Wister of Philadelphia, all of whom became in after life distinguished men. On leaving Edinburgh he went to London, where he entered Guy's Hospital as a resident physician and served the usual course in that institution. He then proceeded to the Continent for an extended tour, accompanied by an intimate friend from the north of Ireland, Mr. George Knox, a son of Lord Northland. With Mr. George Knox, Dr. Emmet corresponded for several years during a portion of his life of which we have little knowledge. This correspondence is still in existence, but the writer was unable to obtain permission to have the letters copied. Dr. Madden in early life had the good fortune, as a foundation for his "Lives of the United Irishmen," to become personally acquainted with many who had taken part in the political movement of 1798. He thus knew many of Dr. Emmet's contemporaries and from them he was able to portray for our benefit the personal attributes of Dr. Emmet as they existed at this period of his life. In Madden's work, to which we have to make such frequent reference, will be found the following analysis:—

His career at college, if less brilliant than that of his brother Temple, was such as gave ample promise of his future eminence. His qualities were not of the same shining character. The powers of his imagination were less remarkable than the solidity of his judgment and the logical precision and acumen of his reasoning faculties. His oratorical efforts were distinguished by no bold flights of impassioned eloquence; they abounded not in the flowers of a poetic imagination, but in plants of a less precocious maturity—of a more enduring bloom: an impressive earnestness of manner, an honesty of purpose, and sincerity of conviction in the delivery of his sentiments; a strict adherence to truth; a manly scorn of the meanness of subterfuge or falsehood; a closeness of reasoning that never deviated from its essential line of argument; and on occasions which called for the display of fervid feelings an outbreak of indignant or enthusiastic eloquence, which formed a striking contrast with the apparent calmness of reflection and coldness of feeling which his staid demeanour and contemplative cast of countenance would seem to indicate.

His physical conformation was not robust; he was measured in his gait, and retiring and unobtrusive in his deportment. In his dress he was careless—almost negligent; he bestowed no attention on personal appearance. His head was finely formed—it had all the compactness that a phrenologist would look for in the head of a man of profound thought; and the expression of his countenance was indicative of integrity and straightforwardness that inspired confidence and respect, and made those who came into contact with him feel the presence of a man of inflexible principles, and of fixed, well considered opinions. A slight cast in his eyes, accompanied by a habit of closing his eye-lids, incidental to what is termed "nearness of sight", gave a kind of peering expression to his regard. It was that of a man who communed more with himself than with external things, but its predominant expression was benevolence: it was the regard of a man whose suavity of disposition was too great to be spoiled by studious habits, by strong convictions on political subjects, or a determined purpose to act upon these when the occasion came for action.

Dr. Madden, in his Life of Thomas Addis Emmet, claims in the dedication that he was:

A man of great worth and virtue, sound understanding, solid judgment, fine talent, and highly cultivated tastes; of singular equanimity of mind, urbanity of manners, and kindness of disposition; yet of inflexible integrity, steadfast principles, just views, and well weighed opinions.

Emmet's vanity was of a peculiar kind; he was vain of nothing but his name: it was associated with the brightest of the by-gone hopes of Irish genius, and with the fairest promises of the revival of the latter in the dawning powers of a singularly gifted brother. No man could say with truth that vanity or selfishness was the mental infirmity of Emmet.

No malignant act was ever imputed to him. The natural kindness of his disposition was manifested in his looks, in his tone of voice; those who came in contact with him felt that his benignity of disposition, his purity of heart and mind were such, "and the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up and say to all the world—this was a man." Malignity and Emmet were as dissimilar in nature as in name.

A restless mind was not the mind of Emmet; the calm, tranquillizing influence of philosophy had given its serenity to his intellectual organization. The repose, if one may so speak of his character, was apparent in the composure of his demeanour and the quietude of his deportment.

Emmet's ambition was to see his country well governed, and its people treated like human beings, destined and capacitated for the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom. For himself he sought no pre-eminence, no popular applause; he shrunk from observation where his merits, in spite of his retiring habits, forced themselves into notice. No man could say that Emmet was ambitious.

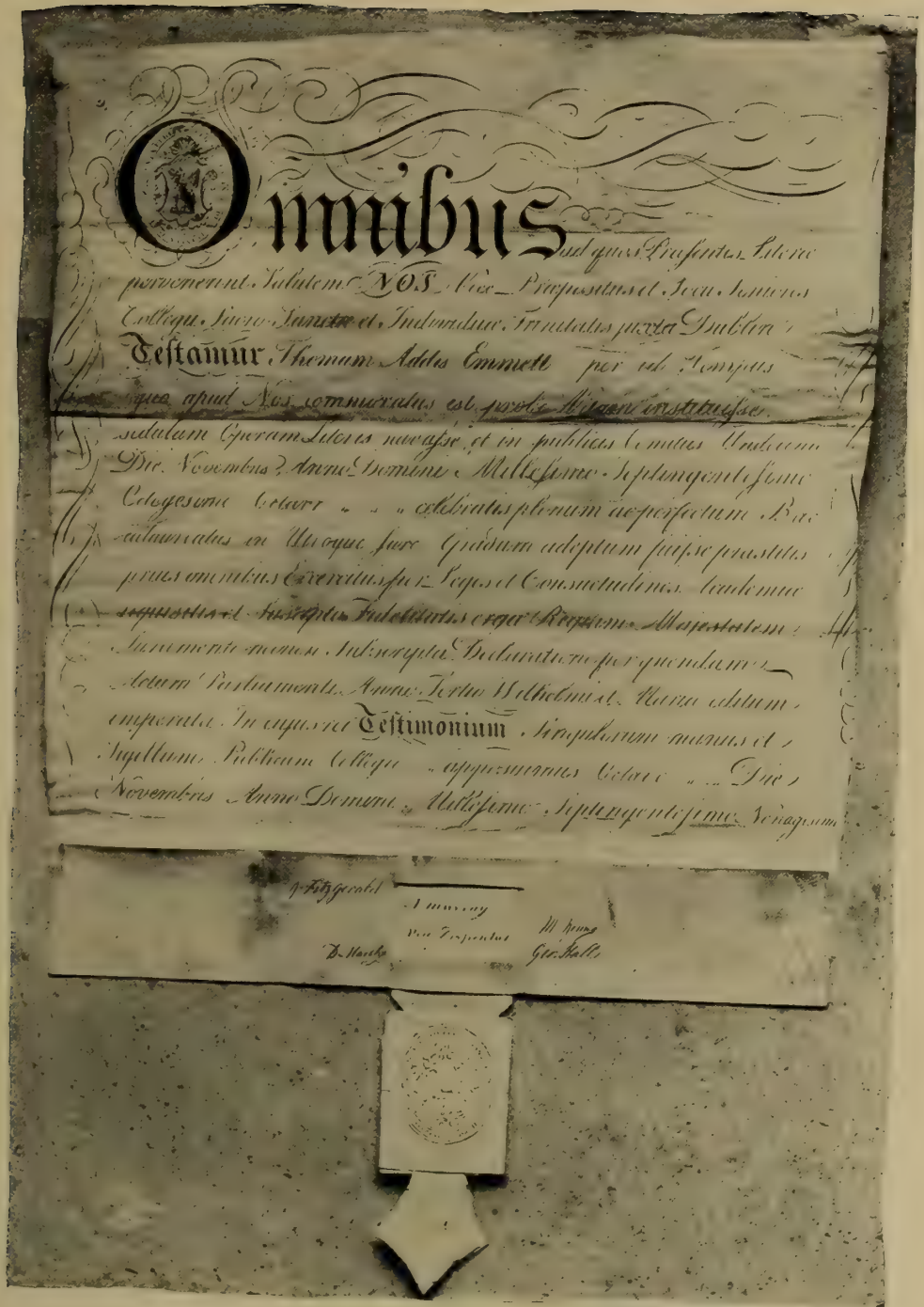
The reader should bear this statement of Madden's fully in mind as it is the key to Mr. Emmet's political life, and the explanation why he failed to such an extent in gaining due credit when no other leader in the Rebellion of 1798 accomplished so much.

Dr. T. A. Emmet, from the beginning, took a prominent position in the practice of medicine in Dublin, where he was very extensively known, and was soon appointed by the Government "State physician" in connection with his father. This was a position of great importance, to which was attached a good salary. He thus became a "Court physician", and *ex officio,* the physician to any member of the royal family requiring medical services while visiting Dublin. The position also connected him with several hospital appointments, and made him a member of the Corporation of the City of Dublin and of several important commissions.

In Mr. Emmet's twenty-sixth year, when holding a position in his profession acquired by few before middle age, his brother Temple suddenly died, having already reached the head of the Dublin Bar before he was thirty years of age. The father, judging of his son's ability as a physician, believing he would occupy even a more prominent position and take his brother's place, urged him to give up medicine for the legal profession.

He at once acquiesced in his father's wish and proceeded to London, where, for two years and a half, he applied himself to the study of law, at the Temple and in the courts at Westminster, and on returning to Ireland was admitted to the Irish Bar in the Michaelmas term of 1790.

Mr. Emmet's advance in law was quite as rapid as it had been in the practice of the medical profession.



REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Legal diploma issued by Trinity College to Thomas Addis Emmet, 1790

Archibald Hamilton Rowan has written:*

In January or February, 1792, I had been arrested by a warrant from Judge Downes on a charge of distributing a seditious paper. . . . I had at first declared my wish to employ no other counsel to defend me than those who belonged to the Society of United Irishmen; but Messrs. Emmet and Butler both declined the task, as they said it might look like arrogance in junior counsellors to conduct so great a case as that which would probably ensue.

It soon became evident to Mr. Emmet's friends that he could not remain longer in retirement, even to serve the cause of the Society of United Irishmen in the work of organization, which he was so desirous of doing.

Within two years after Mr. Emmet's admission to the Irish Bar, he made his first appearance in Court, together with Simon Butler, Leonard M'Nally and Matthew Dowlin, the attorney, to conduct the noted case of Napper Tandy, begun on June 27, 1792. The final hearing was on Nov. 29th, 1792, "Against the Viceroy, the Earl of Westmoreland, the lord chancellor, the Right Hon. John Foster and Arthur Wolfe (afterwards Lord Kilwarden), Timothy Dillon and George O'Reilly. The action was on the question—"Whether any action, civil or criminal, can be brought against a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, pending his viceroyalty."

As in so many other matters concerning this period we are indebted to Dr. Madden for the only information which throws light on much that would otherwise be obscure, particularly for his reproduction of the account written by St. John Mason, himself a lawyer of ability. Dr. Madden states:—

The proceedings were instituted on the ground that the official rank of the lord lieutenant was conferred by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain; while the great seal of Ireland was the only one which could be recognized in any court of law in Ireland.

Those who advised the course of proceeding adapted in Tandy's action against the lord lieutenant and privy council were men of a time that was productive of boldness. The circumstances of Tandy's case are briefly these:—He was Secretary to the Dublin Society of United Irishmen. It became the object of the Society to discover the views of the Defenders: he accordingly met a party of Defenders at Castle Bellingham, where he took the oath; he was informed against, a bill of indictment was privately prepared against him at the Louth assizes, the authorities expecting to take him on his way to Dublin where he had shortly to stand his trial for libel. He was informed of his danger, however, at Dundalk, and soon after quitted the kingdom.

The final hearing of the motion came on the 26th of November, 1792.

The result was what might be expected; and the case is not only remarkable for the question raised in it, but for the report of Emmet's speech on this occasion, the first of his on record, and the longest of any that has reached us. In that speech there were sufficient indications of ability of the first order to justify the anxiety felt to take him from the Bar, and to shelve such formidable talents on the Bench.

The great object of those proceedings it was desirable to keep undiscovered in the preliminary steps; that object was to contest the validity of the lord lieutenant's patent, as having been granted under the great seal of England, instead of that of the chancellor of Ireland. The object, however, was disclosed to the crown lawyers, and Tandy's advocates were obliged to bring forward the main question prematurely.

*Autobiography of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq., &c., Dublin, 1840.

Mr. Mason stated:

With respect to the proceedings in the King's Bench against the viceroy, Lord Westmoreland [on account of a proclamation which the latter, in council, had issued for the apprehension of James Napper Tandy, who had fled the country on the issuing of an order for his arrest, in consequence of a report of a secret committee of the House of Commons, charging him with treasonable communication with the Defenders] the object was to contest the validity of the appointment of Lord Westmoreland as lord lieutenant, and indeed of all those who had previously filled the office of viceroy; and to produce the Earl of Westmoreland as a witness in these proceedings of Tandy, for the purpose of showing that his lordship's appointment was invalid, inasmuch as it was in virtue only of letters patent, granted under the great seal of England, and not under the great seal of Ireland, which was then a separate kingdom. On the occasion, a subpoena having been issued for the attendance, as a witness of Lord Westmoreland, T. A. Emmet moved for the plaintiff, that the defendant, John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, of the Kingdom of Great Britain, do enter into security for his appearance at court on the day of next term. The court refused the motion. The attorney-general declared that the lord lieutenant would not give security.

Mr. Mason in addition states:

On the renewed proceedings in this case, 26th November, 1792, T. A. Emmet spoke strongly on the subject of the lord lieutenant's appointment. One passage created a sensation throughout the kingdom:—"I boldly assert that *there has been no legal viceroy in Ireland for the last six hundred years,* and not only the counsel of Lord Westmoreland will not deny that fact, but they will not dare to let his patent come under a train of legal investigation".

Mr. Mason made the charge:

Leonard McNally, the barrister, betrayed the cause by disclosing the object to the government, or the judges, or legal advisers of the crown who had been previously ignorant of it.

M'Nally as an informer was already in the employ of the British Government.

A full and authentic report was given of Mr. Emmet's speech, which is worthy of being presented in full to the reader, it being his first made at the bar and the only one while Emmet was engaged in Dublin practice of which so full an account is given.

Mr. Emmet began his speech by explaining the nature of his action. It was made necessary by the attorney-general avowing himself not to be counsel for the Lord Westmoreland, no course being in court on which to ground this application before appearance and unsupported by any affidavit. It was not a motion, and it would not be called a motion, if the counsel on the other side could call it by any other name. He would, however, tell the court what it was,—it was a *message* from a great man, desiring the court to stop the progress of the law against him; and he would say on the authority of 2 Inst. :56, that it is exactly that against which the *nulli negabimus justitiam* of Magna Charta was enacted. The ground of the application, as stated by the attorney-general on a former occasion, was that Lord Westmoreland would not appear, and that it would be inconvenient and even dangerous to arrest him in the

midst of his guards. "If by law he can not be compelled to appear the menace was unnecessary; if by law he may be compelled to appear, the menace was *indecent.* If he can be compelled to appear, he must appear; and notwithstanding the character given of him by his own immediate advocates, I cannot believe that while he claims to be the viceroy of this Kingdom, he will set the example of resisting the laws to the subjects of his sovereign. But by law he may be compelled to appear; no privilege exempts him from *being sued.*"

It is a principle of the law, laid down in 1 Com. Dig. 104, Title action, C. 3, that "every *subject* of the King, ecclesiastical or temporal, man or woman, villein or free, may be sued". So great was the protection to the subject's right of suing that the common law code was preserved even against the King until another was pointed out [for this Mr. Emmet cited 1 Com. Dig. 104, C. 1: until the time of Edward I the King might as an ordinary individual have been sued in all actions]. The court observing that there was doubt expressed in that very passage as to the fact, he then cited 43 Ed. III, 22; Thel. Dig. 1, 4, C. 1, 3; 24 Ed. III, 55; and having established that position, proceeded to argue that even supposing Lord Westmoreland to be, what he claimed to be, lord lieutenant, "his privilege is only an emanation from and cannot be greater than the King's prerogative. But even the King can be sued by petition, and would still continue suable by the common law mode, if another more adapted to the subtlety of the times, had not been found out; therefore the lord lieutenant must still continue suable by the common law mode, since he can not be sued in any other way. The court have no right to quash its process for anything but irregularity and none is alleged here. But the only foundation of the application is that an action will not lie against the lord lieutenant".

"That may be true, and yet he may be sued. There are many men in many cases, against whom actions will not lie, and yet they may be sued and must appear. If the viceroy has such a privilege, he comes too soon—he must plead it". In "Nostyn *versus* Fabrigas Comp. 172", Lord Mansfield says:—"If it were true that the law makes him that sacred character, he must plead it, and set forth his commission as special matter of justification, because *prima facie* the court has jurisdiction". Mr. Emmet then cited several authorities to show that this was the rule of all privileges, and observed that this attempt to avoid pleading and setting forth the lord lieutenant's commission resulted from fear; for his counsel knew that if it was spread on the record it might be demurred to, and could be proved to be a nullity. This endeavor to determine the question in a summary way has also another object, to prevent the plaintiff from being able to appeal, or from taking advantage of a writ of error; but that very reason ought to induce the court to refuse the application. A question of novelty and importance ought to be put in the most solemn and conclusive mode of determination, and the court ought to decline deciding in a manner summary and final on a matter in which the subject ought to have the power of appeal. He next questioned the *dictum* that no action will lie against a governor locally during his government. "It is my Lord Mansfield's

opinion, unsupported, as far as I know, by any other authority in the books; and fortunately my Lord Mansfield has given the reason of his opinion:— 'because upon process he would be subject to imprisonment'. The guarded manner of expressing the *dictum* shows its weakness. He says locally no action would lie against him out of the place where he is governor, and yet his imprisonment in England would as much impede and embarrass his government as if it were at Barbadoes. But it is not necessary that he should be subject to imprisonment in order that an action should lie. They are every day brought against peers and persons whose bodies are privileged from arrest. If the rights of the subject to have remedy for injury must be restricted as far as that policy renders it indispensable the principles of the common law and the right of the subject ought not to be sacrificed even to the attainment of that great object, the security of a viceroy's person, if it can be attained in any other way. The consequence therefore is that the court must so mould its process as to attain the redress of the subject without violating that privilege. This can be done by making the next process after this subpoena distress and not attachment, and he by letting the plaintiff proceed at his peril to a parliamentary appearance. Mr. Emmet then cited by way of analogy to his last position a case from Raymond, 152, in which it was determined that an officer of the King's household, whose person was consequently free from arrest, might be sued, so as that the King might not be deprived of his service, and so might be outlawed. He then observed that the inconveniences of the opposite doctrine would be most monstrous, and show it cannot be law. . . . Here Mr. Baron Power intimated that the court knew the cause of action, for the attorney-general had told it to them; upon which Mr. Emmet replied that neither the court nor the attorney-general could possibly know the cause of action, that no one but Mr. Tandy, his counsel and his attorney could know the cause of action; and that "the court, if they decide against the plaintiff, must say that no action whatsoever will lie against the lord lieutenant. But, if the governor be entitled to such a privilege as is contended for, he must be a *legal* governor, and *legally* appointed inasmuch as the privilege is a *legal* one. The court may know that he is a *de facto* governor, and that may be sufficient to warrant and induce them to pay him every obeisance and attention, or perhaps to sanction any ministerial act which he must do, but he can never have a legal right to a legal privilege in a court of law unless he had a legal right to his office, for he is appointed under the great seal of England. It was but lately that some of the ablest lawyers on the bench, and at the bar, were of opinion that the great seal of England can appoint a regent; for it can appoint a viceroy, whose name and whose functions differ but little from those of a regent. The attorney-general deprecated on a former day the supposition that this country had been for six hundred years without a legal viceroy. To that I answer with the sincere wish that this country may not continue to be as it has been for the last six hundred years; its independence was ascertained in 1782, and if there was any abuse crept in before, it ought to have ceased then. For the last ten years

I boldly say there has been no legal viceroy in Ireland; and the counsel for Lord Westmoreland will not only not venture to contradict me, but they will not even dare to let his patent get into a train of legal investigation". Mr. Emmet concludes: "this is an application which Lord Westmoreland has no right to make, and which the court has no right to grant".*

This case attracted general comment throughout Great Britain, because of the ability and learning displayed by Mr. Emmet, and above all for the undaunted courage he showed in the defense of his clients.

The other case, charging the prisoner with treason in having openly accepted the oath as administered to those becoming members of the Society of United Irishmen, was brought to trial, and Mr. Emmet with great clearness informed the court that the purpose of the United Irishmen was entirely free from all treasonable purpose, their object being to restrain the people from outbreak, and to unite them, regardless of religious belief, by bringing about Catholic Emancipation, and the correction of certain parliamentary abuses. Mr. Emmet then stepped forward in front of the bench, and in full view of all in the court room, after invoking the aid of the Almighty, he slowly and impressively read aloud the oath, kissed the Bible as he declared himself thereby a member of the United Irishmen. He then took his seat. The whole scene was so striking and dramatic as to have the effect of stopping all further proceedings. The judge, without comment, discharged the prisoner and dismissed the court. Tandy was thus saved from being sentenced to be hung early on the following morning, as was the usual practice, with a packed jury and without the slightest regard for the evidence. There are many instances on record where the innocence was clearly established and yet the judge seemed to base his decision upon some fault of the prisoner's apart from the question of guilt.

The Government became alarmed at Mr. Emmet's course and immediately resorted to the usual measures of corruption and bribery, hoping to render him harmless before he should become formidable. With this object, Pitt delegated a Castle official to see Mr. Emmet and offer him in the name of the Government the position of solicitor general of Ireland, with the additional assurance that he would be promoted to the next vacant judgeship. Mr. Emmet at once saw the purpose and realized that the offer was not intended either as a compliment or an honor, but as a business transaction to secure his political support. Much to the astonishment of the government at so unprecedented an action on the part of an Irishman, and especially one who had not yet spent two years in the practice of his profession, he promptly declined the offer. Dr. Macneven told Judge Emmet that his father's course was not understood by the Government and that their inference was that he set a higher price on his services, and would only be satisfied with a pecuniary compensation in addition. Another agent was therefore sent from Pitt to make the sugges-

*Report of Proceedings in Action—James Napper Tandy, Plaintiff, and John, Earl of Westmoreland, Defendant, Published by order of the Society of United Irishmen, December, 1782, Page 142.

tion that Mr. Emmet should reconsider his course, assuring him that no man, whatever his age or position, could afford to offend Government in a way that he must eventually regret. Notwithstanding the official warning given by a man with the suavity of a swine-feeder, Mr. Emmet promptly reiterated his former answer and doubtless in doing so clearly expressed his contempt for the whole proceeding. Castlereagh afterward became involved and accepted Mr. Emmet's refusal as a personal matter, and until his final release years after, allowed no occasion to pass without a reminder of his vindictive and spiteful spirit.*

"The Press", published in Dublin as the organ of the United Irishmen, by Arthur O'Connor, gives, in 1797, a speech of some length made by Thomas Addis Emmet, at the trial of some United Irishmen he was defending. Twelve prisoners had been confined nearly seven months in the Belfast barracks, and were brought up to Dublin by habeas corpus for trial before the Court of Kings' Bench, on October 10th, 1797. This occasion was one of the few instances where Mr. Emmet appeared as counsel on the trial of the United Irishmen, for the leaders thought it advisable he should follow this course since he had been busy for more than a year extending the branches of the organization of the United Irishmen throughout the country.

There remains now but little record of this period of Mr. Emmet's life, with the exception of what Dr. Madden was able to obtain from the Emmet family when he contemplated writing his work on the United Irishmen, together with all the odds and ends, as it were, that he could gather from the few individuals then alive, who were contemporary. All of this he succeeded in working together, but with little system and many errors. Still without Dr. Madden's labors there would have existed a hiatus in Irish history. This statement is necessary as the writer has found frequently, that Dr. Madden embodied in his work the material furnished by Mr. T. A. Emmet, Jr. As the writer had access to the same authority, he has not always given Dr. Madden credit for originality. Dr. Madden also had the advantage of being a personal friend of Mr. John Patten, Mrs. Emmet's brother, and he knew Mr. Robert Holmes who married Miss Emmet, the sister of T. A. and Robert Emmet. He happily availed himself of the opportunity to place on record the details obtained from these sources, details known also to the writer.†

The first mention made of Mr. Emmet taking any active part in Irish politics is recorded in Tone's Journal. On Emmet's introduction to the subcommittee of the Catholics on October 15th, 1792, Tone states that he was

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*Following a sketch of Mr. Emmet's life signed J. B. S. the reader will find (Vol. I, Chap. 34) further reference to this subject, explaining why this offer was not made public.

†Dr. Madden's work, issued in 1860, is now out of print. This difficulty was about to be removed by the enterprise of the Napper Tandy Publishing Company of New York, in the reprinting of Madden's work in a very attractive form. The work was begun in 1911, but after the issue of the eighth volume, covering about two thirds of the work, it was suspended. The writer is ignorant as to the cause, but has supposed it was due to the serious difficulty every writer and publisher of Irish works has to meet, that the Irish are not a reading people. After over two hundred years of penal laws which made it a crime to learn to read or write, they have not yet recovered sufficiently to become a reading people. In some respects this failure in the reproduction of Madden's work may prove an advantage to the public, for, notwithstanding its great value, it contains so many errors and requires such a different system in arranging the material, that it should be rewritten and properly prepared from a literary point of view and to prove of profit to a publisher.

well received by the members and richly deserved their admiration. "Emmet was the best of all the friends to Catholic Emancipation, always excepting Mr. Hutton, worth two of Stokes, ten of Burrowes, and a hundred of Drennan".

From this time Emmet, behind the scenes of Catholic agitation, continued to give his pen to their cause and with his usual heedlessness of self allowed others to take the merit of his services.

This trait in Mr. Emmet's character is fully illustrated in his contribution to "Pieces of Irish History Illustrative of the Catholics in Ireland", published by Dr. Macneven (New York, 1807). In this volume is to be found a memoir termed "Part of an Essay Towards the History of Ireland", from Mr. Emmet's pen. It consists of 144 pages, in which he gives a history of the efforts made in Ireland to obtain a repeal of the Popery Laws, which held three-fourths of the population of Ireland in a grievous state of bondage. He also details the movement for organizing the United Irishmen, who had in view the same purpose among other measures which were to be repealed or reformed. No one had been more active or had been more familiar with every step taken in advancing these political movements in Ireland than Thomas Addis Emmet, and yet after having given due credit to others, Mr. Emmet makes not the slightest reference to himself.

If the frequent reference made to Mr. Emmet by Lecky in his "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century", in connection with the early movement to bring about Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, be accepted as evidence of the value of his services, he certainly has not received due credit elsewhere.

Mr. T. A. Emmet was throughout life absolutely free from all feeling of bigotry towards those who differed from him in their religious belief. His course was made all the more prominent in contrast to the marked prejudice and illiberality shown toward the Catholics, both in Ireland and in this country, by many of those occupying Mr. Emmet's station of life. The same generous and charitable disposition which he had received from his father and mother he transmitted to his children, who were as marked in their liberality as he had been.

Mr. Emmet did not hold the feeling he did toward the Catholics simply through a sense of liberality or indifference, but he made himself familiar with their tenets, and while he did not fully share their belief, he never misunderstood or misinterpreted their motives. During a noted ecclesiastical trial in connection with Trinity Church, held in the city of New York, Mr. Emmet was suddenly called upon to take part and this without preparation. To the astonishment of all he showed that he possessed a profound knowledge of theology and ecclesiastical law in all details. The writer was informed of this incident by his uncle, Judge Robert Emmet, who stated that it was generally conceded after the termination of this trial that his father, as a theological scholar, had not an equal in the country. In this respect Mr. Emmet was not unlike his elder brother, Christopher Temple, of whom, as we have seen, Grattan held that he knew more law than any judge on the bench and more divinity than any bishop in the land.

Early Association with Tone

In the winter of 1790, Tone organized a political club, consisting of Dr. Drennan, Stokes, John Pollock,* Johnson, Burrowes, Stark and Russell.

Any two of the men present would have been the delight and entertainment of a well-chosen society; but all together was, as Wolsey says, "too much honour". Tone adds:

In recording the names of the members of the club, I find I have strangely omitted the name of a man whom, as well for his talents as his principles, I esteem as much as any, far more than most of them, I mean Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister. He is a man completely after my own heart; of a great and comprehensive mind; of the warmest and sincerest affection for his friends; and of a firm and steady adherence to his principles, to which he has sacrificed much, as I know, and would, I am sure, if necessary, sacrifice his life. His opinions and mine square exactly.

Aggregate meetings of the Catholic body now became frequent, and every person of any note connected with them took a part in their proceedings. Emmet alone kept aloof: he rendered them all the assistance in his power—he devoted his fine talents to their service, but he made no public display, and sought no public approbation for them. At this time he was not a member of the Society of United Irishmen, *but long before he joined it he was the person in every emergency consulted by its leaders.*

When Tone was leaving Ireland on his visit to the United States, Mr. Emmet wrote to him:

My dear Friend:

I have just this instant heard from Simon McGuire that you leave town tonight. I can scarcely believe that you would entirely break yourself away from this country and from me among the rest, without calling on me or even writing me a line. You know, and I trust will always be convinced that my friendship and affectionate regard for you is most undiminished. It is not of that nature to be shaken by adversity, which God knows how soon it may be my lot to undergo. Wherever you are you shall always command a steady friend in this country, as long as I reside here. Write to me at least when you reach your destination, and as often as may suit your convenience. Perhaps your letters may be useful to me for regulating my future settlement in life. God bless you. Give my most affectionate compliments to Mrs. Tone.

We must now give some consideration to the purpose and expectation of the United Irishmen. In the early organization and according to Mr. Emmet's purpose it was not anticipated by the majority that force *at any time* would be resorted to for bringing about the many reforms found necessary to insure Ireland's future prosperity.

The organization was a representative one in all details, and until the sudden removal of Lord Fitzwilliam as viceroy, the Irish people were contented, sincerely believing in the truth of England's profession of honesty, and in her desire to accede to the wishes of the Irish people.

But Pitt, the British Minister, feared that Ireland would soon become too strong to be coerced, and by her prosperity rival England in her manufactures. It was then that this man, who was to prove a demon incarnate in Irish affairs, decided on his course and determined to force the Irish people into rebellion. It was his purpose, through the horrors of a merciless

*Pollock had already become a spy for the government.

war, and by means only resorted to by the most savage races, to force the people by his severity to accept, finally, as a relief from exhaustion, the so-called "Union" with England. This he wished them to do as a claimed necessity, that he might justify himself before the world for his line of action. He violated every pledge England had made to the Irish people.

His course has impressed the writer with the belief that Pitt and Napoleon must have entered into some compact to forward their own ends. This may seem an irresponsible statement to one not familiar with the facts and the unprincipled political character of both of these men to whom by nature the truth was unknown. It was known to every Irish leader in Paris that a number of French officers with whom they were constantly being thrown in social life and who seemed to have no special occupation, were "in the pay of England." No Irishman seems to have suspected that they could have been "in the pay of England" for any other purpose than to spy on them.

Nor can there be any doubt that they were absent from their regiments and could only be so with the connivance of the French Government, and must have been assigned by the same authority to be "in the pay of England." Fitzpatrick, in his "Secret Service Under Pitt", page 46, states:

> The reason neither [Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor] proceeded to Paris was lest the English government in whose pay most of the officers in Paris were supposed to be, should suspect the design, and arrest their persons on their return.

In this suspicion Lord Edward and O'Connor were not far astray. "The Confidential Letters of the Right Hon. William Wickham" reveal the fact that Pichegru and other French generals were paid by Pitt to allow themselves to be beaten in battle. Could this have been done more than once without the knowledge and connivance of the French Government? Surely Napoleon received some recompense from Pitt on his agreeing not to invade either England or Ireland, for otherwise, with Napoleon's knowledge of England's condition, a different course would certainly have been adopted at the beginning and England would have been immediately crushed by his invasion. Both Mr. Emmet and Dr. Macneven feared that some understanding existed at one time between them. Throughout the course, for which they were directly or indirectly responsible, the people incurred such an amount of misery and suffering that Robespierre by comparison was an angel of mercy. In the second edition of "Ireland Under English Rule," the author has placed on record his opinion that:

> Napoleon in France and Pitt at the head of the British government were the demons of discord, who were at this time sacrificing the property and happiness of the world. Yet, if it were possible to place in contrast all the crime, suffering and misfortune, with all the consequences, which could be traced directly or indirectly to the acts of these two men, Napoleon would appear as an angel of mercy in comparison with Pitt. It is simply special pleading and a subterfuge to maintain that Mr. Pitt should not be held blamable for the misdeeds of his officials in Ireland, in consequence of his many cares at the head of the ministry in England which would have barred his personal supervision. No one but himself was responsible for the policy of the English government previous to the

appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam and for the latter's selection and administration; and he was equally responsible for his sudden removal. He certainly approved of Lord Camden who came to Ireland instructed to carry out a totally different policy, which was to exasperate the people and thus furnish him a pretext to establish "The Union". Nothing could have been done in either country without his approval.

The epigrammatic statement of Shakespeare, "the evil that men do lives after them; the good is often interred with their bones", is applicable to Pitt in his relation to Ireland, in so far as the evil for which he was responsible has continued; with his bones was interred not even a good intention.

In "Cloncurry and His Times" it is reasonably stated:

We are perhaps wrong to identify the cruelties practiced so much with Lord Camden, for his many supporters to a man, allege that he neither was ambitious, wicked nor unprincipled. An empty-headed puppet, an ingeniously devised automaton in the hands of Mr. Pitt, that simply acted as that great Dictator willed and danced away, so long as its machinery continued wound up, conveyed according to some writers, a tolerably fair idea of his artificial lordship.

Sir Jonah Barrington, who was a contemporary, records:

He [Camden] fully carried out Pitt's policy, for from the day of his arrival the spirit of insurrection increased, and in a short period, during his lordship's government more blood was shed, as much of outrage and cruelty was perpetrated on both sides, and as many military executions took place as in ten times the same period during the sanguinary reign of Elizabeth or the usurpation of Cromwell or King William.

Dr. Madden in his first series of "United Irishmen", p. 155, makes the following statement, as to the value placed on Mr. Emmet's veracity but unfortunately he neglects to put on record the occasion calling for what he says concerning Pitt:

A man in the secrets of the opposition part of that time—the head-piece of that system which grew out of the insecurity of Irish independence and the failure of the measures which terminated in the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, a man whose word was never doubted by friend or foe—Thomas Addis Emmet—thus speaks of the proposals of the Irish leaders made to the Duke of Portland, and acquiesced in by Mr. Pitt:

"Mr. Pitt wished, and indeed tried to obtain, that some of those measures should be at least delayed in the execution for a season; but Mr. Grattan and his friends insisted that they should be brought forward the very first session, in order to give *éclat* to the commencement of their administration. In the propriety of this demand the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred; and even Mr. Pitt himself, *who had previously kept in the background,* and avoided personal communication with Lord Fitzwilliam's friends, was present at some of the latter interviews, and certainly did not prevent its being believed that he acquiesced in those demands, with which it was impossible to doubt his being acquainted. The members of the Opposition had no great experience of cabinets; they conceived that they were entering into honourable engagements, in which everything that was allowed to be understood, was equally binding with whatever was absolutely expressed. They rested satisfied that their stipulations were known and acceded to; they neglected to get them formally signed and ratified, or reduced to the shape of an instrument from the British cabinet to the viceroy; they put them unsuspectingly in their pockets, and set off to become ministers in Ireland".

Mr. Emmet has thus given his version of this episode now generally accepted as the true one. The historical student frequently meets with what

may be termed Irish historical enigmas, or unqualified perversion of facts, for which no explanation can be offered. The following is taken from Falkiner's work, page 126:*

No episode in Irish history has been the subject of more vehement controversy or more abundant criticism than the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from his brief and unfortunate viceroyalty.

At the time it took place the incident strained almost to breaking-point the lately formed coalition between Pitt and the Portland Whigs, upon which depended the whole policy of England in the struggle with France. And even after the lapse of about a century the passions it engendered can still lend warmth to the pen of the coolest of historians, and inspire the most vigorous passage in the criticisms of the most moderate and most detached of statesmen. The whole question of the justice of Pitt's action in summarily recalling Fitzwilliam has been so recently and so fully investigated from the point of view of Cabinet precedents and official propriety, by Lord Rosebery and Lord Ashbourne, that it is unnecessary to re-state it here, though it is impossible to refer to the subject without observing that the significance of the recall has been very greatly exaggerated. It was certainly not the proximate cause of the Rebellion. Had it been so, many of the arguments used in justification of the Rebellion must disappear. The recall was no doubt in Lord Rosebery's phrase, "a land mark". It pointed the pause in that policy of concession which had its culmination in the Franchise Act of 1793, and which had encouraged extravagant expectation in the popular mind; but it was not the occasion of that pause. The publication by Lord Ashbourne of the Cabinet Memorandum drawn up by Pitt and concurred in by Fitzwilliam's most particular friends and colleagues—Portland, Spencer, Windham, and Loughborough—disposes, once for all, of all controversy on that aspect of the question and fully justifies the censure which Lord Rosebery has pronounced with all the authority of one who had held the Premiership, on Fitzwilliam's extraordinary disregard of arrangements definitely sanctioned and prescribed by the Cabinet and of pledges most explicitly entered into. *That document entirely destroys the case of Lord Fitzwilliam, convicting the viceroy not merely of weakness and indiscretion but of actual bad faith; for it proves that every one of those acts of his viceroyalty which led to Fitzwilliam's recall, and in regard to which he claimed to have been given complete liberty of action by his colleagues, had been expressly repudiated by the Cabinet in advance, with Fitzwilliam's express assent.*

Had the viceroy and his allies behaved with the commonest discretion, it is impossible to say how far the intrigue might have succeeded. But their designs were soon bruited abroad, and Fitzgibbon was not the man to sit still under such an attack. If in the course of his administration he had made enemies, he also had powerful friends. And though Pitt was far from sharing his strong anti-Catholic views, it was soon evident that the Chancellor was much more likely to dismiss the viceroy than the viceroy to dismiss the chancellor. . . . Fitzwilliam had no sooner arrived in Ireland than he entered upon a career of proscription, and one of the first acts was to dismiss Beresford from his post in the Revenue. Beresford was not only Fitzgibbon's closest ally in the Irish government, but from his connections, influence, and great ability in council he had become one of the most powerful men in Ireland—and one of the most disreputable. The whole question of Fitzwilliam's conduct in Ireland became the subject of a conference among the leading members of the Cabinet; his indiscretions censured by the Prime Minister *and repudiated by his closest friends* were too glaring to be condoned, and he was at once recalled! Lord Camden was sent over in his stead and thenceforward, and until after the passing of the Act of Union the supremacy of Fitzgibbon, now created Earl of Clare, remained unchallenged.

*"Studies in Irish History and Biography, mainly of the Eigtheenth Century", by C. Litton Falkiner, London, 1902.

This is given to the world by English sympathizers as history! Is it not a natural inference drawn by every one seeking the truth, that so-called Irish history, as issued under English governmental influence, is one continuous, egregious and wilful lie, beginning with that violater of every precept of the Decalogue, Henry the Second, to the recital of this particular incident. I cast no reflection on the writer of this article, for, unless he was in the direct employ of the government for the special purpose, he had at his command only the material intended to be given to the world. He was not of Irish stock, or he would have not only doubted, but have been prepared to disprove every point after knowing its source.

Nothing was ever expected by the people of Ireland from Pitt, and nothing to his credit stands there; for "the Union" so-called is but a flaunting lie, and a monument to the practice of every crime for which Pitt, in the name of the English people, was alone responsible; and until repealed will stand as an indelible red stigma upon every honest Englishman. There is no evidence to show that he ever used his position to rob the country, as many did before him, but he corrupted others by giving them a free hand, that he might use them for his purpose. It is not necessary to go beyond the mention of the Beresford family—or the mention of the name of that member of it who with his friend Pitt was never known to speak the truth. The writer has stated elsewhere:*

Marcus Beresford, the leader of the faction above referred to, belonged to a family which for generations had lived on the country through its influence with the British government under all administrations. Uncompromising advocates of Protestant Ascendancy and active Orangemen, they were ever ready to do any disreputable service for the government. The Beresfords and their connections at one time monopolized one-fourth of the government offices in Ireland and, it was commonly held, had been able to take more from Ireland and to give less than any other family in the country. In less than three hundred years they have acquired over one hundred and sixty thousand acres of land in Ireland alone.

Of Fitzgibbon, Lord Clare, it has been written:

It would seem that nature formed that man to show
How many vices in one heart might grow.
How much misfortune one man's crimes might cause
A Nation's right, her liberties and laws.†

Before Mr. Gladstone became the head of the English Government, the only persons ever placed in charge of Irish affairs were the Beresfords, the Fitzgibbons or some other of the same race, who had remained unchanged in nature from their ancestors, the Normans. The writer has elsewhere written:‡

Comment to any great extent on this subject is unnecessary beyond presenting for comtemplation the views of that classic writer and profound thinker, Ralph Waldo Emerson. His views are the more applicable in connection with what a reviewer wrote:

*"Ireland Under English Rule", Vol. I, p. 161. The reader would find it interesting to refer also to "Our Old Nobility" by Howard Evans.
†"Literary Remains of the United Irishmen", R. R. Madden, 1887.
‡"Ireland Under English Rule", Vol. I, p. 203.

"Look through all Emerson's writings and then consider whether in all literature you can find that aspiration stated in such condensed words by Joubert: 'To put a whole book into a page, a whole page into a phrase, and that phrase into a word!' [and the writer is prompted to supply—*robbery*].

The writer would include in Emerson's word of deduction the iniquity of England's dealings with Ireland, from the first days of the Normans. Emerson wrote:*

"The Normans came out of France into England worse men than when they went into it, 160 years before. They had lost their own language, and learning the barbarous Latin of the Gauls, had acquired with the language all the vices it had names for. The conquest has obtained in the chronicles the name of 'memory of sorrows'. Twenty thousand thieves landed at Hastings. These founders of the House of Lords were greedy and ferocious dragons, sons of greedy and ferocious pirates. They were all alike. They took everything they could carry; they burned, harried, violated, tortured and killed, until everything English was brought to the verge of ruin. Such, however, is the illusion of antiquity and wealth, that decent and dignified men now existing boast of their descent from these filthy thieves, who showed a far juster conviction of their own merits by assuming for types the swine, goat, jackal, leopard, wolf and snake which they severally resembled!"

Evidently Emerson's Saxon blood had never been eliminated!

*"English Traits", Ralph Waldo Emerson, Boston, 1884, Chapter IV., on "Race", pp. 62-63.

Slavery in every form it can assume is destructive of the virtue, the genius and the spirit of man. The subjection of one people to another, is of all species of slavery incomparably the worst.

T. A. Emmet.

Great as were the talents of the men who stood beside Emmet in the early struggle for his country's liberty, the pre-eminence may be claimed for him, for while the profoundness of his judgment, and the justice of his views entitled him to the respect of his associates, inflexible integrity commanded respect even from his enemies.

"New York Truthteller," July 15th, 1843.

Chapter VII

Marriage of Thomas Addis Emmet—Some account of Mrs. Emmet's family—Nothing known of their early married life, except the rapid progress made by him in his profession—Letter relating to the birth of his second son and to his family at that time—Political condition of Ireland after the close of the American Revolution—The Volunteer Movement—An unusually large proportion of remarkably talented men took part in Irish politics at that time—Their policy and results—Their purpose only to secure "Protestant Ascendancy"—Ireland temporarily prosperous under the "Grattan Parliament"—Theobald Wolfe Tone becomes prominent as an Irish leader—The final failure by Grattan in obtaining any reform of abuses, and the cause—The Irish people ruthlessly driven into the outbreak of 1798 by a course of barbarous persecution on the part of the English Government, that the pretext might be furnished for bringing about the so-called Union with England—Thomas Addis Emmet becomes a United Irishman.

OPEFUL as Thomas Addis Emmet was at this period of his life for the future prosperity of his country, so dear to him, he married in 1791, Jane, a daughter of the Rev. John Patten, a Presbyterian minister, of Clonmel, Ireland, by Margaret Colville, the daughter of Wm. Colville, Esq., and Margaret Thompson. [See Marriage Settlement—Appendix Note VI.]

From Richard Patten, of Waynfleet, Co. Lincolnshire, and Margery, the daughter of Sir Wm. Brereton, of Co. Cheshire, England, the Irish branch of this family claimed direct descent. Richard Patten, of Waynfleet, had three sons: the eldest was William Waynfleet, the Catholic Bishop of Winchester; the next was Richard Patten, of Baselow, Derbyshire, where the family was living at the time of James the First, and from him the Irish family sprang; the youngest son was John Patten, Dean of Chichester.

Mrs. Emmet died in 1846. A few weeks later, while passing along Fulton Street, New York, the writer noticed in a show window the old folio edition of "Burch's Heads of the People", which was opened at the portrait of William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester. The work was purchased because of the strong resemblance this portrait bore to the writer's grandmother; in fact, when first seen from across the street the likeness was still more striking, for at that distance the bishop's miter closely resembled the cap generally

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Mrs. Margaret [Thompson] Colville, taken by Mrs. Elizabeth [Emmet] Le Roy, from a miniature painted about 1730

From a Picture at Magdalen College Oxford

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

worn by Mrs. Emmet. Prompted by curiosity the writer looked up the bishop's history and discovered that his family name was Patten, and that he had assumed, on entering upon his ecclesiastical life, the name of Waynfleet, from the name of his father's estate. After having obtained this information the writer learned for the first time, from both his uncle Robert and his aunt, Mrs. Le Roy, that their mother had claimed her family was descended from Richard Waynfleet, the bishop's brother, and that both her father and grandfather had been educated in Oxford, and, she believed, in Magdalen College.

The writer visited Oxford some years after to ascertain if any member of the family had been educated in Magdalen College, but unfortunately it was during the vacation and he was unable to verify the statement. But he discovered that the arms of the college, which were those borne by the founder, were the same as those given on a book-plate in a volume from his father's library printed in the early part of the eighteenth century. From the date, the book, and consequently the arms, must have belonged to the Rev. William Patten, of Dublin, the grandfather of Mrs. Emmet. The only difference in the arms was the addition, in those of William Patten, of a white rose in the right-hand corner of the shield, which doubtless was intended to indicate that some subsequent member of the Irish family had taken part in the War of the Roses.

By the bishop's will a grant of this college was made to the university, it is said, and the writer has seen it stated somewhere, on the following conditions—that a mass should be said daily for the repose of his soul, and that the eldest of his family should be gratuitously educated at the college. If so, the eldest of the family doubtless held the right of free education, but as the authorities soon ignored one condition it would have been quite as easy for them to have laid aside the other.

The bishop died in 1486 and was buried in his cathedral at Winchester. The features of the marble effigy on his tomb bear even a more marked resemblance to Mrs. Emmet than do those of the engraved portrait. This is certainly a most remarkable circumstance, that so marked a family likeness should crop out after an interval of some four hundred years. Moreover, there seems to have been a clergyman in nearly every generation of the family, and the same family names were preserved.

The descendants of William Colville Emmet, the youngest son of Thos. A. and Jane Patten Emmet, have in their possession a small tortoise-shell box which was apparently intended for a snuffbox. On the top of this is an engraved silver plate, with a bishop's miter and so intricate a monogram that W. W. can be traced as readily as any other combination.

It has been a family tradition, and one doubtless received from Mrs. Emmet, that this box belonged to William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester. This is doubtful, however, as tortoise-shell or horn is extremely liable to crack and disintegrate, as the oil dries out, even in a much shorter period. Moreover, it could never have been used by the bishop as a snuffbox, for he

lived before the introduction of tobacco from America. If it had ever belonged to the bishop it would probably have been used for conveying the Host to the sick. But such a box is always made of some metal, so that it can be kept thoroughly clean, and the greatest care would be taken, even to its destruction, to guard against its being put to a profane use. The probable explanation is that it was a snuff-box belonging to some connection of the Colville family, which was a very extensive one. In corroboration of this view the author has established the fact that towards the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, several bishops in Ireland of the Established Church were closely connected with the Colville family.

With the exception of her brother John the members of the Patten family seem to have held no further intercourse with Mrs. Emmet after her husband's connection with the Irish movement was brought to light by his arrest. Consequently at the present time all trace of these connections has been lost to the relatives in America, and on the death of Mrs. Emmet's nephew, John Patten, Jr., an unmarried man, that branch of the family became extinct.

Nothing special is known of Mr. Emmet's early married life, except that he lived at Rathfarnham, and that for several years, as we learn from Tone's diary, in which he gives an account of a visit he made to Emmet's home with Russell. He lived on intimate terms with Curran and his family, and consequently knew Curran's friends, who shared his political views. Among these was a Mr. Hudson, as we learn from a letter from Lady Hudson-Kinahan quoted in the sketch of Mrs. Holmes, who was doubtless the same later sent with Mr. Emmet as a State prisoner to Fort George. The following letter written to his second cousin, a granddaughter of Diana Emett, the sister of Christopher, is probably the first record made of the birth of the son who became the writer's father.

DUBLIN, APRIL 30TH, 1796.

MY DEAR MRS. MACOUBRY:

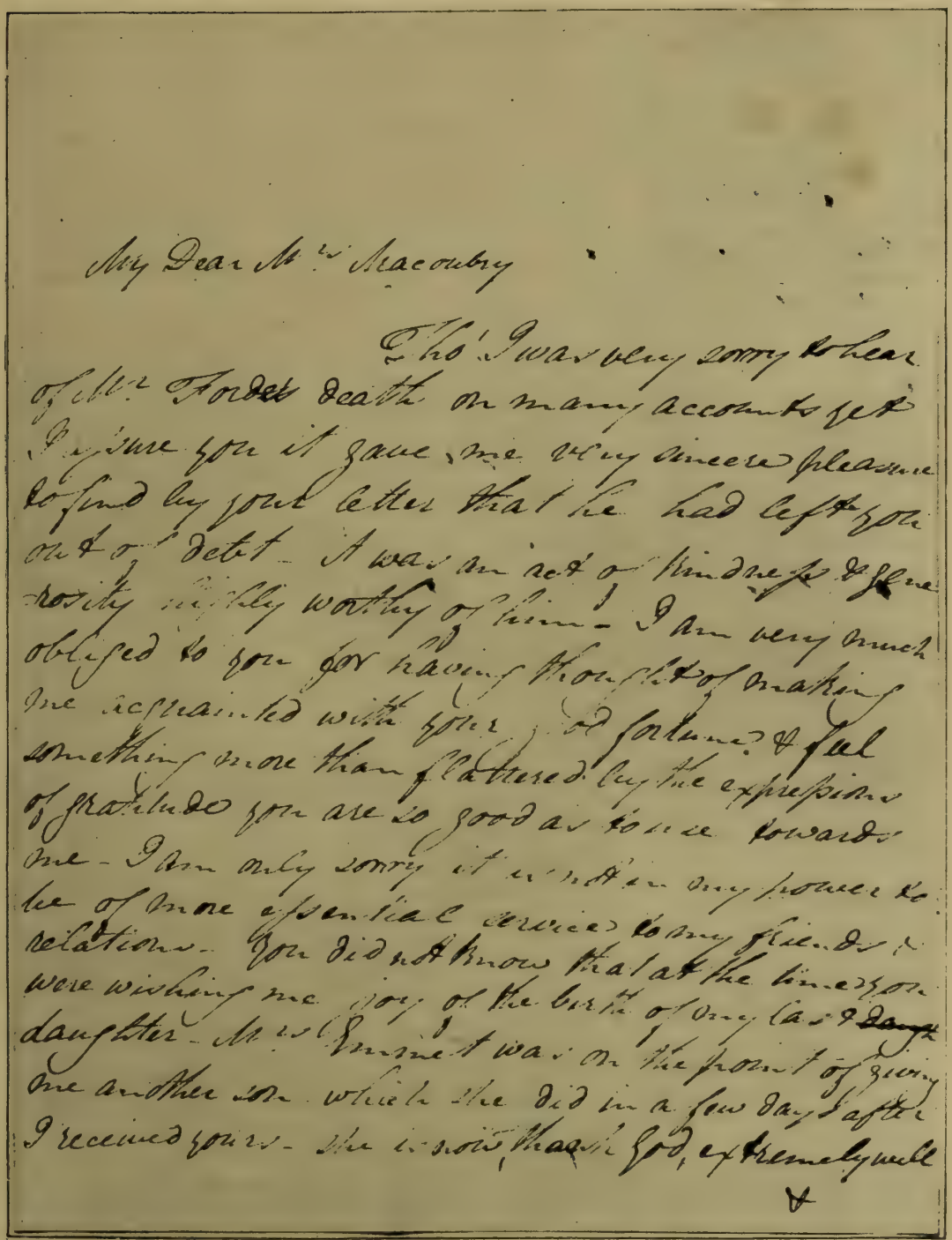
Tho' I was very sorry to hear of Mr. Forde's death on many accounts, yet I assure you it gave me very sincere pleasure to find by your letter that he had left you out of debt. It was an act of kindness and generosity highly worthy of him. I am very much obliged to you for having thought of making me acquainted with your good fortune and feel something more than flattered by the expressions of gratitude you are so good as to use towards me. I am only sorry it is not in my power to be of more essential service to my friends and relatives.

You did not know at the time you were wishing me joy of the birth of my last daughter, Mrs. Emmet was on the point of giving me another son, which she did in a few days after I received yours. She is now, thank God, extremely well and the mother of four fine children, two boys and two girls. So you see my family is increasing fast. She is, thank God, extremely well and strong. So is my brother's daughter, who is growing up a very sensible and sweet-tempered child. My sister Mary Anne is much obliged to you for inquiring after her. My father, mother, Mrs. Emmet and all the family join in the kindest good wishes to you,

Your affectionate friend and kinsman,

THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

Mrs. Macoubry, care of
G. Knox, Anacloy, Downpatrick.



My Dear Mr. Macoubry

Tho' I was very sorry to hear of Mrs. Forbes death on many accounts yet I assure you it gave me very sincere pleasure to find by your letter that he had left you out of debt. It was an act of kindness & generosity highly worthy of him. I am very much obliged to you for having thought of making me acquainted with your [illegible] & feel something more than flattered by the expressions of gratitude you are so good as to use towards me. I am only sorry it is not in my power to be of more essential service to my friends & relations. You did not know that at the time you were wishing me joy of the birth of my last daughter Mrs. Emmet was on the point of giving me another son which she did in a few days after I received yours. She is now, thank God, extremely well

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER BY T. A. EMMET ON HIS INCREASING FAMILY

& the mother of four fine children, two boys & two girls - so that you see my family is increasing fast. My sister Mary Ann is much obliged to you for enquiring after her. She is thank God extremely well & doing - so is my brother's daughter who is growing into a very sensible & weather-proof child. My Father, Mother, Mrs Emmet & all this family join in kindest good wishes to you with

Your affectionate friend

&

Dublin Winsman

April 30th Thos Addis Emmet

1796

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Alfred Webb, in his "Compendium of Irish Biography," states:

> The next year, 1796, he began to take a prominent and leading part as a United Irishman. Possessed of private means, already earning £750 a year at the Bar, with a young family rising up around him, of domestic habits and irreproachable character, nothing but the clearest conviction of duty could have impelled him to range himself against the Government.

Mr. Emmet was successful in the practice of his profession from the beginning and rose rapidly to a prominent position at the Bar. The author of a sketch of Mr. Emmet in "American Eloquence" wrote:

> He rode the circuit with Curran—and in the opinion of many was his superior in talents, legal attainments and general information. But this was not the time for him to realize his hopes of legal preferment. The condition of his country impoverished by the cupidity of the English, the dark and cheerless prospect that opened upon her destinies, engrossed all his attention.

After the close of the American Revolution a remarkable movement was instituted in Ireland by a number of men, the leaders of which were of great talent, called "The Volunteers". They organized to have the legislative independence of the country established as a distinct kingdom from England; to reform many abuses in connection with the Irish Parliament, which had become corrupt under the close-borough system. Few of the members were elected, but were appointed by individuals, and they voted as directed, so that it was possible to carry any measure by gaining the influence of three or four persons. A general reform was needed throughout the country among those holding office. None but those who conformed to the English Church, "as by law established", and in the proportion of one out of six or seven of the total Irish population, had a legal existence, or could hold any position or exercise any privilege. The minority formed the English garrison in Ireland and did so as a privileged class. They advocated under all circumstances "a Protestant King, a Protestant Parliament, a Protestant hierarchy, and Protestant electors, and a government in connection with the Protestant realm of England". Until within a comparatively late period those of the Established Church alone claimed to be *the* Protestants, while the Presbyterians were termed "Dissenters", and were allowed to exist in the land only under many restrictions; while the Catholics forming the great majority of the population, during over two hundred years under the penal laws, had no legal existence in Ireland, and during many years if they ventured within the Pale, could be shot down on sight without question.

These men, working for their own benefit alone as members of a privileged class, included some of Ireland's most noted men, Flood, Grattan, Lord Charlemont and many others who were never interested in any move for the advantage of the Irish people at large and who never seemed to realize that any effort should be made for their betterment. These leaders in the end accomplished nothing for the advance of Ireland's prosperity. Yet, the "Grattan Parliament" is being constantly quoted in evidence of what Ireland could accomplish if she had the management of her own affairs; while there probably never existed throughout that period an executive body more corrupt, or

one in which the people of a country had so little influence. Every move was directed by English influence. To prove the necessity for parliamentary reform, Grattan, himself behind the scenes at the time, held that: "The viceroy and the majority of this House [Irish House of Commons] are the worst subjects the King has!"

Throughout this imaginary "Golden Age", which was one of bribery, the majority of the leaders and Grattan's contemporaries, were man of remarkable ability and of wonderful eloquence. Their purpose and promise of bringing about great reform was ever before them, in appearance fair-looking and irridescent as a soap-bubble; yet in the end Ireland gained no permanent benefit. If it ever were possible for one in Irish sympathy to joke on so serious a condition, we could show how Pitt, concealing himself and his purposes, and acting as wire-puller, during nearly a generation, kept going well to the front—a species of Punch-and-Judy show, for the amusement of Grattan and his associates in the Irish Parliament House. When a change suited his purpose, as if with the sudden issue of a bolt from the heavens, every individual in the land was punished by the agents of irresponsibility, until Ireland was *in extremis* and accepted the Union with England as a merciful respite.

For a time Ireland prospered greatly, in consequence of the promises made and the seeming absence of English domination, but it was due chiefly to the efforts of the Dissenters, in whose hands was held the trade of the country, and for the first time their prospects brightened.

This period of being diverted by Pitt's "puppet-show" was time lost to Ireland. The British Government was being too sorely pressed with troubles at home and by its enemies abroad to give any attention to Ireland. She therefore granted without hesitation everything wanted by the Irish Parliament, but in words only, or with the usual mental reservation. Irrespective of rank there are doubtless as many honorable and truthful individuals to be found among the English as elsewhere; but the statecraft of the country has been from the earliest day a *lying fraud,* in every relation with Ireland, and no milder designation would be consistent with the truth. Ireland under Grattan's influence thus rested for a generation in a state of false security, on this pledge of the English government. The declaration of the English Parliament affirmed that Ireland's relation with England was that of a sovereign state with her own separate king, to be, in the management of her own affairs, entirely free from all English rule. This was accepted by Ireland in good faith until too late to correct existing abuses and to strengthen her position before England repudiated and disarmed her. May not history repeat itself?

Little more need be stated as to the action of the Presbyterians of the North and these not in accord with the Anglo-Irish leaders. But the following taken from Taylor's "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," a recently published work in this country, is worthy of the reader's attention:

There is something tragic, which leaves no room for reproach, even if it is impossible not to see in it cause for regret, in the attitude of the men of whom Grattan was the most distinguished representative. Loyal, true, and upright, they had given their

lives and had given them in vain, to further what they conceived to be the best interest of their country. Now defeated on all hands, they were forced to look on, an isolated and helpless group, and to watch the people they had done their best to serve led, as they believed, to destruction by other and less experienced guides.

"Alas, all the world is mad", wrote Lord Charlemont about this very time, "and unfortunately strait-waistcoats are not yet in fashion". And again: "My advice has been lavished on both parties with equally ill success. . . . Would to Heaven it had been otherwise; but spurred on by destiny, we seem on all hands to run a rapid course towards a frightful precipice. But it is criminal to despair of one's country. I will endeavor yet to hope".

It is but a feeble hope which is kept alive by the consciousness that despair is a crime.

The view he imagined his father would have taken of the United Irishmen, is summarized, a little brutally, by Grattan's son—namely, that they were a pack of blockheads, who would surely get themselves hanged, and should be all put in the pillory for their mischief and nonsense. Grattan knew but little of the individuals who composed the party and of some of them a more intimate knowledge might have modified the rough-and-ready judgment attributed to him. He did not associate with them, says the same authority; "they kept clear of him—they feared him and certainly did not like him. . . . He considered their proceedings not only mischevious but ridiculous".

Grattan held in after life:

We did not approve of the conduct of the United men, and we could not approve of the conduct of the government, and feared to encourage the former by making speeches against the latter. It was not necessary . . . for me to apologize for not having joined them. I would do neither. The one was a rebel to his king, the other to his country. In the conscientious sense of the word *rebel,* there should have been a gallows for the rebel *and there should have been a gallows for the minister.* Men will be more blamed in history for having joined the government than they would if they had joined the rebels. The question men should have asked was not "Why was Mr. Sheares on the gallows"?—but, "Why was not Lord Clare along with him"?

The Irish leaders of Grattan's day allowed themselves to be disarmed when they had fully one hundred thousand men in the Volunteer organization, well-armed, under the command of Lord Charlemont, who weakened in his sympathy for the condition of his native country disbanded his troops, trusting to English promises. England now resorted to her usual tactics in bringing about religious dissension, and in Ulster she was entirely responsible for the contention, crime and suffering resulting from the contest between the Protestant Peep-O'-Day Boys and the Catholic Defenders.

In the autumn of 1791, Theobald Wolfe Tone came into notoriety when he took a prominent part with Neilson, Russell, Fitzgerald, Hope and others in organizing (October 12th) the first branch of the United Irishmen, with the objects of uniting the Catholics and Protestants and of bringing about parliamentary reform, although Tone and others already held the view that there was no hope for Ireland's prosperity until a separation from England had been brought about, and the Catholics had been emancipated with full rights of citizenship. He wrote:

To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of our past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denomination of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter,—these were my means.

In November, 1791, Tone returned to Dublin and on November ninth, the first branch of the United Irishmen was formed in Dublin, chiefly through his efforts. In Belfast Catholic Emancipation with equal rights received early attention, and a Catholic Committee was formed for petitioning the King and Parliament, and Tone acted as secretary.

A committee was sent to present the petition to the king in person and in consequence of the active interest taken in the subject by many of the Presbyterians and Protestants in Ireland, the British Government was forced, against their secret wishes, to have a Bill for Catholic Relief introduced into the Irish Parliament. The Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed viceroy, with full power to speedily grant relief to the demands of the people, and to reform the many abuses claimed to exist. But within a few weeks England changed her policy, Fitzwilliam was recalled, and a reign of terror was established.

Moore, when treating of the sudden removal of Earl Fitzwilliam, who was doing so much for the advance and prosperity of Ireland, and the appointment of "The cold-hearted and cruel Camden as Viceroy", wrote:

Its natural effect was to reinforce instantly the ranks of the United Irishmen with all that mass of discontent generated by such a defiance of the public will, and we have it on the authority of the chief leaders themselves, that out of the despair and disgust of this moment arose immediately an immense accession of strength to their cause.

It is stated in "Cloncurry and His Times" (p. 85):

The spirit of faction never raged with greater fury than in 1795, when Camden, scourge in hand, assumed the reins of government. The burning, pitch-torturing, half-hangings, picketing, tarring and scourging to which the unhappy people were subjected for long anterior to the rising of '98 must be recollected by every well-read Irishman. The goading system was daily in requisition, forcing discontent into rage and provoking rage to retaliation. The people, driven from their homes, were hunted as wild beasts, slaughtered sometimes, tortured always. Whatever little property they possessed fell into the hands of the despoiler. Fencibles, Hessians, and Ancient Britons (so many monsters in human form), were turned by their officers loose upon the wives and daughters of a virtuous peasantry, incited to the practice of every infamy and outrage, and commanded to pitch-cap, flog and torture with gunpowder and fire those husbands, fathers, sons or brothers, who ventured to raise feeble voices in opposition to the system. Government afforded the people no protection and there was not one solitary magistrate—with perhaps a single exception—who would take a deposition against any of the licenced persecutors.

Lord Cloncurry was a personal friend of Thomas Addis Emmet at the time when they both entered public life, and in "His Times", from which we have been quoting, it is stated:—

Up to this period neither Macneven, Fitzgerald, Emmet, nor O'Connor had joined the ranks of the United Irishmen.

The Union with England was of course the ultimate object of this policy. . . . The Ministerial scheme, which was wily and deep-laid, may thus be epitomised. In secret conference it was arranged to filch from poor Ireland the very moment when she would be found prostrated and exhausted from a series of ineffectual struggles for freedom—when too much stricken down to entertain one atom of hope for future regeneration—when so miserably debilitated from loss of blood to be unable to offer any resistance to the outrage—it was then, we say, proposed to filch, with characteristic treachery from the breast of Ireland, her brightest and most valuable gem—the possession of her parliament.

"Sir", exclaimed Lord Castlereagh, in an unusual burst of candor during Macneven's examination before the Secret Committee, "means were taken to make the United Irish system explode"; a truer sentence never emanated from his lips.

In order to bring about the Union measure it was necessary that the flame of rebellion should be fed; and that Government were not backward in acting so, will we think, be tolerably evident to any person who takes the trouble of reading those books of Madden and Moore which treat more particularly of that eventful period of Irish history.

In a footnote is given:

The Secret Committee's Report for 1798 contains, amongst others, the following pregnant passage:—"It appears from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out so soon as it did, had it not been for the well-timed measures adapted by the government, &c."

It will be shown hereafter by Mr. Emmet's examination before the Secret Committee that he stated under oath, that in his opinion and judgment, there would have been no Rebellion if the government had not forced the outbreak.

In asserting that the people were driven into insurrection by a system of persecution encouraged by Government, it is possible we may be accused by some of partiality, and by others with a wanton exaggeration of facts. Even though you may produce authorities, some critics may possibly exclaim, it will be found that they are Irish ones, and doubtless partisans. It is with no small satisfaction that we can in reply refer such persons to the recorded sentiments of some of the most distinguished cabinet ministers of England, amongst whom the late Lord Holland and the late Lord John Russell must not be overlooked.

"The fact", writes Lord Holland, "is incontrovertible that the people of Ireland were driven to resistance by the free quarters and excesses of the soldiery, which were such as are not permitted in civilized warfare, even in an enemy's country".

In a footnote an extract is given from "Memoirs of the Whig Party during my Time, by the late Edward, Lord Holland, 1853":

Trials, if they must be so called, were carried on without number, under martial law, etc. . . . Floggings, picketings, death, were the usual sentences; and these were sometimes commuted into banishment, serving in the fleet, or transference to a foreign service, &c. . . . Dr. Dickson [Bishop of Down] assured me that he had seen families returning peaceably from Mass assailed without provocation by drunken troops and yeomanry and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrance nor those of other Protestant gentlemen, could rescue them.

Lord John Russell, shortly before his death, observed in reference to the Rebellion, that it was wickedly provoked, rashly begun, and cruelly crushed.

Long before Pitt as British Minister let it be known what his future policy would be to bring about the Union, he showed in the heat of debate what the government policy was to Ireland in relation to her prosperity.

In "Ireland Under English Rule" (2nd ed., Vol. II, p. 40), it is stated:

> The charge has been made frequently, and the evidence has never been wanting, that England from the beginning even to our day has followed a settled purpose in her determination that the Irish people and Ireland should never prosper. The writer, however, is not aware that any of her statesmen have been as outspoken as the younger Pitt, while debating the Irish commercial proposition on the 22nd of February, 1785. He spoke as follows:*
>
> "The species of policy which had been exercised by the Government of England in regard to Ireland had for its object to debar the latter from the enjoyment of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the opulence and interest of England; that she had not been suffered to share in the bounties of nature or the industries of its citizens!!!" Comment is unnecessary.

Madden in "Pieces of Irish History" writes concerning this subject:

> So little was the policy of the British Cabinet on this subject, a secret even out of Ireland that the director Carnot told Dr. Macneven [in Paris] in August, 1798, that a union was Mr. Pitt's object in his vexatious treatment of Ireland and it behoved the United Irishmen to be aware of his schemes.

In September, 1793, Mr. Emmet became conspicuous by his defence of O'Driscoll, who was put on trial for sedition at Cork. Mr. Emmet was soon recognized through his eloquence and learning as the leading Irish Nationalist barrister, and by 1795, when he took the oath of the United Irishmen in open court, his position was firmly established. In this year he was elected secretary of the Society of United Irishmen, and in 1797 he succeeded Roger O'Connor as a member of the directory. In this position it is said he showed more prudence than his colleagues, in opposing with the aid of McCormick and Macneven, a resort to arms and seeking aid from France, unless an outbreak had to be resorted to as an extreme measure. Until Mr. Emmet joined in the management of the organization of the United Irishmen, it was not known to his friends that he was interested in the movement. Nevertheless he had been actively engaged for several years in the organization throughout the country. This he had been able to do with the aid of a number of individuals, while on circuit in the practice of his profession.

J. J. Reynolds, in his "Footprints of Emmet", writes:

> Of the celebrated Thomas Addis Emmet the head-piece and chief organizer of the United Irishmen, little need be said. He may be described as the mind of the organization.

The Countess d'Haussonville, in her life of Robert Emmet states:

> Thomas Addis Emmet was one of the principal actors in the Rebellion of 1798. He entered into the association of the United Irishmen in 1796, and directed it by the

*See Debret's "Parliamentary Register".

wisdom of his counsel more than by any active part which he took in the Insurrection. Naturally proud, reserved, and silent, though ardent, with a broad intelligence and a kind heart, but governed by inflexible principles and ready to make every sacrifice for the cause, Thomas Addis Emmet had several of the qualities necessary for the chief of a party. Lord Edward Fitzgerald [the Irish used to say] was the most amiable, noble-minded, and the best of men, but he was not the man to conduct a revolution to a successful issue; the man we wanted was Thomas Addis Emmet.

"Of the United Irishmen", says Lord Holland , in his "Memoirs", "the man of greatest ability and capacity was Thomas Addis Emmet"; again—"he is always said to have been the ablest man among the Irish conspirators".*

Madden wrote:

In men who are "fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils", the passions and mental qualities we expect to find are ambition, vanity, malignity, restlessness, or seclusiveness of mind. Were these the characteristics of T. A. Emmet? The question, with perfect safety to the memory of Emmet, might be put to any surviving political opponent of his of common honesty, who was acquainted with those times, and the men who were prominent actors in them . . . No man could say of Emmet, as Gregory of Nazianzen did of Julian, his fellow-student, "that he prognosticated evil of him from the restlessness of his regard, the wandering of his eyes, and the unsteadiness of his nature".†

The charge of recklessness or unscrupulousness of conduct never has been brought against Emmet. Then, under what circumstances or impelled by what motive, did such a person become a rebel? A man of moderate independence, of rising prospects at the Bar, devoted to his family, his chief happiness in its circle of domestic habits, of irreproachable character; who had "given hostages to fortune", and had a father's interest in the preservation of peace and quiet; who had a stake in the soil, and being connected with it by other ties besides those of love, was necessarily opposed to measures which imperilled property and the privileges of its owners. If the reader would know the cause, he will find it in every page of Irish history that is devoted to the illustration of this period, and it may be comprised in a single sentence: The cruel policy of ruling the country by means of the disunion of the inhabitants, and the abandonment of the power and functions of government to a faction, whose interests and passions were arrayed in deadly hostility against the great body of the people.

*The Whig Party During My Time (London, 1852), V. II, p. 106.
†Gregory of Nazianzen, Orat. IV. in Julian., p. 122.

Had Ireland, breasting the Atlantic, been left to the fortune of her native independence, unassailed by foreign ambition, she might in progress of time have composed a maritime power capable of maintaining itself forever against England and preventing the growth of that inordinate domination which has oppressed with its crimes the East and the West, the African and the Hindoo.

T. A. Emmet.

This unnatural and miserable state of religious animosity and civil disunion, by which the great majority of the people was thrust out of the pale of the body politic and the nation was enslaved, arose not from any appropriate characteristic of the Irish mind, from any peculiar defect of intellect or depravity of disposition It was the inevitable consequence of British conquest and British policy.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter VIII

Suppression by the Government of "The Northern Star" of Belfast—"The Press" of Dublin then the organ of the United Irishmen—Samuel Neilson—The men now known to have written for "The Press"—Thomas Addis Emmet as "Montanus" the most voluminous writer and at times acting editor—The Government's efforts to ascertain the names of the writer of the "Montanus" letters fruitless—The Government ignorant that Arthur O'Connor was the chief owner, for a long period the editor, and was a frequent contributor.

O agent, while it lasts, is more irrepressible for secret political work in Ireland than an official paper, which existing only from day to day as a free lance can be all the more outspoken in reaching the greater number of persons before it is possible to suppress the whole of any one issue.

The chief organs of the "United Irishmen" [according to Savage in his work "Ninety-eight and Forty-eight", p. 200] were "The Northern Star" and "The Press". The former was established in Belfast, January fourth, 1792. The chief owner and editor was Samuel Neilson . . . The success of its teaching may be inferred from the persecution it received from the government . . . He [Neilson] is generally looked upon as the originator of the Society [United Irishmen] into which Tone breathed an actual being; and was one of the most active, undeviating, and sincere of the leaders of the Union.

Neilson was long imprisoned and when brought into court, heavily chained, was called on "to plead". He answered in a stentorian voice: "No, I have been robbed of everything; I could not fee a counsel; my property, everything, has been taken from me". He then retired, but immediately returning to the dock, exclaimed: "For myself I have nothing to say: I scorn your power, and despise that authority that it shall ever be my pride to have opposed".

His refusal to engage counsel saved his life by the delay, as he was included in the negotiation with the Government. He was imprisoned with Thomas Addis Emmet in Dublin, and afterward at Fort George, being throughout his political career a devoted friend of Mr. Emmet. Mr. Neilson died in Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1803. The writer, having learned by

accident of the condition of Neilson's almost forgotten grave, called the matter to the special attention of those present at a dinner of the American Irish Historical Society held in New York, and urged those who were in a position to do so to take steps towards having the grave reclaimed and put in order for future identification. This was promptly done, and the local branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians erected a handsome granite monument over Samuel Neilson's grave after it had been fully identified.

Savage records:

> The first number of "The Press" was issued in Dublin, September 28th, 1797; the last, March 3rd of the following year, running sixty-seven numbers; besides two, which were suppressed by the government. The writers in it were, as far as known, Arthur O'Connor, Dean Swift ("Marcus"); Thomas Addis Emmet ("Montanus"); Wm. Preston, a distinguished scholar of Trinity and one of the founders of the Royal Irish Academy; William Sampson (supposed to be "Fortesque"); Dr. Drennan, Roger O'Connor, and other able men under the signatures of "William Caxton," "An Irishman," "Sarsfield," "Euergetes," "Dion," "Scævola," "Bolingbroke," "A Militia Officer," "Vincent" and others.

In the eleventh number there is a clever, though not a remarkable piece of verse, entitled "The London Pride and Shamrock, a Fable", signed "Trebor"; which Dr. Madden believes was written by Robert Emmet, the signature, when read backwards, spelling his Christian name. Thomas Moore tells us that he wrote something for "The Press", and that it was included in the secret report of The Committee of the House. His contributions were of no moment, however.

Both friend and foe seem to have contributed to "The Press". It has been stated on good authority that after the paper had been suppressed it was found that one of the frequent contributors was a regular informer of Major Sirr's Battalion in 1798, whose name was Brennan!

The writer having gone carefully through the whole issue of "The Press", found "The London Pride and Shamrock", an accepted production by Robert Emmet, but there was no other contribution in his judgment likely to have been written by him. Yet there was found a letter in the issue of December 2nd, 1797, addressed: "To the students of Trinity College", and signed "Sophister", which was in a general way suggestive of his style. If Emmet wrote the letter he might also have written several others, where the identity of authorship was unknown, and there also existed in some other contributions a similiarity of expression, showing at least that Emmet and the author were close friends. It is not likely that Robert Emmet was the author of these doubtful letters, although written in so natural a style. Had he been the author and from their value, already so well known, this circumstance would have caused this connection to be remembered.

Savage further states:

> Those writings, however, which seemed to have created the most noise, and with some justice, were written by Dean Swift, "Marcus", who is described by Barrington as tall, thin, and gentlemanly, but withal an unqualified reformer and revolutionist; also Addis Emmet's "Montanus" letters, and John Sheares' "Dion" letter to "The Author

of Coercion" [Lord Clare], which, some rumor of its embryo existence getting out, caused the seizure of the 68th number of the paper, when all ready for publication. Thus the 67th number was the last published; but in a collection of the chief articles and letters issued soon after, to fan, says Musgrave, the seemingly smothered flame of rebellion, the 68th number is restored, as well as an intended 69th, being "The Appeal of the People of Ulster to their Countrymen, and the empire at large".

In a footnote of Savage's work it is stated:

An American reprint is now before me; the title runs "Extracts from the Press; a Newspaper published in the Capital of Ireland during part of the years 1797 and 1798, including numbers sixty-eight and sixty-nine, which were suppressed by order of the Irish Government, before the usual time of publication, Philadelphia; printed by William Duane, Aurora Office, 1802".

In connection with the leaders who wrote for "The Press", Savage expresses the opinion:

Thomas Addis Emmet was precisely such a man as might, had not many occurrences combined against the party to which he belonged, have led the Irish Revolution to a successful issue. In 1797 he was decidedly the ablest, though not the leading man in Ireland.

The writer can not allow this last statement to pass unchallenged, while he would have hesitated as to the question of ability. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Emmet's chief rival in both respects, was a man of phenomenal ability in early life, when he could be gotten to exercise it in some other line than a defence of an assumed grievance or of his inordinate self-conceit. He certainly was a very prominent man, if not the most so of all the Irish leaders, and to hold the position he was at all times seeking to gain the attention of the public. But at no time in his career was he considered a reliable man except by a few individuals, themselves of no influence save one of detriment, but who evidently prospered through their connection with him. Mr. Emmet, on the contrary, avoided publicity, and as a consequence his service as a leader was never known or fully appreciated. Fitzpatrick in his work has made the following statement, based on a knowledge of the views of Lord Cloncurry, a life-long friend of Mr. Emmet. The bearing of the quotation is rather incidental, its importance consisting in its demonstration of Mr. Emmet's purpose as a United Irishman, and is therefore of more value to the reader if given as a whole. Fitzpatrick wrote:

Thomas Addis Emmet, a member of the Executive Directory [United Irishmen] and one of the brightest ornaments of the Irish bar was interrogated rigidly by the Secret Committee in 1798. There were few voices more influential in the national councils than that of Thomas Addis Emmet. Humane, disinterested, warm-hearted, zealous, he glided through the meetings of the Irish Union, remonstrating with some, suggesting to others, and advising all. In the course of his examination, he observed, parenthetically in reference to some questions from Lord Clare—"Will you permit me to add, upon my oath, that it was my intention to have proposed to the Executive, and I am sure it would have been carried, had there existed any reasonable hope of reform, to send a messenger to France to apprise the Council of the difference between the people and the government having been adjusted and not to attempt a second invasion". England, however, had a deeper game to play than the bloodless suppression of Irish disaffection.

It knew a trick worth two of that and therefore resumed the work of torture with redoubled rigour.

It is a remarkable circumstance that with a fact so easily proved, no historical writer has expressly shown that through Mr. Emmet's personal influence alone several hundred thousand enrolled members, of the United Irishmen or Union organization were restrained from outbreak during the eighteen months previous to his arrest, during which time he directed the policy of that organization. And this was done at a time when a majority of both the leaders and members were in their individual judgment impressed as to the advisability of following the opposite course. He certainly defeated all of O'Connor's intrigues to undermine his influence and even persuaded Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in command of the military department, to inaction, and in opposition to his own judgment and wishes. As leader, Mr. Emmet only yielded to a compromise after it was shown that the English Government could not be trusted, and would make no reforms on any terms. The English Government was fully informed through her spies as to the situation. With every desire to get Mr. Emmet out of the way, yet, with no evidence against him and everything to prove his course had been consistent and unquestionably loyal to the Government, the authorities did not dare bring him to trial on the plea of a "devil's brief", or on any evidence to be supplied by the "Battalion of Testimony"; but in a spirit of spiteful vindictiveness, since he was a man of too much influence to be hanged as many thousands had been, without the slightest justification and without even that of legal murder with a packed jury, he was imprisoned for over four years and at times was subjected to the greatest cruelty. The writer, therefore, on the facts of the case, does not hesitate to claim that no leader during the troubles of '98 held and exercised a greater influence both by pen and example than Mr. Emmet did during the time he could exercise it, and no other leader showed greater and more unflinching courage than Mr. Emmet did in his course, notwithstanding the misrepresentation and intrigue to which he was subjected, without impairment to his teaching even to the present day, as that teaching is shown by his writings, although the source has been forgotten.

The following letter was published in "The Press" (October 3, 1797), and accompanied the first letter written by Thomas Addis Emmet and signed "Montanus".* It was held at the time these letters were published in "The Press" that no other Irish leader contributed so much to direct public opinion and to the spread of the organization of the United Irishmen as the author of these letters.

To the Conductors of the Press:

Gentlemen,

I have read with much pleasure, the Prospectus of your paper. If you adhere to your promise of conveying to your countrymen, without prejudice, and without weakness, just views of persons and things you will render an essential service to Ireland.

*Madden, in the second series of his work, p. 253, writes in relation to the writers in "The Press":—"Those under the signature of Montanus, eleven in number, are written with great power, and bear evident mark of a mind deeply imbued with political and legal knowledge, and an intimate acquaintance with the character and condition of the people. The spirit which breathes in these

The want of some sure vehicle of interesting truths, has been severely felt, at this juncture—never was there a period when it was more necessary to enlighten the public mind; for never was there a period in which the people have been placed in circumstances of greater delicacy and difficulty. It is the duty of every man who wishes well to his country, to contribute according to the measure of his information and talents, to the work of public instruction. Imprest with this idea I send you copies of some letters which have fallen into my hands on the subject of the present discontent in Ireland. They were written by an old gentleman of my acquaintance to a young friend, who had requested his advice as a guide for his political conduct. If you think them worth insertion in your paper, they are at your service; and I shall be happy to have contributed, in its infancy (when even mean assistance may be useful) to a laudable undertaking.

Agricola.

Letters from the Mountains

Being a series of Letters from an old Man in the Country to a young Man in Dublin; issued by The Press.

October 3, 1797.

My dear Friend,

You require my sentiments on the situation of public affairs, at this juncture, and my advice, as a guide for your conduct, in this critical emergency. My advanced age, and my sincere affection for you, might well give me the privilege, did I possess the capacity of advising and most ready, indeed, should I be to offer, nay, to obtrude my counsels on you, could I be convinced of their producing a salutary effect; but, my dear friend, it is now a most awful task to determine for oneself, still more awful it is to determine for another, on a point which involves the safety or perdition of every object which can be dear to man.

The situation of *Ireland* is become critical in the extreme. The dreadful forms of public disturbance have stolen upon us, like a thief in the night. The horizon is blackened around us; the island is shaken to its centre; and fathomless abysses seem hourly to yawn with destruction beneath our feet. At such a season it will be difficult—difficult did I say; it will be impossible for any man to remain neuter—he must put his *hand to the plough,* and having done it, he must not look back. On this choice of party, to which (I foresee it) we shall ultimately be driven, will depend the fate of the individual; and on the choice of the majority of the people will depend the fate of the country. That you may be found among the saviours of *Ireland,* is the earnest wish of your friend. Consider the situation of this kingdom, the circumstances of other countries, and the temper and spirit of the times. Decide for yourself with all the calmness and deliberation that the tempestuous season allows; and may God Almighty lead you to a life of happiness, or a death of honour.

While I profess myself unable to give you directions for the regulation of your political conduct, you have a right to command my sentiments on the situation of public affairs—as far as it is safe or prudent to communicate an opinion on the subject. I give you, believe me, no small proof of my friendship, in the dwelling, for your sake, on a contemplation so painful as that of Irish affairs. The present harrows up the feelings of a man who loves his country; and as to the future, it requires no common fortitude to meet, with eyes unmoved, the long dreadful perspective before us. I shall be well satisfied, however, to punish myself, if I can be useful to you. I shall give you my thoughts

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letters is that of a calm determination, an imperturable disposition, a nature softened by philosophy, insensible to fear and influenced by no sordid or selfish motive. The author of these letters on authority of the late Dr. McNeven in a statement to the author (who ought to have known the person he believes to have been the writer of them better than anybody else) was Thomas Addis Emmet".

THE PRESS.

PRICE 2D] DUBLIN, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1797. [No. 3.

TO THE CONDUCTORS OF THE PRESS.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE read with much pleasure, the Prospectus of your paper. If you adhere to your promise, of conveying to your countrymen, without prejudice, and without meanness, just views of persons and things, you will render an excellent service to *Ireland*. The want of some fair vehicle of interesting truths, has been severely felt at this juncture—never was there a period when it was more necessary to enlighten the public mind for never was there a period in which the people have been placed in circumstances of greater delicacy and difficulty. It is the duty of every man, who wishes well to his country, to contribute according to the measure of his influence and talents, to the work of public instruction. Impress with this idea I send you copies of some letters which have fallen into my hands, on the subject of the present discontents *in Ireland*. They were written by an old gentleman of my acquaintance, to a young friend, who had requested his advice as a guide for his political conduct. If you think them worth insertion in your paper, they are at your service; and I shall be happy to have contributed, in its infancy, (when even mean assistance may be useful) to a laudable undertaking.

AGRICOLA.

LETTERS FROM THE MOUNTAINS.

Being a series of Letters from an old Man in the Country to a young Man in Dublin.

LETTER I.

My dear Friend,

You require my sentiments on the situation of public affairs, at this juncture, and my advice, as a guide for your conduct, in this critical emergence. My advanced age, and my sincere affection for you, might well give me the privilege, did I possess the capacity of advising—and most ready, indeed, should I be to offer, nay, to obtrude my counsels on you, could I be convinced of their producing a salutary effect; but, my dear friend, it is now a most awful task to determine for ourself, still more awful as it to determine for another, on a point which involves the safety or perdition of every object which can be dear to man.

The situation of *Ireland* is become critical in the extreme. The dreadful focus of public disturbance have stolen upon us, like a thief in the night—The horizon is blackened around us—The island is shaken to its centre; and fathomless abysses seem hourly to yawn with destruction beneath our feet. At such a season it will be difficult—difficult did I *say*? it will be impossible for any man to remain neuter—he must put his *hand to the plough*, and having done so, he must not look back. On this choice of party, to which (if forsooth it) we shall ultimately be driven, will depend the fate of the individual; and on the choice of the majority of the people will depend the fate of the country. That you may be found among the saviours of *Ireland*, is the earnest wish of your friend. Consider the situation of this kingdom, the circumstances of other countries, and the temper and spirit of the times. Decide for yourself, with all the calmness and deliberation that the tempestuous season allows—and may God Almighty lead you to a life of happiness, or a death of honour.

While I profess myself unable to give you directions, for the regulation of your political conduct, you have a right to command my sentiments on the situation of public affairs—as far as it is safe or prudent to communicate an opinion on the subject. I give you, believe me, no small proof of my friendship, in the dwelling for your sake, on a contemplation so painful as that of Irish affairs. The present harrows up the feelings of a man who loves his country; and as to the future, it requires no common fortitude to meet with eyes unmoved the long dreadful perspective before us. I shall be well satisfied, however, to perish myself, if I can be useful to you. I shall give you my thoughts on the situation of the country, without passion and without prejudice; and it is from such views of the situation of the country, taken at different periods of observation, and by different observers, that a considerate man will learn, to *chuse his party*, and establish the rule of his political conduct.

The first remark which I would suggest to you, is on the astonishing stupor and inattention which seem to have possess the governments of Europe, with few exceptions, and pre-existed them attending to the great revolution which has been wrought in the human character. A mighty spirit is awakened—the genius of rational enquiry has gone abroad with giant strides—he marches, with freedom in his train, to the ends of the earth. This is no time for the powerful *few* to wrap themselves up in a false security, and despise the cries, and insult the feelings of the oppress and injured *many*. This is no time to hug to the bosom inveterate abuses and ancient errors; to hold governments, and those who administer it, as *all in all*, the people governed as *nothing*. The maxims of policy, which proved sufficient for the imperfect lights of past times, will be found delusive guides at this day. The nations, the manners, the knowledge, the pursuits, and claims of men, have undergone a great and rapid change; and stupid, indeed, must be the administration which does not adopt its maxims to the great revolution in the characters, resources, and tempers of men. This proudly weak inattention to the circumstances of the times has been peculiarly observable, and peculiarly injurious in those who have had the care of governing Ireland.

I must observe also, that although Ireland is dignified with the name of independent kingdom, and honoured by Great Britain with the appellation of sister country—a distinction for which, God knows, she pays dearly, in the maintenance of a luxurious Court, and a cumbrous establishment; yet Ireland, in the opinion of many acute observers, is, to all intents and purposes, in a state of provincial dependence. I will not pretend to decide the question with respect to Ireland, lest my letter to you should come into the courts of justice, and be pronounced a seditious libel by the Judge; but I am told I may as yet enquire, without offence to the powers that be, or danger of the *tender*, what is the difference between a country really *independent*, and a *province*.

In a country really independent, the laws and polity originate within its own bosom, and are calculated to extend the advantages of the state, whether natural or acquired, and to recover its defects. The system and maxims of government in such a country, consequently arise from its peculiar interests. This is the situation of a truly independent country.

In a *province* the medal is reversed—the true interests of a provincial country are perpetually sacrificed to the interests, the pride, the means, and even the caprices of the country on which it is dependent. The people are supposed to cherish a sacred sense of freedom—and this is imputed to them as guilt. To counteract the criminal longing after ancient independence, on the part of the governed, government adopts a system of avowed suspicion and concealed hostility—*divide and rule* is with them a favourite maxim—venality and corruption are industriously diffused through every department of the state, and every rank of society, and are openly professed and defended, as the necessary engines or supports of government. Meantime, a despotic oppression of the people prevails, the freedom and adventurous spirit is banished, the virtuous sentiment is proscribed, and the voice of truth is silent; or, if it should burst forth, from the lips of indignant misery, it is severely chastised, under the denomination of a seditious spirit; and all these rigours, by which the people are trampled down to the dust, are justified on the principle of expediency, and ennobled with the plausible names of *vigorous measures—a strong administration*.

It too frequently happens in dependent provinces, that the insolence and oppression of their government grows to such a pitch, as forever to the people to adopt a course, between absolute and miserable slavery on the one hand, open resistance, on the other. I should be sorry indeed, to think that such was the situation of *Ireland*—Heaven avert such a calamitous state of things! but the connexion between *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, is a tie of peculiar delicacy, and requires wise and lenient management; it should never be strained, with a rude unskilful hand, lest it should fatally press on the very heart of *Ireland*, chill, and benumb the energy of her attachment to *Britain*, and stop the circulation of those vital principles, which diffuse health and animation thro' the polatical frame. I fear the *British* cabinet has too often been led, to adopt a very different policy. *Britain* has been taught by selfish and narrow commercial notions, to consider *Ireland*, not as the companion of her prosperity, and the pillar of her strength, but as the rival of her industry, and the invader of her opulence. It is much to be lamented, that the governments of this country, in a long succession, and with few exceptions, have been too apt, to form to themselves ideas of a certain foreign interest, superior to that of the country they were appointed to govern, incompatible with it, and the prosecution of which, as they think, ought to be the ultimate object of their administration. *Britain* according to their political arithmetic, is the only integral figure of the *British* empire; *Ireland* they consider as a mere cypher, or even on some occasion as a negative quantity, and on these principles they have conducted themselves like an insulted garrison, with difficulty maintaining its station, and supporting itself by inroads and depredations, in a hostile and exhausted country.

Whether such a system prevails at this day, it is not for me to determine, when we have taken a view of the situation of the country, you may judge for yourself. That it formerly existed appears from the letters of Primate Boulter, a curious monument of the corrupt and mistaken management, which has been considered as a grand policy for the meridian of *Ireland*, and which may still give us a key to the secrets of our prison-house. This honest political prelate, in his correspondence with the British Cabinet, is full of complaints, that preferments are bestowed on the natives, that the balance of power in the land is unsettled—Cabinet and viceroy inquired, are his representations of the necessity of bestowing the preferments of the country, ecclesiastical, judicial and military, on aliens, in order to keep up the predominancy of the English interest. It was then supposed, that a system of government inimical to the people, could be managed only through the intervention of Foreigners. Mistaken politicians! who thus thought! it has been discovered, in our more enlightened days, that as among the infidels, a renegado is the most active persecutor of those who had been his brethren in faith; so the renegado and perverted *Irishman*, hurried on by more cruel fire to the interests of his native country, the most sanguineous supporter of what is improperly called the *English* interest.

From the application of this pernicious rule of *divide and govern* to the maintenance of an *English interest*, proceeded that mischievous activity which has assiduously laboured, and often too successfully to inflame the spirit of party rage and religious animosity, which has added no little poignancy to the acute sense of other evils, that have vexed and consumed this devoted country. Protestant was artfully inflamed against Catholic, Catholic against Protestant; Dissenters against both, and they against Dissenters. The Protestant *ascendancy* became a kind of rallying phrase, a signal, to call together the staunch adherents of the government party, and those honest but bigotted individuals, who attached themselves to their standard from disinterested motives.

I might establish the position, that the government of this country has almost uniformly proceeded on itself, as the statement and of its policy, the maintenance of an *English interest*, as essentially contra-distinguished from the interests of *Ireland*, by a multitude of examples, from antient and modern *Irish* history; but the task would exceed the compass of our correspondence. I shall confine myself to the period, during which *Mr Pitt* has ruled the helm of the *British* Empire—a period which will be distinguished in the annals of mankind, to the end of time, for the momentous events and gigantic revolutions which it has produced. I fear I have tired you with this long lecture, I shall for the present conclude and subscribe myself, yours,

MONTANUS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE PRESS.

TAKE care of introducing an aristocracy into the republic of *Letters*. Do not authorize any distinction of rank, or any oligarchy of authorship in the mode of publication. Make use of the type of equality. Equality and Equity are synonimous terms. Let the compositors for public opinion descend into the arena of the press, in the self same uniform of typography, nor do you venture to anticipate the judgment of that public by any insinuation of the black art, that here comes a capital production, but there follows one of less comparative value. It is not always *your* man of *letters that* will be the man of the people. The printer's type is not the type of good writing, for he can only cut capers in capitals, and endeavour by leading letters to make nonsense emphatical. The judicious eye of the public will of itself readily recognize the great man; it wants no information from the compositor to see strength and sinew in Satisfield, to descry a still greater gen in his friend, nor does it require what it has not received, to discover in the letter of a Lawyer one of the clearest of heads, one of the best of hearts. The manner declares the man. Busy on going to Versailles dressed in the plainest manner, had all his attendants ornamented with gold lace and net velvet. He appeared the master, and the whole court his servants. Farewell. Living or dying, you will do the public service. I am your friend,

PICA.

October 3.

NO maxim is more true than this, "That no Liberty can survive the Liberty of the Press;" it breathes a soul into the body of a People, it forms their manners, and by touching them their duties and their rights, and inspiring them with the sentiments of virtue and courage, by which both are to be enforced, introduces the empire of reason to the universe; it is the vestal fire, upon the preservation of which, the fate of Nations depends; and the most pure hands, officiating for the whole community, should be incessantly employed in keeping it alive. But it must be acknowledged, that by some fatality of late, the Press in the harmonized country has been either negligent or aportate; it has been a confined a-sleep on its post; or, as open deserter, active against the people and their cause, in the service of which it affected to volunteer. To flatter and betray, has been too often the practice of those who have sought popular confidence—money, and not principles, was their object, and it is not surprising, if at what was needful and necessary in the beginning, should, in the end, be perfidious and corrupt. So many and so sad have been the apostacies which have taken place in this respect, that to be popular is shunned as a humiliating and derogatory to the high character and character, and the best disposed men, with great reason, have begined to doubt the existence of a pure patriotism, unalloyed by any tincture of the selfish passions; they have even the Press introduced to them in all the charms of a virtuous virgin, shortly degenerate and prostitute. So many and so sad have been the apostacies which have taken place in this respect, that to be popular is shunned as a humiliating and derogatory to the high character and character, and the best disposed men, with great reason, have begined to doubt the existence of a pure patriotism, unalloyed by any tincture of the selfish passions; they have even the Press introduced to them in all the charms of a virtuous virgin, shortly degenerate and prostitute. So many and so sad have been the apostacies which have taken place in this respect, that to be popular is shunned as a humiliating and derogatory to the high character and character, and the best disposed men, with great reason, have begined to doubt the existence of a pure patriotism, unalloyed by any tincture of the selfish passions; they have even the Press introduced to them in all the charms of a virtuous virgin, shortly degenerate and prostitute.

To extinguish party animosities and introduce a cordial Union of all the people on the basis of toleration and equal government, must is a primary duty, so it shall be the especial care of THE PRESS, to call into action all that is noble and generous in the minds of Irishmen individually, as a sure means of rendering them collectively a great and happy nation; to cultivate the seeds of virtue, heroism and industry, which are inherent in their minds, shall be chief objects of its endeavours; those seeds lie plentifully and deep in that good soil and he it the labor of the PRESS to cultivate them until they shoot forth in all the glory of illustrious actions to plan Ireland on the scale of Nations, and to give her an Imperial place in the map of Europe; to search and search her internal riches, to flagrantly encroached on by British monopoly; to inculcate the maxims of commerce and liberty, without which no nation can be granted respectable rank in new channels for commerce and the employ of our people in manufactures and in commerce, to our fisheries and down upon fisheries, those mines of wealth which imagination plainly see to the diver—or rather careless inquiry are doomed to continue unworked, to innumerable sections of pure morality in the rising generation, and to see an end, to another to the wild visions of religion, in the shape of which its forms are a mockery, to contrary opinions on public happiness, to intimate mobility, on the mind that, next to love of God, the object of Country should have a place in the human bosom, and finally, it shall be our too presumptuous, or a subject utterly impracticable, to procure a reform in the abuses of government, which are crying and manifold: these are the grounds on which THE PRESS solicits confidence—all it asks is a fair trial, " and may the moment of its defection, be the last of its existence." A system, such as no News-paper has gone to the expence of heretofore, has been adopted for procuring the earliest intelligence, which shall be impartially given; a particular attention shall be paid to the detail of domestic occurrences, and a faithful report given of the various conflagrations, transportations and executions, without the intervention of judge or jury. To diffinity scenes so dismal, we shall glean whatever may be most instructive and amusing in the *Belles Letters*; there will be the more room for this gratification of our readers in the course of the approaching winter, as there is no probability of any debates in the House of Commons, " and of that honourable House, he will be sufficient to state the enactments of new penal statutes, should there be any, and the murder and the seasons of the new races, of which we are positive there will be not a few.

Men of genius are invited to send their productions to THE PRESS which will open for their discussion on Public Subjects,—it will disdain to direct its flights, at lesser game. Security and defamation can never be admitted as allies to its cause; private character is one of the protections of civil society, which ought to be held sacred; to follow a man into the circle of private life, would be a very unfair and illiberal task; if there are reptiles amongst us, the Public have this consolation in perspective, " That the mire in which " they crawl, already begins to stiffen about " them; it will first deprive them of motion—" then of life, and the next gale of wind may " sweep them away with the dust in which they " perished."

A LETTER FROM EARL FITZ.

In Answer to a Pamphlet supposed to be written

By Charles Francis Sheridan, Esq.

Containing Observations on the Farewel Address of

The Right Hon. Henry Grattan,

Is this Day published at No. 4, Church-lane, College green.

Just published,

By J. MOORE, College-green,

THOUGHTS

ON THE

PROJECTED UNION,

BETWEEN

GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Nemo patriam in parvis et modo nata desinat.

FAMILY HERWERY,

No 16, Temple-Bar.

JOHN GARDINER, respectfully informs the public in general, and the friends and the public for patronage, that he has equal to WELSH ALE, and TABLE BEER of excellent quality—Small Families accommodated with Table Beer, and a regular supply allowed to Coffee Houses with every attention to the orders and punctuality. Wine, Spirits, and Cyder, and Rhenish Cordials on the lowest Terms. Orders received at the COAL OFFICE, 6, HAWKINS-ST. [illegible] Fitzwilliam, Dublin, or at the BREWERY, [illegible] Lane, and at the IRISH COAL WHARF, [illegible] where he has for consideration of Trade to [illegible] and Exeter.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINE

VENICE.

(FROM THE BRUSSELS PAPERS.)

The greatest interests of Europe are at this day agitated in Italy. Whatever tends to make known Italy, and the men who are acting a conspicuous part there, should be sought for and recorded. A French journal, printed at Milan, entitled "*France viewed by the army of Italy*," furnishes us with an article calculated to make us better acquainted both with the present situation of Venice, and the genius of the hero who has changed her destinies.—The municipality of this city had dispatched to Buonaparte, citizen Daniello: the following is the account which Daniello gave to the municipality of one of his interviews with the deliverer of Italy. . .

"I spoke to the General concerning the dilapidation of the different sorts of timber destined for the service of the navy. He disapproved of that practice, testified much interest respecting the subject, and assured me that as Udina he would give orders which should be scrupulously respected. He desired me to prescribe him a memorial on the subject.

"I spoke to him of Adria, which has ever been considered as an integral part of the Republic, and at present forms a part of the department of Padua. He received his *surprise* at this, questioned General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and decided that it should be annexed to our department.

"I submitted to him the impossibility we were under of arming with brass guns, as he had required, the five ships which we are to furnish him. He conceived that they should be armed *Italy* with iron guns, and that their armament should be completed with brass ones.

"I asked him, with the frankness of a Republican speaking to a Republican, whether the Directory had consented to the occupying of Istria and Dalmatia by the Austrians? He answered me, not; and as I insisted on this point, he repeated it to me so positively that I was quite persuaded. He questioned me concerning the disposition of those provinces, the facility of taking Zara by a landing, and told me to bring him the topographical maps of the country.

"I informed him, that the people of Istria were very ardent to be free, and to be united with Venice; that the Schiavonians of the coasts were very discontented with the Austrians, and that the warlike nations of the Albanese would repel our enemy with all their force.

"I did not forget to speak to him concerning the marauders of which our National Guards are in search state. He answered me, that Venice was to equip with all speed three battalions of the line, to complete the eighteen, or thereabouts, to be furnished by our brethren of Italy; that three thousand stand of arms would be requisite for that purpose, and that we might freely dispose of the remainder.

"I spoke to him of the confiscations pronounced by our commissioners against some guilty persons, and which meet with difficulties in their execution on the part of the commercial authorities of the other departments of the necessity of a central commission, composed of all the deputies of the ex-Venetian State, to cause its different decisions, to remedy a thousand evils, and reform a number of particular administrations, whose operations are very expensive, and of little utility. He assured me of his entire concurrence in all these measures, and that in a few days I should see the whole put in execution.

"I informed him of the use we had made of the economical, political and commercial picture of Venice, the happy results which it offered, and the publication we were going to make of it.—He immediately asked me for a copy of it, and pronounced me to read it with great attention.

"His carriage was ready: he was going to set out when, after having conversed an hour and a half, he questioned me again concerning the parties which prevailed at Venice. A democratic society, well understood, and diffusing Republican energy—an aristocracy, well directed, inspiring Democratic sentiments under the veil of plurality—or partial shrieks daily emitted against the people for their true interests, the spirit which animates us all—these, said I, is what visibly divides the country, and renews the brilliant days of its splendour."

MILAN, Sept. 8.

The people of Udine, finding that the French commissioners had imposed a military contribution upon them which they were not able to pay, sent deputies to make representations of their case to Buonaparte. The general advised them to sell the property of the church, and apply it to the discharge of the contribution. "But," observed the deputies "who will venture to purchase such property? Will the promises of administrators take upon themselves to persuade us the sale, or edge-warrior an validity?—*Assurez-en vos citoyens*," said Buonaparte, "*vous serez certainly be made free.*" It may be inferred from this assurance, that the French government has determined not to cede any part of the terra firma of Venice to the House of Austria, and that therefore the re-commencement of hostilities is inevitable, if the cabinet of Vienna persists in its claims.

A translation of the work of the citizen Revellière Lepeaux, on the liberty of worship, has just been published here. A translation of Paine's letter is printed along with it. Both these writings are read with great avidity by all the friends of liberty and sound philosophy.

The Cisalpine republic begins to extend its political relations beyond Italy. Our directory have appointed a citizen Caleppio, of Bergamo, minister plenipotentiary to the court of Spain. The advocate Giovanni goes with him as secretary of the embassy. Another advocate Magnani is appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Tuscany. It is not surprising that in our republic the advocates perform a principal part, both in the interior and in foreign missions. This citizen is here, as in most other countries, composed of the most enlightened citizens. They were the first and the most ardent propagators of the revolutionary principles to which we are indebted for our independence. They have, therefore, the first right to our confidence.

FERRARA, August 29.

Before General Buonaparte set off for Udina, he visited the Directory of our republic at Milan, to inform them of the object of his journey, and to recommend the interests of the Country to their consideration. We understand that the members of the directory were very well satisfied with the assurances which the commander in chief made to them; but we have not learned, that he said any thing positive against the continuance of the war.

We are assured that the territories of Brescano and Mantua, are to be departments of the Cisalpine republic. We also expect that Venice will be incorporated, agreeably to the wishes of its inhabitants. We entertain no fears with regard to the consequences of the hostilities which some expect will recommence. The French army is in the best possible condition, and its dispositions are most energetic. If necessary, it will be joined by 10 000 Piedmontese, 4,000 Genoese, and 10 000 Cisalpines, all newly raised troops, but full of ardour and courage.

The Ex-Jesuits have been till provisionally deprived of their pensions. They are compelled to appear before the magistrates, and give in their names, their agents and their employments.

The directory have required an exact account of all the monks and nuns, and even the smallest benefices. It appears that all the convent and principally those of the Mendicants, are upon the eve of a revolution; and many confidently state, that before the end of October, all these establishments will be suppressed to exist.

The wishes of people here, relative to peace, are divided according to their political sentiments. Those who prefer their own tranquillity to the establishment of the republic, are earnest in wishing that the war should cease: but its continuation is desired by all those who think it necessary to the consolidation of our republic, to give it a requisite extension of territory, and to strengthen the public mind.

ROME, August 26.

The trials of the conspirators proceed very slowly. More persons are arrested, but they are not treated with the rigour which our government has been accustomed to practise in similar cases. When General Murat arrived, it was expected that Buonaparte had sent him to demand the liberty of all the prisoners. The court, however, has not confirmed this conjecture. The revolutionists of this city, complain that the French minister Cacault did not intercede in their favour; but the friends of the government extol his conduct, and feel he will not be replaced by a person so much to their liking. He has been presented with a fine Mosaic picture, which he intends to send to the Municipality of Nancy.

LONDON—SEPTEMBER 29.

Some of the morning papers have asserted, that Mr. Vick was sent back from Prince with an intimation, that the answer of the French commissioners or the directory to the dispatches with which our messenger was charged, would be sent to Dover by a French courier. We believe on the contrary, that the statement which appeared in the Courier of yesterday, was perfectly correct, and that the definitive answer of the French commissioners brought to town by Mr. Vick, was, that the negociation could only be opened on the basis of a restitution of all conquests. No proclamation on this subject, we understand, will be published either to-morrow or on Monday.

The Stocks, which soon after the opening of the market yesterday, fell one per cent. experienced just before the close, a sudden rise, and the 3 per cents Consols left off at 49⅝ for the October account. This morning, however, they again fell. The price, when this paper was put to press, was 48.

We received this morning, the Brussels papers of the 30th instant.

In the Commons of the 26th, a motion is given by the Right Hon. Henry Addington, speaker of the house of Commons, to permanent of an act of the last session of parliament, that the Directors of the Bank "should be compelled to pay the amount of the dollars now in circulation, and which have been stamped at the Tower."

General La Fayette and his companions were released from confinement on the 27th of August.—To the directory, and thereby to a letter from Buonaparte to Buonaparte, the world is indebted for the expression which have restored those gallant men from the dungeons of Olmutz.

A letter from Naples, of the 1st inst. mentions the extraordinary escape of a Neapolitan frigate, of 28 guns, from five Tunisian galleys, off the island of Sardinia, as, under favour of a breeze, and by a sudden sack made by the frigate as the Barbary the galleys were coming down to board her, they were thrown into such confusion, that only one of them being able to lay alongside the frigate, the rough sea-mine it received induced the rest to abandon the enterprise, after losing a number of men, among the first galley in the hands of the Neapolitans.

The Dutch troops, dismembered from the armament in the Texel, are not now both in the garrisons, but distributed in cantonments in Friesland, &c.

The ships which the Spaniards expected from South America and the Philippine Islands, with 18 millions of piastres on board, are arrived at Tenerife. Adm. Nelson's squadron, it is added, are gone to Gibraltar to refit.

PORTSMOUTH, *Sept. 28.*—Sailed this day, the Sans Pareil, to join the fleet of Lord Bridport; but there being little or no wind, she is coming into St. Helen's, to bring up for the night. The Prompte frigate, and the fleet under her convoy, this day got under weigh from Spithead, Stokesbay, &c. and drope down to St Helen's.

Plymouth Dock Sept. 27.—Last evening arrived the Swan of 32 guns, Capt. Vince, with a Dutch ship under French colours, from Amsterdam, bound to Brest, laden with iron, steel, butter, cheese, &c. Arrived also the Dewaw brig of 16 guns, Capt James Drew, with a convoy for the Westward. Sailed the Chapman of 24 guns, Capt. Keen, with a convoy for Milford, also, this day, the Galatea of 32 guns, Captain Byng, and Sting of 32, Capt. Yorke.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Debelle, General of Division, Commander in Chief of the Artillery of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, to the Executive Directory.

Head-quarters at Wetzlar, Sept. 20, 1797—A. M.

Citizen Directors,

The news which I have to announce to you must affix every friend to the republic. General Hoche, whose health had for some time been impaired by fatigue and labour, expired in my arms after a crisis of six hours. This unexpected loss deprives government of one of its most zealous defenders, and leaves the army without a commander. Until you shall have given orders respecting his successor, General Lefebvre, the most ancient General of Division, will take the command. My pen refuses to write any more. I mourn for him as a brother and a friend; the country ought to mourn for him as one of its most firm supporters.

(Signed) DEBELLE.

The Commander in Chief of the Artillery of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, to the Executive Directory.

Citizens Directors,

I wrote to you this morning in tears, in the midst of a family in affliction, and could therefore give you no account of the circumstances which have deprived France of General Hoche.

Gifted with a strong and ardent constitution, though with an extraordinary sensibility of nerves, General Hoche experienced only lively and ardent sensations. The least sentiment effected him beyond expression: the resolutions only served to display this disposition to a greater perfection.

Thrown on a wide theatre, Hoche has employed all his faculties to fill with dignity the part which he was to play, and he employed them to the utmost extent. The misfortunes which he experienced during his imprisonment under the reign of Robespierre, the extraordinary fatigues which he took to the department of the West, to pacify that country; the bad success of the expedition against Ireland, and the dangers which he ran by sea; the accusation brought against him in the national tribune by the late conspirators, the ardour with which he attempted to overthrow them—all these circumstances combined, exhausted his strength, and about a month ago revived, with alarming symptoms a cold, and a complaint in the breast, which he had already experienced at Ruse, but which he had too much neglected. All the assistance of art was ineffectual to save him.

For seven or eight days he experienced from time to time fits of suffocation, which passed off with exceeding difficulty and uncommon agony; the smallest motion produced these fits. On Monday, about ten in the evening, after having passed a tolerable calm day, and having even applied to some business, his sufferings were redoubled, a dreadful fit of suffocation took from him the use of his senses, and after six hours of indescribable agony, he expired in my arms. His body will be opened to-morrow, in order to destroy the report in circulation, of his having been poisoned. Probably this will be the answer, he shall be sent from Weetzlar with all due honours, and carried to Coblentz, where he will be interred by the side of Gen. Marceau in the fort of Pennebourgh.

Health and respect.

(Signed) DEBELLE.

Address of the 23d September.

The Executive Directory, informed of the death of General Hoche, Commander in Chief of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Rhine and Moselle, who died at Wetzlar on the 19th inst. in the 30th year of his age, after that there shall be a funeral ceremony in the Champ de Mars on Decadi next.

The Minister of War shall call the former shall concert on the means of carrying this ceremony into effect, and shall present this plan to the Directory. The present order shall be printed and posted up.

Another order of the 23d September.

The Executive Directory orders, that Augereau, General of Division, is appointed Commander in Chief of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, and the Sambre and Meuse.

The Minister of War is commissioned to execute the present order, which shall be printed.

(Signed)

R. LEPEAUX, President.

LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

AERIAL NAVIGATION.

This curious article is taken from the Republicain Francois.]

Citizen Carbonnis, Hydraulic Engineer, wrote, some months ago, the following letter to General Buonaparte.—The author deems us to publish it; and we are of opinion that it will certainly excite much curiosity.

"To Citizen Buonaparte, General in Chief of the Army of Italy.

"CITIZEN GENERAL,

"Your glorious campaigns, directed by the new genius even of the French Republic, have at length opened the dawn of a general peace over all Europe.

"The only enemy which remains for you to combat, is separated from us by the sea. Finish, in the wise manner, in which you have begun, the work of a true moral peace; and then count and repose yourself awhile among us under your laurels. You will behold with pleasure the flourishing state of the arts, which you have chastised from your infancy, and of which you are a well-beloved pupil. Your triumphant conquests have recovered them from that abyss into which destructive war had plunged them. The arts, who address you, hand with the most lively gratitude, will erect, of the means of execution he afforded him, a vast edifice, whence, at the conclusion of his labours, there will issue an aerial vessel, capable of carrying up with you more than two hundred persons, and which may be directed to any point of the compass. I may wait you for your port. You can then, without any danger, hover above the fleets of enemies jealous of our happiness, and meander against them like a new Jupiter, namely by throwing perpendicularly down sands fire-brands made of a substance which will kindle only by the contact and percussion at the end of its fall, but which it will be impossible to extinguish; or perhaps you may think it more prudent to begin at once by forcing the British Cabinet to capitulate, which you may easily do, as you will have it in your power to set fire to the city of London, or to that of the numerous towns of England. From the calculations I have made, I am convinced, that with this machine, you may go from Paris to London, and return back again to Paris, in six hours, without descending.

"The period of this enterprize, if my hopes be wise can be heard, is not far distant. A three campaign would be sufficient to realize the whole of my plan. Deign, then, to consider its execution, by your correspondence with the Executive Directory of the French republic! I have not yet made any proposal to the government, because it would require pains and millions to carry through this project successfully, and the expenses of war have hitherto absorbed the wholes of the resources of France.

"The object I propose is, to establish, in the great ocean of the atmosphere, a general navigation, infinitely more certain and more advantageous than maritime navigation, which has ever disturbed the tranquility of mankind since the period of the infancy of commerce, and to give peace and happiness to all the nations of the universe, and unite them as one family. By great labour I have surmounted the multiplied obstacles which presented the useless before me; and my successive discoveries are developed in a work which I have prepared, consisting of about one paper and divided into five parts.

"I have shewn my work to several learned men of this capital. The Commissioners appointed to take my plan into consideration, five of whom are members of the National Institute, and formed a part of the Academy, have later mechanical men any doubt, which they have frequently examined with the greatest attention at last, after a long series of conferences with me, they have testified their approbation in the most unanimous and most earnest manner.

"Every moment of your time, brave General, is occupied by your attention to objects the most conducive to our happiness. I cannot then, and ought not, considering the duties I have to fulfil, and fearing lest my letter should fall into unfriendly hands, enumerate the whole of the advantages upon which has been made up to this subject. I shall in pay present you with an extract from the last part of it.

Extract from the conclusion of the work.

"In the fifth and last part of the work we find details which the author had preserved on his first experiments on aeronautism, and we learn that this art had hitherto experienced only slight improvements, but it is obvious that his comb was not his own carry with them all the charac[illegible] of reason and truth.

"We lastly proceeded to consider the [illegible] means which the engineer Carbonnis has lately made, with a view to the construction of aerostatic machines, and directing them to useful purposes. We are convinced with him, as we have already observed, that the larger the aerostatic machines are made, the more easy will be to direct them—because they will present in the less relative resistance in proportion to the number of men they may carry, and consequently [illegible] the progress of the direction. Indeed, if we consider the enormous strength of any one agitating wind, and submit the power of both to calculation, it will be seen that the force of the one will be a atom inferior to that of the wind. We may therefore conceive, that it would be highly advantageous to give to the European navies a useful and faithful co-operator—because him are the essentials of this machine. If we consider the nearly the immense treasures which the nations navigating on the ocean, there is nothing extravagant in suggesting that three or four millions might be laid out, if necessary, to realize an attempt, the success of which must add to the happiness of all the nations of the globe.

"Besides, such an enterprize, if completely attained, would afford a double advantage to the country. The building which Citizen Carbonnis proposes to establish, and which may be even modified in the Champs-Elysées, would always present a monument worthy of the Republic. It is all the civic festivals might be celebrated, and all new inventions performed which require great space, and of course cannot be exhibited in bad weather. This building in the form of [illegible] and ports and wharfs may be constructed in proportion as new vessels are constructed. The resources which a navigation of this kind would infallibly produce, are so amply demonstrated in the work of Citizen Carbonnis, that we do not hesitate to recommend the prompt execution of his plan."

"P. S. In my treatise on Aeronautism, I propose that the capital city of each country shall have a dock for building Aerial vessels and an Aeronautic port, having a number of wharfs, on which foreign vessels may at all times descend, and remain without danger a sufficient time to unload, make commercial exchanges, take in new cargoes, refit, &c. But while these vessels are under sail, the smallest of which will carry more than two hundred persons, they will have no occasion to descend for the purpose of exchanging or purchasing commodities. Their power of direction, by which they are enabled to, in any way contrary the strongest winds, will serve to make them ascend or descend, or remain stationary at any height required. Two atmospheric boats, each surmounted with a parachute to be used in case of any accident, must be placed on the two gunwales with which the two extremities of the gallery of the vessel ought to terminate, and may be let down and taken up at the pleasure of the crew, with men, provisions, or articles of any kind necessary for maintaining the vessel.

"Finally, another small cylindrical boat may be let down from the centre pavilion (for the gallery ought to have three pavilions) which would serve to receive and [illegible] power, the expedition of the foreigners, &c. belonging to the remain at enemies. During these observations might serve to give good news to consequence, either by day or night, to the [illegible] illuminated, upon a plan previously concerted.

"My views, besides, consist in all the details necessary in the use of raising and descending aerostatic globe, the regulations of which have for their object the preservation of peace and the happiness of all the people of the earth.

(Signed) "CARBONNIS, *Hydraulic Engineer.*"

on the situation of the country, without passion and without prejudice; and it is from such views of the situation of the country, taken at different points of observation, and by different observers, that a considerate man will learn, to *chuse his party,* and establish the rule of his political conduct.

The first remark which I would suggest to you, is on the astonishing stupor and inattention which seem to have possest the governments of Europe, with few exceptions, and prevented them attending to the great revolution which has been wrought in the human character. A mighty spirit is awakened; the genius of rational enquiry has gone abroad in giant strides; he marches, with freedom in his train, to the ends of the earth. This is no time for the powerful *few* to wrap themselves up in a false security, and despise the cries, and insult the feelings of the opprest and injured *many.* This is no time to hug to the bosoms inveterate abuses and ancient errors; to hold government, and those who administer it, as *all in all;* the people governed as *nothing.* The maxims of policy, which proved sufficient for the imperfect light of past times, will be found delusive guides at this day. The notions, the manners, the knowledge, the pursuits and claims of men, have undergone a great and rapid change; and stupid, indeed, must be the administration which does not adopt its maxims to the great revolution in the characters, resources, and tempers of men. This proudly weak inattention to the circumstances of the times, has been peculiarly observable, and peculiarly injurious in those who have had the care of governing Ireland.

I must observe, also, that although Ireland is dignified in the name of independent kingdom, and honored by Great Britain with the appellation of sister country; a distinction for which, God knows, she pays dearly, in the maintenance of a luxurious Court, and a cumbrous establishment; yet Ireland, in the opinion of many acute observers, is, to all intents and purposes, in a state of provincial dependence. I will not pretend to decide the question with respect to Ireland, lest my letter to you should come into the courts of justice, and be pronounced a seditious libel by the Judge; but I am told I may as yet enquire, without offense to the powers that be, or danger of the *tender,* what is the difference between a country *really independent,* and a *province.*

In a country really independent, the laws and polity originate within its own bosom, and are calculated to extend the advantages of the state, whether natural or acquired, and to recover its defects. The systems and maxims of government in such a country, consequently arise from its peculiar interests. This is the situation of a truly independent country.

In a *province* the medal is reversed—the true interests of a provincial country are perpetually sacrificed to the interests, the pride, the means, and even the caprices of the country on which it is dependent. The people are supposed to cherish a secret desire of freedom—and this is imputed to them as guilt. To counteract the criminal longing after ancient independence, on the part of the governed, government adopts a system of avowed suspicion and concealed hostility; *divide and rule* is with them a favourite maxim; venality and corruption are industriously diffused through every department of the state and every rank of society, and are openly professed and defended, as the necessary engines or supports of government. Meantime a despotic oppression of the people prevails; the free-born and adventurous spirit is banished; the virtuous sentiment is proscribed, and the voice of truth is silent; or, if it should burst forth from the lips of indignant misery, it is severely chastised, under the denomination of a seditious spirit; and all these rigours by which the people are trampled down to the dust, are justified on the principle of expediency, and ennobled with the plausible names of *vigorous measures;—a strong administration.*

It too frequently happens in dependent provinces, that the insolence and oppression of their government grows to such a pitch, as leaves to the people no middle course between absolute and miserable slavery on the one hand, and open resistance on the other; I should be sorry indeed, to think that such was the situation of *Ireland.* Heaven avert such a calamitous state of things! but the connexion between *Great-Britain* and *Ireland,*

is a tie of peculiar delicacy, and requires wise and lenient management,* it should never be strained, with a rude unskilful hand, lest it should fatally press on the very heart of *Ireland,* chill, and benumb the energy of her attachment to *Britain,* and stop the circulation of those vital principles, which diffuse health and animation through the political frame. I fear, the *British* Cabinet has too often been led, to adopt a very different policy. *Britain* has been taught by selfish and narrow commercial notions, to consider *Ireland,* not as the companion of her prosperity, and the pillar of her strength, but as the rival of her industry and the invader of her opulence. It is much to be lamented, that the governments of this country, in a long succession, and with few exceptions, have been too apt, to form to themselves ideas of a certain foreign interest, superior to that of the country they are appointed to govern, incompatible with it, and the prosecution of which, as they think, ought to be the ultimate object of their administration, *Britain* according to their political arithmetic, is the only integral figure of the *British* empire; *Ireland* they consider as a mere cypher, or even on some occasions as a negative quantity, and on these principles they have conducted themselves like an insulted garrison, with difficulty maintaining its station, and supporting itself by inroads and depredations, in a hostile and exhausted country.

Whether such a system prevails at this day, it is not for me to determine, when we have taken a view of the situation of the country, you may judge for yourself. That it formerly existed appears from the letters of Primate Boulter, a curious monument of corrupt and mistaken management, which has been considered as sound policy for the meridian of *Ireland;* and which may still give us a key to the secrets of our prison-house. This honest political prelate, in his correspondence with the British Cabinet, is full of complaints, that preferments are bestowed on the natives, that the balance of power in Ireland is neglected. Constant and vigilant indeed, are his representations of the necessity of bestowing the preferments of the country, ecclesiastical, judicial and military, on aliens, in order to keep up the predominancy of the English interest. It was then supposed, that a system of government inimical to the people, could be managed only through the intervention of Foreigners. Mistaken politicians: who thus thought! it has been discovered, in our more enlightened days, that as among the infidels, a renegado is the most active persecutor of those who had been his brethren in faith; so the renegado and perverted *Irishman,* becomes the most cruel foe to the interests of his native country, the most outrageous supporter of what is improperly called the *English* interest.

From the application of this pernicious rule of *divide and govern* to the maintenance of an *English* interest, proceeded the mischievous activity which has uniformly laboured, and often too successfully, to inflame the spirit of party rage and religious animosity, which has added no little poignancy to the acute sense of other evils, that have vexed and consumed this devoted country. Protestant was artfully inflamed against Catholic; Catholic against Protestant; Dissenters against both, and they against Dissenters. The Protestant *ascendancy* became a kind of rallying phrase, a signal, to call together the staunch adherents of the government party, and those honest but bigotted individuals, who attached themselves to their standard from disinterested motives.

I might establish the position that the government of this country has almost uniformly proposed to itself, as the ultimate end of its policy, the maintenance of an *English* interest as erroneously contradistinguished from the interests of *Ireland,* by a multitude of examples, from ancient and modern *Irish* history; but the task would exceed the compass of our correspondence. I shall confine myself to the period during which Mr. *Pitt* has ruled the helm of the British Empire—a period which will be distinguished in the annals of mankind to the end of time, for the momentous events and gigantic revolutions which it produced. I fear I have tried you with this long lecture. I shall for the present conclude, and subscribe myself, yours, MONTANUS.

*This sentence is given as it appears in the original copy of "The Press" newspaper of October 3, 1797, and in a London work published in 1880, with the title of "The Beauties of The Press". In a like reprint published by Duane in Philadelphia, with the title of "Extracts from the Press", 1802; it reads—"and under a wise and lenient management." The editor's name is not given.

The English Government was so desirous of obtaining the name of the author of these letters that, after the arrest and imprisonment of the publisher or printer, the seizure and suppression of the paper were delayed many months with the hope of obtaining this information. It could never be secured, however, nor was the Government then informed of Arthur O'Connor's connection as the owner, the efficient editor and frequent contributor.

For the remainder of the letters of "Montanus" and other material relating to them see Appendix, Note VII. As a copy of "The Press" is a rarity the first "Montanus" letter has been reproduced in facsimile together with the second page of the paper which contains a remarkable letter addressed to Napoleon and giving an account of an "air ship" just invented, which is of great interest in connection with the efforts now being made to perfect this invention for war purposes.

They [the Volunteers] did not rescue their country from tyranny, but they rescued her from the calumnies of her oppressors. In their virtue they illustrated her title to liberty; in their errors and misfortune they demonstrated the causes of their debasement. They have left to posterity an illustrious example in victory and a miserable lesson in defeat.

T. A. Emmet.

On investigating the political relation between England and Ireland we must not be led away by any formal grants of liberty, by any formal conveyances of constitution, by any pompous claims of rights, by any solemn protest against wrong. A country always suffering, though always complaining and deprecating its sufferings, affords but an odd idea of independence.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter IX

A letter from "The Press", "Montanus" (Thomas Addis Emmet), addressed to "Satanides" (the British commander in chief in Ireland,—the Earl of Carhampton) with his epitaph—An article by an unknown writer on the condition of Ireland; attributed by many to Mr. Emmet, as it was generally held that no other man in public life at that time in Ireland, had a more profound knowledge of the economic condition of the country—Possibly written at his dictation, as the article expresses fully the well known views held by Mr. Emmet.

"MONTANUS" TO "SATANIDES"

NEVER supposed you would have become the object of a public address unless the muse of satire, who flies at all game, had strength fit to publish a continuation of the "Diaboliad". I never supposed that you would have arrived at the bad eminence of becoming an object for the justice of your country. I did even suppose, from my knowledge of your propensities and habits of life, that you might be fated to perish by the hands of some Bravo in a Brothel, or to consume away, by the noisome effects of low and vulgar debauchery. An untimely end might seem, by a just dispensation, an appropriate attendant on your house; yet your Father, to the inconceivable regret and sorrow of his pious heir, attained a sound, if not a good old age; and died in quiet, notwithstanding your daily and hourly maledictions on his head. This old gentleman hated you most cordially; for he was shrewd and sensible and knew you well; it is probable he marked the dawning of all these talents which have now reached their meridian. He saw in you the worthy representative of a name immortalized in the black catalogue of traitors, and destined to furnish a parricidal race, for the affliction and slavery of their native land. How must the spirit of your Sire exult, if he can gain a moment's respite from his prison-house, to look abroad on the affairs of men. How must he rejoice to see the Son, whom he detested and despised, running the rapid race of infamy and earning for himself an untimely end; even now he anticipates the moment, when no acts of indemnity shall avail, to screen the criminal; he sees you gathered to your forefathers in the place allotted for the shades of a Tristan l'Ermite, a Borgia, an Alva or a Kirk.

Your name was heretofore borne by a numerous clan in this country; when your notorious ancestor perpetrated the deed of treachery; the honesty of his humble connections execrated the treason, disclaimed the traitor, and renounced their family name, as contaminated. The name has continued to be a term of reproach, a designation of perfidy; not even the ennobling hand of Majesty could restore it to good order; it has

lost no portion of infamy; in your keeping it may soon perish wholly from among men, to be no more remembered or remembered only as a word of reproach and reprobation.

Yet, do not flatter yourself, that you shall be consigned to oblivion. You shall be remembered and recorded in the annals of this country as an apostle of atrocity, a founder of the system of terror. To you may be traced back the reign of outrage and brutality; a reign under which your feelings and your talents qualify you to be an ingenious minister in the cabinet, an active agent in the field. You dared by your single authority to supersede all the dearest rights of the people; you trampled on the then existing laws; you dared on mere suspicion and surmise to depopulate whole districts. You have introduced the precedent of grievous punishment, without form of trial, or proof of guilt; and what punishment! what must be the heart of the savage wretch who delivered it? the youth, the stay and comfort of their drooping age, was torn from his infirm and decrepit parents; the affectionate husband was torn from his shrieking and disconsolate wife; the laborious and protecting father, from his famishing and helpless infants; the simple peasant or the sober citizen was torn from his cottage, the abode of industry and peace, and cast among the sweepings of gaols—the refuse of mankind among felons and malefactors of every description; here, while nothing but execrations and blasphemy; while all the expressions of blasted depravity stunned his ears, he remained weary months secluded from the air and light of heaven, in the narrow compass of his watery dungeon; and this situation, which a negro slave might pity, he exchanged only to remove to pestilential climates, where with every breath he drew he inhaled perdition.

The most dreadful exhibitions lose much of their horror by frequency; the system of arbitrary imprisonment in marine dungeons is become both the law of the land and the order of the day. We are familiarised to it by use; but it cannot, it must not be forgotten, that you were the inventor of the system; that to terrify into silent submission an opprest and injured people you first introduced a new species of punishment, even worse than death.

The learned judge who passed in circuit through the province immediately after your merciful exploits of pacification, not only viewed them with indignation, as a sound Lawyer, and friend to the Constitution, but also as a good citizen and discerning politician, foresaw the fatal tendency of your ferocities and the spirit which they tended to excite; and with great propriety, called on the grand jury of the county, which was the chief scene of your enormities to find bills of indictment against you. Had these people whom he addresst possessed good sense and spirit and pursued the directions of the upright magistrate, you had stood your trial, as an atonement to the wounded constitution, and outraged justice of the land. In that case, what evils might have been averted! instead of a prosecution, a bill of indemnity followed your acts. Your invention was applauded, and past into law. The cruelty of the tyger, the barbarity of the negro-driver, became the principles of legislation. To you then, as the author and inventor of new and hitherto unknown ferocities, the first assailants in the war of extermination against the friends of liberty, must be ascribed all the subsequent outrage and calamity, the dreadful exhibitions of horrors of which Ireland has been made, and I fear must fatally continue, the bloody theatre.

Were you not the inventor, the projector and prototype of cruelty? have you not avowed a responsibility? Have you not taken on yourself the completion of what you first planned? have you not realized your own ideas of coercion? To you doubtless we must attribute the precision and promptitude, with which all the measures of imprisonment, banishment, witchery, and conflagation have been executed, by that power, which now expounds the law, and administers the police of this country.

From their chief or commander proceeds the conduct of the soldiery. The army has of late been too often stained with innocent blood; should we inquire the cause which has made the troops in this country the organs (I hope the reluctant organs) of barbarities disgraceful to human nature—will it not be found *Thou Art The Man?*

Few times, or emergencies, could have rendered your vices or ill qualities an object

of notice, and terrific regard to the public, or given you an opportunity of doing much public mischief, and earning much public odium. It required the prevalence of an administration, shallow, weak, atrocious and actuated by a determined enmity to this country, to snatch talents like yours from obscurity, and give them a mischievous activity. The attention of such rulers was naturally turned toward you by a recollection of your early fame, for intrepidity in wrong, when a neighbouring kingdom saw in you the officious instrument, in a violation of the sacred rights of election. This early transaction showed a meddling, adventurous spirit, supported, I will admit by some address and courage, and unmixed with deep reflection or solid judgment to make you apprehensive of consequences. For these qualities were you selected to superintend the crusade against the peasantry of Ireland; to mature the establishment of martial law; perhaps to complete the annexation of this island to Great Britain, as a conquered and enslaved province, under the plausible name and form of an Union.

Your life it seems has been menaced. I do not wonder that when the whole private and public existence of nearly half a century have been employed to the detriment of society, the death of such a person should appear more beneficial to his country than his life. You may exult in the triumph over two miserable wretches; you may call the yeomanry of the metropolis to witness your victory; you may degrade them into the co-mates, or rather the satellites of the executioner, but shall this secure you from the claims of justice and the fears of death? The grand jury of a servile country might refuse to find bills of indictment against you; but should the blood of slaughtered thousands arise against you; should the cries of suffering myriads at length be heard; should you be presented, by the grand inquests of public opinion, as the occult cause of civil sedition, the prime mover of national calamity, the determined foe of human nature, what protection will you find in the system of terror, and the power of the sword? An unknown hand smote your ancestor in the face of day, in the crowded streets of the metropolis. It is truly said that the man who holds cheap his own life, has in his power the existence of any other person; but it were, indeed, to be lamented that you should perish by the stroke of private justice, and defraud the executioner of his right, and the nation of her example. Were you this moment surrounded by the justly enraged populace; were their arms raised to inflict the deserved doom, I would throw myself among their ponyards—I would place myself at your side—I would intercede for your hated life—I would say, "Suffer him to pollute the air a little longer; degrade not the majestic exertions of the people by employing them on so base an object. The day comes when justice shall prevail; when Ireland shall raise her head from the dust, and perform a solemn sacrifice to the constitution. On that awful day of rejoicing to the good and terror to the wicked, a few victims may be required, and this wretch may be included in the number, and meet the ignominious doom of a traitor". Then, perhaps, should the public erect a monument near the place of execution to perpetuate the memory of your infamy and punishment; it may bear an inscription of the following tenor.

EPITAPH

This narrow space,
Beneath the gibbet on which he died,
Confines the body of SATANIDES
A man of colour,
Whose injuries to his country were most extensive,
Whose infamy was unbounded.
In his earlier days
He was notorious for want of duty to his natural parents;
Time matured his ungrateful and unfilial qualities,

And he became the parricide of the country that gave him birth.
Having exhausted the sink of private vice,
And sounded the depths of political depravity,
It became doubtful
Whether his private or his public life were the most odious and contemptible.
The disposition of a traitor he inherited by descent;
A sovereign contempt of honest fame,
And a rooted abhorrence of every virtue,
He acquired by his own industry.
His intellectual powers were not mean,
But being joined with a bad heart
They served only to render his vices and crimes more extensive and atrocious.
He possessed a considerable share of courage;
But this being accompanied with a want of judgment,
And a dereliction of principle,
Became political rashness and desperate perseverance in guilt.
He received the full advantage of that which he had laboured to banish from Ireland,

A TRIAL BY JURY;

But the proofs of his guilt were clear,
Punishment soon followed,
And he died regretted by a conquered and opprobrious faction.

READER,

Think not the life and death of this man unimportant to society;
Providence delights to bring good out of evil,
And acts by means inscrutable to human wisdom.
The meddling atrocity of this malefactor,
And the blind sanguinary rage
Of the weak and wicked ADMINISTRATION that employed him,
Were powerfully instrumental
In the rousing an opprest and injured

NATION

TO VINDICATE ITS FREEDOM.

Montanus.

This epitaph is suggested for the Earl of Carhampton, who is designated as "Satanides".

The following article by an unknown author, appeared in "The Press", November 23rd, 1797, and by many was attributed to the pen of Mr. Emmet:

The lot of Ireland is cast—it is no longer a secret—sentence has been pronounced against the people, and execution is the order of the day.

The system of disarming the people, of forbidding them to communicate in numbers by day, and imprisoning them within their houses after sunset, now assumes a more formidable shape and hoists its real colours, and marks the true designs of the British Cabinet in Ireland.

It is impossible for the people to doubt any longer for a moment the destiny appointed them; and it is idle and ridiculous nonsense to talk any more about British Constitution, Irish independence, political liberty, or civil immunity; those may have been proper topics for a past and may be so for a future generation, but to the present

where is the man who will say they are not lost, if he is not himself lost to every sentiment of shame, of truth, of common sense.

The North; the most protestant, the most free, independent, wealthy, and civilized quarter of Ireland; first split into factions by ministerial machinations, then disarmed and over-run by military forces, persecuted by spies, informers, and perjured prosecutions, now crouches at the feet of a British soldier; who encouraged and set on by those who should be the guardians of their country, exercises with relentless hate the dominion of fire, sword and the gibbet.

To the southward, if we turn our eyes, similar scenes challenge our horror. In the county Westmeath upwards of three hundred houses of the unfortunate tenantry were burned within the last six months; and their miserable inhabitants bayoneted, shot, hanged, or fled by the light of their blazing cottages from the fury of their butchers, to seek asylum among the beasts of the field, with no covering but the vault of Heaven, and robed with the cold earth.

Similar horrors pervade the counties of Carlow and Wicklow; fire and sword, slaughter and devastation, rape, massacre, and plunder everywhere stare the hapless peasantry in the face.

The counties not yet delivered up to military outrage may contemplate tamely if they will *Veluti in Speculo* their approaching doom in that of the counties already consigned for destruction.

What course then is left for the people of this devoted country to steer? Does loyalty require of them to stand while their last means of defence are wrested from them, their houses burned, their wives and daughters violated, and their throats cut? If it does, hard indeed is the lot of the loyal.

Had Hoche and his ferocious soldiers landed amongst us last Christmas and practiced such outrages without resistance, we would have been proclaimed through England and through Europe as a nation of the veriest cowards under Heaven.

Have then the people a taste and fancy to gratify in chusing the nation by which they are to be cut down? Is it with them loyalty and national spirit to resist the same conflagration and murder at the hands of Frenchmen, which they tamely await and calmly submit to at the hands of a Welshman or a scat?

Militia men of Ireland, some of you have been persuaded to embrue your hands in Irish blood, the blood of your kindred and countrymen. It was against the enemies of your country, and in defence of your homes, your kindred, your wives, and children, and your liberties, you took up arms. Are you sure that you are not at this moment sentenced for transportation to another country and condemned to abandon your own to its worst and most barbarous enemies? Where is your alternative?

Yeomen of Ireland, are you prepared to turn your arms against your country, or to relinquish these arms and tamely submit to slavery or massacre the moment you refuse?

Besotted indeed must you be, men of Ireland, if you slumber any longer in a false security, or hesitate to decide on what conduct to adopt against the enemies of your country, and the most fatal and inveterate foes of your king!

No one could read closely the letter of "Montanus" and then read the article just given without being impressed with the similarity of style. Either Mr. Emmet was the author, or it was written by some one in close relation to him at his dictation.

The writer is fully convinced that about this time Pitt and Napoleon had come to some understanding for their own benefit and possibly this existed from the beginning. During 1797, and after the mutiny at the Nore, England, was so paralysed with uncertainty as to the disloyal condition of her navy and army, and with other troubles at home, that unless Pitt was certain that Napoleon had no intention of aiding the Irish people, he would never have

dared to institute the course he did at this time in Ireland. Of all people having a history, the English are the most quick-witted and unscrupulous in state-craft, and Pitt might well have been the author of some scheme by which it was agreed that Napoleon would not invade England, or afford the Irish any material help. Had Napoleon been in earnest with a purpose of conquering England, she could have been crushed at any time and Ireland given a free hand, for certainly Napoleon had an accurate knowledge of England's helpless condition.

It is stated in Grattan's "Memoirs", written by his son:

Every effort in Parliament to remedy the grievances of the nation was useless, and it may appear singular that the question of Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation should have been brought forward by Mr. Ponsonby. The circumstances which led to this were as follows:—In December 1796 a public meeting was held at Belfast and William Sampson, Arthur O'Connor, R. Symes and Mr. Tennent, with five others, all United Irishmen, were appointed to draw up resolutions to be laid before the lord lieutenant. They set forth:—

"That the imperfect state of the representation in the House of Commons is the primary cause of the discontent.

"That the public mind would be restored to tranquillity and every impending danger averted by such a reform as would secure population and property their due weight, without distinction on account of religion.

"That a declaration fairly manifested on the part of the Government, to comply with the just desires of the people, would produce the happiest effects, as it would conciliate the affections of the people, whose object was reform alone, and thus bid defiance to foreign and domestic enemies."

These resolutions were laid before the lord lieutenant, and if they had met with a favourable reception and had been promptly acted on they might have prevented the catastrophe that followed, and there would have been neither insurrection, invasion, nor Union, and the breach between the King and the people would have closed. This is distinctly set forth in the memoir delivered to Government by O'Connor, Emmet and McNeven. But that did not seem to be the object of the Government party; they wished to carry the Legislative Union; and accordingly their writers assailed these resolutions and their authors with unmeasured abuse, and poured upon both all their indignation and anger, and declared that no terms should be kept with such men. Thus they made it appear that attachment to the people and their liberties was not meant to imply attachment to the Government, but that loyalty should have ulterior views.

Mr. Grattan had alluded to a Union in some of his late speeches; and it now began seriously to be entertained by the minister in Ireland. It had long since been entertained by a party in England, as appears from the letters of Lord Shelburne, in 1782, and from the communications of the Duke of Portland, although less distinctly, in 1795. With this view Parliamentary reform had been constantly rejected; these wily politicians knowing, that if the abuse of the institution of Parliament rendered the body little valued or respected the people might become indifferent whether it should be retained or lost, and thus their project of Union would have a certain and easy victory.

The leading men of the Opposition, therefore, attached much importance to the Belfast resolutions, and before Mr. Ponsonby brought forward his plan of reform in May 1747, Emmet's party sought to open a communication with them. Mr. Ponsonby sent for Mr. Grattan, and he, Curran, and the Ponsonbys met in order to confer on the prudence of an interview with Emmet and his friends [this interview was refused by Grattan and others, as has been shown elsewhere]. They wished the latter to join on the question of reform, give up annual elections and universal suffrage and acquiesce in the plan about to be submitted to Parliament. To this some of Emmet's party were disposed; and

Neilson, who was one of them, and well acquainted with the people of the North, their feelings, and wishes, was understood to assent. Mr. Ponsonby thought it would considerably strengthen his case if he was authorized to declare that the discontented party had offered to be satisfied and to withdraw their extravagant demands if the Government would assent to the proposed reform. Accordingly, the leaders of the Opposition discussed the point: they sat late, talked a good deal about the proposed interview, some doubting the wisdom of it, and they broke up without deciding anything.

However, Mr. Grattan, on his return home, made up his mind not to hold the meeting and sent off Mr. Ponsonby, advising them against such a step, as it probably would lead to no good, and might place them in an embarrassing situation. He very likely thought that Government would not yield and neither party listen to terms. Certainly, with such a party in power as Lord Camden and Lord Clare, this conclusion was right, but with any other it would have been fatal; for on a review of the whole case, it may be said that the United Irishmen were sincere. The North had relaxed its efforts against the Government; great difficulties were placed in the way of the United men; and above all, they found that they could not depend on each other; or they would gladly have listened to any reasonable terms of accommodation. In his evidence Emmet says that if the reform had been adopted, the Executive Directory of the United Irishmen would have sent a messenger to France to tell them "that the difference between the people and the government was adjusted, and not to attempt a second invasion".

Thus it may fairly be said that all the misfortunes that befell the country were attributable to Lords Camden and Clare; they lost the opportunity of recalling the United Irishmen to a sense of loyalty and of duty. This proceeding having ended—and from the evidence of the United party, it appears it was the only connexion ever subsisting between them and the members of the Opposition—Mr. Ponsonby brought forward his motion on the subject of reform, but he could only muster 30 to 117; thus ended this measure, which Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponsonby and all the leading patriots had so long abridged, yet even at this late period the United men declared would have satisfied the country. The Opposition finding their labours useless and the task of opposing the violent measures of Government hopeless, formed the resolution to retire; and on the debate on the motion of reform, Mr. Grattan declared their intention no longer to attend the House of Commons. His advice to Government and his remonstrance with them in their violent conduct, extorted praise even from those to whom it was addressed; and among others from Lord Castlereagh, who complimented him on the manner and temper with which he had treated the subject.

The members of the Church of England, not exceeding one tenth of the people, possessed almost the whole of the property of the nation, which they inherited by odious and polluted titles. For a century they had nearly engrossed the profits and patronage of the Church, the law, the revenue, the army, the navy, the magistracy, and the corporations of Ireland.

T. A. Emmet.

In a country so beggared and debilitated by a foreign parliament, this domestic legislature [the Irish Parliament] blinded by religious bigotry, or moved by baser self-interest, enacted laws ruinous to the peace, the morals, and the industry of its people. The Catholics, instead of reposing on the bosom of their country, were forced to cling for safety to the mercy of the Crown. The policy of disunion became completely triumphant.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter X

A large majority of the Irish people at length become organized as United Irishmen and, to a great extent, through the efforts of Mr. Emmet—Mr. Emmet becomes the chief leader—The Irish organization unable to accomplish its purpose in consequence of the number of spies and informers who had even become supposed leaders in its ranks—Lord Edward Fitzgerald—His relations with Thomas Reynolds—The Government at length arrests all the leaders, but without legal evidence on which to bring Emmet to trial—His imprisonment—Conditions in English prisons—Death of Lord Edward—Government negotiations with the Irish leaders.

PROVOCATIONS, one after another, with the most wanton cruelty were inflicted by the representatives of the English government in Ireland, on individuals and communities, as law-abiding as in any portion of England. For months the people remained quiet and patiently suffering with each increasingly severer infliction. With the exception of those in sympathy with England or in the employ of the Government, individuals in every station of life were made to suffer until all were roused to such a condition of exasperation that it became most difficult for the leaders of the United Irish organization to keep them from a general outbreak. The people were at length united to a degree never reached before nor at any subsequent period in their desire for a total separation from England.

Under these conditions, it now seems that had any decisive action been taken by the United Irishmen during 1797, Ireland could have gained her independence. The people would have had no difficulty in obtaining all the arms they needed, and in strengthening themselves at every point, so that shortly they would have been impregnable against any attack, as England during that period was helpless. The Irishmen in her army and navy had been tampered with, and would almost to a man have joined their countrymen, and even the officers were divided in their sympathies. Unfortunately, it was impossible to settle upon any definite course acceptable to a majority, in consequence of the existing discord and diversity of opinion. The organization was paralyzed in action, owing to the number of spies in important positions, who were unsus-

pected in consequence of their apparent zeal for the welfare of their country. These interlopers took so active a part and were so well-represented in every committee, that they were able to prevent any compromise being made. The Anglo-Irish government at that time exercised more power or influence in directing the affairs of the United Irishmen than those who represented the best interests of the country.

It was evident to Mr. Emmet, who was at the head of the organization, that Pitt had determined to force the people into rebellion. He certainly recognized it to be a sound policy to act contrary to the course wished for by the Opposition, and was able by his personal influence to hold the people in check for nearly eighteen months, but he was unable to prevent a change being made in the organization by which it became a secret society, with an oath on initiation, while some effort was made to establish a military organization. As it was thought that these changes would be an agency for accomplishing Mr. Pitt's purpose, they were easily made with the aid of the spies. Thus Mr. Emmet's purpose and influence were greatly weakened. As he had deceived himself into the belief that the necessary reform could be gained by constitutional measures, he had been able to direct his course and influence with the leaders and people, in punishment of which the Government employed the most extreme measures they were able to use against him, thus satisfying their resentment at their failure to convict him of treason.

Webb in his biographical sketch of Mr. Emmet states:

> Upon [Arthur] O'Connor's arrest in 1797 Emmet took his place on the Directory.

This is an error, as O'Connor, Emmet and Macneven, with two other persons who never served, were appointed to the Directory at the same time. O'Connor took no part in the work, as he never favored any action unless the proposal originated with himself. The result was that for nearly two years Thomas Addis Emmet directed the affairs of the Society of United Irishmen with the full aid and concurrence of Dr. Macneven, who was a devoted friend. During this period Mr. Emmet opposed receiving aid from France or taking an armed issue with England until, all peaceful measures having failed, he became reconciled to a separation from England.

The position taken by him made an enemy of O'Connor, who afterwards denounced Mr. Emmet as a coward. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was the only military leader in the organization, although O'Connor considered himself to be one, and for months before the leaders of the United Irishmen were arrested, Fitzgerald and O'Connor were the only leaders who were in favor of forcing the issue with the aid of France. Yet Fitzgerald, by nature lacking in decision of character, did not fully support O'Connor, the reason doubtless being his knowledge that the organization was totally unprepared to gain their purposes by any military action. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was a man respected by every one and beloved by all with whom he ever had any personal intercourse. He was the soul of honor and appreciated to the fullest extent the obligation he had incurred when he allowed himself to be persuaded to accept

the position of military leader of the movement. He knew that he could accomplish nothing if called on to act. Fortunately the will of the majority of those in whom he had confidence were in favor of delay, while the members were greatly divided as to receiving any aid from France. The effect was to paralyze all efficiency of action. Unfortunately Fitzgerald, being no judge of men, had surrounded himself with others as inefficient as himself; for though he had the opportunity to gain a practical knowledge of his profession while in the English army, he was always too busily occupied in love-making to avail himself of it. Thus the Irish people drifted through the year 1797, losing an opportunity never to occur again.

Towards the close of the year Lord Edward Fitzgerald accidently met a gentleman by position, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, with whom he had but a slight acquaintance, although he was a distant relative. Reynolds held a good position in the social life of Dublin, he had taken an active part in the Catholic movement and was a United Irishman, although he had had no share in the management of the movement. We now know that Reynolds had, from the beginning been in the pay of the English government as a spy, but it had been for special service. The meeting with this man was the turning-point in Lord Edward's life, and the information given by him to Reynolds enabled the Government to wipe out in one morning all connection between Ireland and Great Britain. Most persons would have been somewhat on their guard in forming an intimacy with even a well-known man, who for some reason had continued in the background. Lord Holland, the cousin of Fitzgerald stated:

> I could never find that there was a single man against whom he felt the slightest personal animosity. He made allowance for the motives and even temptations of those whose action he detested.

Fitzgerald forced an intimacy on this man, and on his endorsement and by his influence, he became a prominent leader. Through his information the English troops were able to seize nearly all the arms and military stores which had been collected, and of which Lord Fitzgerald alone had any knowledge as to details. At this time the government suddenly decided to force the United Irishmen to open rebellion by an arrest of all the leaders and this was easily accomplished, as Reynolds was a member of the committee of deputies from different parts of the country who were to meet at the house of Oliver Bond in Dublin on March 12th, 1798, and these were all arrested and thrown into prison. Lord Edward Fitzgerald happened not to have been present, having been prevented by some accidental cause. He was thus able to escape and was in hiding for some time, until his place of concealment was betrayed, when on his arrest he was wounded and died in Newgate soon after. Reynolds was of course absent, but at the time he was in attendance at another meeting where he was elected with absolute trust to a high position.

Webb states:

> There was no specific charge against Emmet, but he was regarded rightly as one of the most formidable opponents of the government.

He was not present at the meeting held at Bond's, but was arrested that morning at his own residence. Mr. Emmet acknowledged that dependence to any degree on French assistance would be ultimately fatal, and that Bonaparte was the worst enemy Ireland ever had. After his arrest he was taken to Kilmainham, and shortly after to Newgate. Within a few days Mrs. Macaubry, living in the North of Ireland, wrote to her kinsman, Dr. Robert Emmet, to ascertain if the report were true regarding his son's arrest. His answer makes it evident that he was ignorant at least of the extent to which his son was implicated. He wrote:—

My dear Mrs. Macoubry:

The account you read in the papers of my son's arrest is but too true! He is committed to close confinement, nor can any of his family be permitted to see him.

I have not, however, the slightest apprehension as to his conduct: so that a short time will terminate matters I hope to his honour and enlargement. I thank you for your friendly feeling for him, and am your affectionate kinsman,

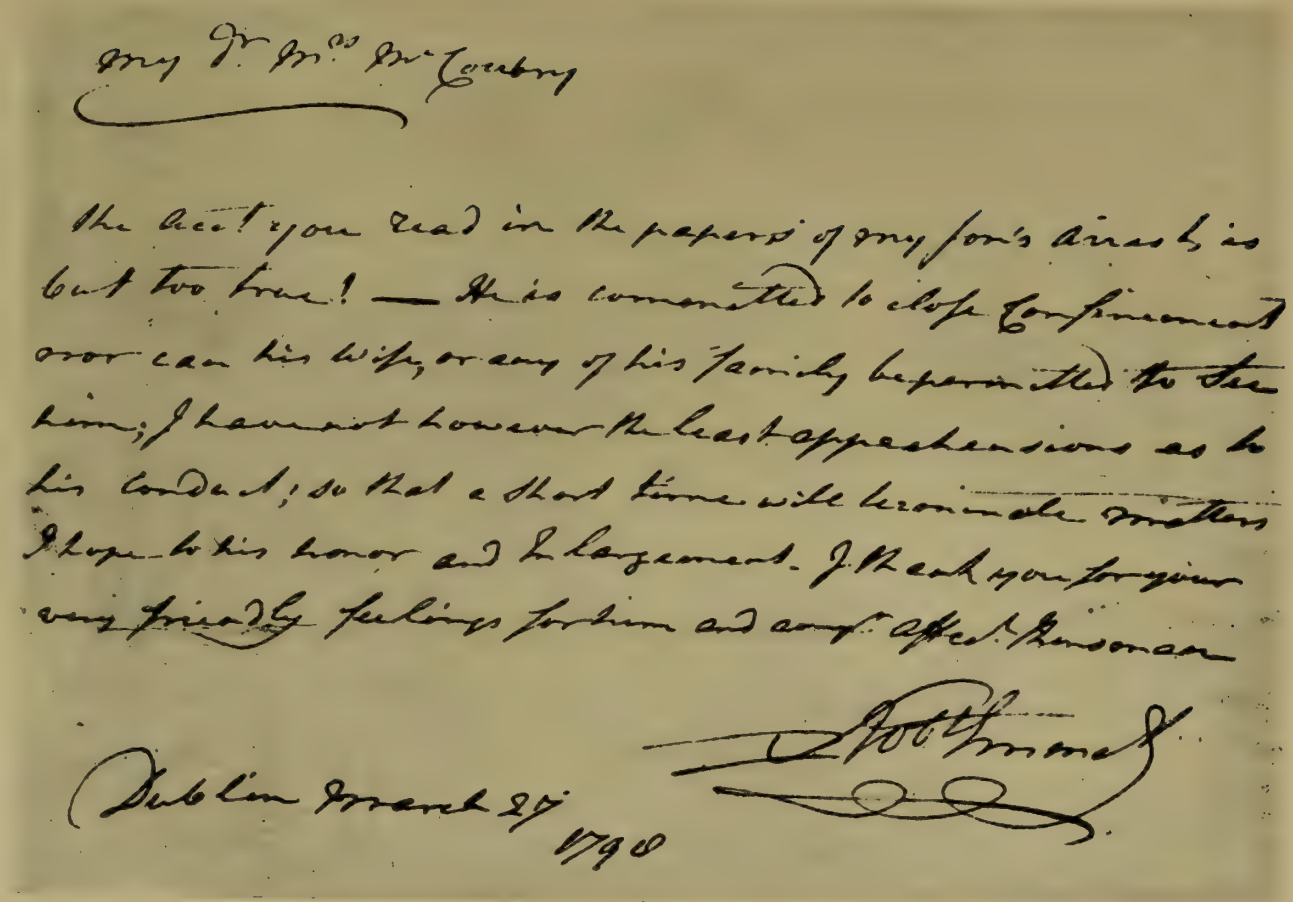
Robert Emmet.

Dublin, March 27th, 1798.

As a matter of record, Mr. Emmet was not arrested by the sheriff as the other leaders had been, but by Alderman Carlton, and left in his custody for several hours, remaining in his house until he was taken to Kilmainham. At the time of his arrest Mr. Emmet resided on Stephen's Green, in the third house from York Street. The present College of Surgeons on the corner of York Street was built in 1827, leaving a narrow passageway to a brewery in the rear between the college and Dr. Robert Emmet's residence. The doctor's house was about forty feet in width when he first occupied it, but on the marriage of his son Thomas Addis, the house was divided and reconstructed into two residences, the doctor selecting the one next to the College of Surgeons for his own use.

Immediately on the arrest of the Irish leaders, who had organized the United Irishmen with the expectation of obtaining, by peaceful measures, the changes necessary for the future welfare of Ireland, the direction of Irish affairs passed into other hands. The new leaders resorted to arms, as Pitt expected, and so gave the excuse he regarded as necessary to establish the Union between Ireland and England. The Irish government soon found that in the imprisonment of the original leaders, it had over-reached itself, owing to the want of all evidence to secure convictions, particularly of those who had strictly followed the policy recommended by T. A. Emmet as the chief executive. It, however, carried its point in creating a civil war, as the new leaders readily fell into the trap laid for them. Dr. Madden thus graphically describes the situation:—

As the time approached, the dreadful notes of preparation were manifest in all parts of the country. In the interior the peasantry began to move in large masses to some central points. Night after night they were known to be proceeding along unfrequented roads to their places of rendezvous. The cabins throughout large tracts of country, were either deserted, or found to contain only women and children. The lower classes that



My Dr Mrs McCreery

the Acct you read in the papers of my son's arrest, is but too true! — He is committed to close Confinement nor can his Wife, or any of his family be permitted to see him; I have not however the least apprehensions as to his Conduct, so that a short time will bring the matters I hope to his honor and Enlargement. I Beck you to give my friendly feelings to him and am yr. affect. Prisoner

Robt Emmet

Dublin March 29 1798

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Facsimile of a letter written by Dr. Robert Emmet on the arrest of his son Thomas Addis

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

NEWGATE PRISON, DUBLIN

were in the habit of flocking to the cities for employment, were no longer to be found in their usual places of resort. A general consternation prevailed. Even the measures taken on the part of the government promised no security. On the contrary, from their arbitrary and despotic character, they only tended to exasperate the spirit of disaffection. Martial law was proclaimed, and the people were sent to the prisons, until they could contain no more. Prison-ships were then employed, and many of the conspirators were informally executed, and many who were innocent were put to death in a summary manner. Deprived of their chosen leaders, the management of the revolutionary councils fell into the hands of less competent men. After a short but sanguinary struggle, some partial successes in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, the insurgents were defeated and entirely dispersed at the action on Vinegar Hill, by the forces under the command of General Lake, and in a short time afterward the rebellion was entirely crushed. A French force of about eleven hundred men, at length landed at Killala, on the northwest coast of Ireland, on the 12th of August; but it was too late, and in less than a fortnight they surrendered to Lord Cornwallis.

For some time after the imprisonment of the State prisoners and while they were yet confined at Newgate* there was no restraint enacted towards them beyond their being confined to the building. They were allowed free intercourse among themselves. Mr. Emmet soon began to occupy his mind and leisure and wrote an essay entitled: "Observations on the Causes and Consequences of the Conquest of Ireland by Britain, from 1771 to 1798, written in Ireland and intended to be presented in manuscript to the Right Hon. Ch. Jas. Fox."

Such was the apparently free license given to every one for the destruction of life, as if with the purpose of exterminating the Irish people and to a degree greater than ever existed in France, that the leaders, to stop this slaughter, to a great extent of innocent people, offered the Government to use their influence in checking the desultory warfare many of the less prominent leaders had been able to keep in active operation among the mountains, in defiance of every effort made by the Government to check it. This subject will be treated at length hereafter. But the prisoners issued a broadside to show that the Government had acted in bad faith and that the official publication had misstated the terms of the agreement. They were immediately subjected to ex-

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*Newgate, facing on Halston Street with Green Street Court House in the rear, was the Bastille of Dublin, and was pulled down on account of its infamous reputation. Over the door shown in the print was a stout iron hook to which Major Sirr and Trevor, the jailer, strung up many a patriotic Irishman; thus they dispensed with the labor of erecting a gallows, for which, nevertheless, the Government was charged. The open window to the right and just above the entrance, looked into a room or cell in which Lord Edward Fitzgerald was confined and where he died. Moore, in his "Life of Lord Fitzgerald", shows that the family of Lord Edward complained bitterly of the neglect and cruel treatment to which the young man had been subjected. Lord Henry Fitzgerald, a brother, wrote a letter to Lord Camden, the Lord Lieutenant and the man responsible for the frightful crimes and cruelty at that time being inflicted on Irish prisoners for carrying out the policy of William Pitt, his master.

Lord Henry wrote:

"He felt ill treatment, but he communed with his God, and his God did not forsake him. But, Oh! my Lord, what a day was Saturday for him! On Saturday my poor forsaken brother, who had but the night and the next day to live, was disturbed:—he heard the noise of the execution of Clinch at the prison door. He asked eagerly 'What noise is that?' and certainly in some manner or other he knew it; for,—O God! what am I to write?—from that time he lost his senses; most part of the night he was raving mad; a keeper from a mad-house was necessary. Now, my Lord, shall I scruple to declare to the world—I wish I could to the four corners of it—that amongst you your ill-treatment has murdered my brother as much as if you had put a pistol to his head!"

Lord Edward Fitzgerald died June 4th, 1798.

It seems to have been the custom, after a convivial noon-day meal, for the officials to assemble at the inner door of the prison and with considerable "horse play" to hand up to the executioner the prisoner who was to be "made away with" on that day. A constant source of merriment was found on each occasion in the difficulty they experienced lifting the prisoner by the legs and at the same time holding him so that the rope around his neck might be secured to the hook.

amination by both Houses of Parliament; they were closely confined to their quarters and each one placed in a separate room; their persons were searched and all their papers and correspondence seized. Fortunately the essay written by Mr. Emmet had been sent outside to be engrossed and bound for presentation to Mr. Fox, the leader of the party then politically opposed to the government, and was thus saved. At the time of this search, Mr. Emmet had made some progress in the writing of a memoir showing the condition of Ireland as judged by the United Irishmen, but this was carried off by the Government officials. This was a great loss, for had the material been preserved it would have been the means of showing how important a part Mr. Emmet took in the early movement of '98, the details of which are now so little known.

When the first proposition was made by the prisoners to the Government that some course should be agreed upon to correct the frightful condition to which the country had been reduced, the battles of New Ross, Arklow, and Vinegar Hill had been lost, and the English had been successful in every quarter. It is said "Lord Charlemont without any solicitation on the part of the prisoners meditated a plan of retreat for those in confinement, and a conciliation to arrest the work of massacre and death". Mr. Francis Dobbs, a former Governor of North Carolina, a member of Parliament, a man of humane feelings and a friend to the government, visited the prisoners in their respective rooms and avowed his wish to facilitate an arrangement equally advantageous to the government and to the revolutionists. Everything had failed and hope was extinguished at least for a season. The State prisoners, therefore, were anxious to arrest the tide of misery that was every day swelling, and which had already overspread the country like a flood. They reciprocated the wishes expressed by Mr. Dobbs, and soon they were visited by Mr. Secretary Cook. Lord Cornwallis had now assumed the government of Ireland, and much was hoped from his clemency. When Dr. Macneven, a man of whom I shall particularly speak in the course of this memoir, was visited in the prison of Kilmainham by Mr. Secretary Cook, with a bluntness and independence peculiar and honorable to his character, he informed the secretary that he would have nothing to do with the negotiation unless the prisoners had the pledge of Lord Cornwallis himself. When Mr. Cook retired, Mr. Emmet, Dr. Macneven and Mr. Sweetman had a consultation and it was agreed to open a conference with Lord Castlereagh, then the minister for Ireland. In the course of these steps it had been mutually contemplated that on the one hand Government was to stop the effusion of blood; on the other, that the prisoners were to reveal the main features of the intended revolution, and state the extent and nature of the intended connection with France; but names were not to be demanded or given under any circumstances. Before any interview had taken place between the prisoners and Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Dobbs again visited the prisoners and stated that the government demanded *names;* then, said the prisoners, there's an end to the negotiation; our friends shall never be exposed by any disclosure of ours.

The Government then gave up the hope of obtaining names. The prisoners

were permitted to have some intercourse and they unanimously appointed three agents to act on their behalf: Mr. Emmet, Dr. Macneven, and Mr. (Arthur) O'Connor, he who first distinguished himself in 1795 by his bold and unexpected speech in the Irish House of Commons on the Catholic question. On the twenty-ninth of July, 1798, Mr. Emmet, Dr. Macneven and Mr. O'Connor had their interview in Dublin Castle with Lord Castlereagh, Lord Chancellor Clare, and Mr. Secretary Cook, and entered upon what is called the Treaty of 1798. The writer will allow Mr. Emmet to speak for himself through his narrative as it is reproduced in the following chapter.

The Irish were reputed aliens and enemies in their native land; it was adjudged no felony to kill them in time of peace. Law did neither protect their life nor revenge their death.

T. A. Emmet.

The selfish and malignant passions are so powerful in man that it requires no uncommon effort of genius or dexterity of management to make them the instruments of his weakness and dishonor.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XI

Examination of Committee leaders before the Secret Committee of Parliament—Report of examination as revised by Mr. Emmet—The Irish leaders were examined before a Committee from the House of Lords three days after—Agreement between the leaders and the Irish government accepted as being fully satisfactory to both—Later the government publishes an untruthful statement as to the terms—A prompt denial issued by the prisoners—Course of Rufus King as American Minister—Immediate death threatened by the government officials to all the prisoners if a prompt repudiation was not made—All refuse and are immediately placed in solitary confinement—Mr. Emmet treated with exceptional rigor—Every means taken to intimidate the other prisoners but not one yielded—Public opinion, however, had been so trained that the official version was accepted without question—In violation of the agreement, the State prisoners were not allowed to emigrate—Agreed that Mr. Bond, who had been condemned to death, should not be executed, but allowed to emigrate—His sudden death—Quotations from the compact of the State prisoners with the Irish government.

REAT interest seemed to have been created, and after Messrs. Emmet, Macneven and O'Connor had been examined before the Secret Committee from the House of Commons of the Irish Parliament on July 29, 1798, they were allowed to prepare and present a memoir to the Committee bearing the title, "Memoir, or Detailed Statement of the Origin and Progress of the Irish Union: Delivered to the Irish Government by Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor and Macneven, August the 4th, 1798". (See Appendix, Note VIII for this Memoir in full.)

In accord with family tradition this paper was from the pen of T. A. Emmet. A copy of this document is still preserved among the family papers. Its authorship may be inferred from the letter from Russell to Macneven, November 8th, 1802. A copy of this paper is given in the Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh (Vol. I, p. 373).

On August 10th, 1798, the State prisoners were taken to Dublin Castle and there examined individually and in detail before the Committee of Parliament, which examination was printed under the title—"Substance of Thomas Addis Emmet's examination before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, August 10th, 1798, taken by the Government officials and revised by Mr. Emmet". For a copy of this document see Appendix, Note IX. Mr. Emmet having preserved, after his examination, a copy of the minutes which

he was asked by the committee to revise, and which had been taken by one of their official secretaries, we have been furnished with the means for making a comparison with the published official report.

In "The Dublin Magazine" for August, 1798 (p. 131), is given at length the printed report of Mr. Emmet's examination from this committee to the House of Lords. As we have the means of comparison, it will be sufficient to reprint this in corroboration of the charge made by the State prisoners, that honesty and truthfulness were not part of the English policy in Irish affairs. For a copy of this published report see Appendix, Note X.

On August 14th, three days after the examination, he was again summoned and examined at greater length before a second committee. For a copy of "The Examination of Thomas Addis Emmet before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, August 14th, 1798, taken by the Government official and revised by Mr. Emmet", see Appendix, Note XI.

An arrangement was made by the Government with the Irish leaders imprisoned in Dublin, and to the full satisfaction of both parties, that Oliver Bond's life should be spared, although he had been condemned before a packed jury and sentenced to death, and that the prisoners should be liberated and allowed to go into exile, on condition that their influence be exerted with a large number of insurgents who had retreated to the mountains under General Holt and others, and had continued to keep up a desultory resistance; all of whom, it was agreed, should receive a full pardon on surrendering their arms and returning home. The Irish leaders succeeded in securing peace throughout the country, but they were not released from their confinement. Later the Government published a false statement as to the terms of the treaty made with the Irish leaders, which was promptly denied by the prisoners. The Irish Secretary and representative of the English Government made the acknowledgement to some of the prisoners, that the cause of the delay of their release was due to the action of Mr. Rufus King, the American minister, in making an official protest against the leaders being allowed to emigrate to the United States, "as undesirable on account of their republican views". Mr. King was a Federalist, but had acted simply from his individual prejudices. In his letter to Rufus King (written some years later and treated at greater length hereafter) Mr. Emmet stated: "We contradicted the misstatement of the Committee from the House of Lords and Commons of Ireland, by an advertisement written in prison signed by our names and published on the 27th of August". The prisoners were immediately visited by an official of the government, who threatened their lives, without trial, unless they at once made a public contradiction of their statement regarding the terms made with the government. This the prisoners all refused to do, or to make any retraction, and consequently they were each placed again in solitary confinement and were subjected to great privation and severity, the treatment of Mr. Emmet, it will be shown in the following chapter, being especially severe.

As soon as the protest of the prisoners was published, showing the dis-

honesty and fraud practised by the Government, a resolution was introduced into Parliament authorizing the immediate hanging of all the prisoners, which, being voted down, it was proposed as a compromise, that they should be tried without delay by a drum-head court martial to obtain the same result.

Mr. Bond had been tried and convicted and was awaiting the result to be obtained by the efforts of the leaders in quieting the country, when he suddenly died from apoplexy, as claimed by the Government, but almost every one not connected with the Government openly held that he had been poisoned. So general was this opinion that the Government was unable to suppress it. No denial was expressed nor was any attempt made by the Government to investigate the circumstances attending Mr. Bond's death, so that there remained little doubt that this noble patriot was the victim of foul play. It was doubtless safer for the reputation of the English Government's influence, as exercised in Ireland during Pitt's administration, that Mr. Bond should be held to have died of apoplexy than that he should be released, and free to give to the world his own personal experience as a political prisoner in an Irish prison. For information as to what such experience was, the reader is referred to St. John Mason's work in the Appendix, Note XIII.

Dr. Madden was the only person who had an opportunity for fully investigating this question as to the bad faith exercised by the English Government towards the political prisoners and he was the only one who was able personally to interrogate a number of those who could speak from personal knowledge. He is therefore to be accepted as the only writer able to pass with authority and judgment in justice to both parties. To avoid repetition it is better to give Dr. Madden's statement in full, as the writer has in his possession all the material from the original papers of Mr. Emmet to which Madden had access. Up to the present time the writer has been unable to trace other material which passed through Dr. Madden's hands, and is incorporated in his whole narrative, the only authority now accessible.

In the pamphlet from which the report of Emmet's examination (See Appendix, Note XII) is taken, no account is given of the compact with Government, but in Macneven's "Pieces of Irish History" a statement of it is given by him at considerable length. The original draft of a paper on this subject, unpublished and drawn up chiefly by Emmet, exists in the handwriting of himself, Sweetman and Macneven, and as it differs in the mode of treating the matter as well as in style, and in some respects is more precise and simple in its details, it is inserted in this memoir of its principal author, and however fully the subject has been gone into, the importance of it to the character of Emmet would alone be a sufficient reason for its insertion.

The opponents of these men have had the full use of their pens and tongues against the characters, private as well as public, of the men of 1798.

In common fairness we are bound to hear what they have to say in their own defence, or at least in extenuation of their errors. The Musgraves, the Duigenans, the Reynoldses have had their hearing—justice demands one for them, and it is not for those who profess to love justice to refuse it.

The account of the compact of the State prisoners with the Irish Government, taken from the original draft of that document in the handwriting of Thomas Addis Emmet, John Sweetman, and William James Macneven, was drawn up by them in France on their liberation from Fort George, and remained in the possession of John Sweetman. The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of Thomas A. Emmet:—

We the undersigned, until this day State prisoners and in close custody, feel that the first purpose to which we should apply our liberty is to give to the world a short account of a transaction which has been grossly misrepresented and falsified, but respecting which we have been compelled to silence for nearly the last three years. The transaction alluded to is the agreement entered into by us and the other State prisoners with the Irish government, at the close of the month of July, 1798; and we take this step without hesitation because it can in nowise injure any of our friends and former fellow-prisoners, we being among the last victims of perfidy and breach of faith.

From the event of the battles of Antrim and Ballinahinch early in June, it was manifest that the northern insurrection had failed in consolidating itself. The severe battle of Vinegar Hill on the 21st of the same month led to its termination in Leinster; and the capitulation of Ovidstown on the 13th of July,* may be understood as the last appearance in the field of any body capable of serving as a rallying point. In short, the insurrection, for every useful purpose that could be expected from it was at an end; but blood still continued to flow—courts martial, special commissions, and above all sanguinary Orangemen, now rendered doubly malevolent and revengeful from their recent terror, desolated the country, and devoted to death the most virtuous of our countrymen. These were lost to liberty, while she was gaining nothing by the sacrifice.

Such was the situation of affairs when the idea of entering into a compact with the government was conceived by one of the undersigned, and communicated to the rest of us conjointly with the other prisoners confined in the Dublin prisons, by the terms of which compact it was intended that as much be saved and as little given up as possible. It was the more urgently pressed upon our minds and the more quickly matured by the impending fate of two worthy men. Accordingly, on the 24th of July, the State prisoners began to negotiate with Government, and an agreement was finally concluded, by the persons named by their fellow-prisoners, at the Castle of Dublin, and was finally ratified by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Cooke, three of the King's ministers.

In no part of this paper were details or perfect accuracy deemed necessary because the ministers, and particularly Lord Castlereagh frequently and solemnly declared that it should in every part be construed by Government with the utmost liberality and good faith; and particularly the last clause was worded in this loose manner to comply with the express desire of the ministers, who insisted upon retaining to Government the popularity of the measure; but it was clearly and expressly understood, and positively engaged that every leading man not guilty of deliberate murder should be included in the agreement (who should choose to avail himself of it) in as full and ample a manner as the contracting parties themselves, and that there should be a general amnesty with the same exceptions for the body of the people.

We entered into this agreement the more readily because it appeared to us that by it the public cause lost nothing. We knew from the different examinations of the State prisoners before the privy council, and from conversations with ministers that Government was already in possession of all the important knowledge which they could obtain from us. From whence they derived their information was not entirely known to us, but

*The event preceding the massacre of the capitulated body of the United Irishmen on the Rath of the Curragh of Kildare, by the command of Major General Sir James Duff, executed chiefly by the yeomanry cavalry of Captain Bagot, and the Fox-hunting Corps, commanded by Lord Roden.

it is now manifest that Reynolds, McGinn and Hughes, not to speak of the minor informers, had put them in possession of every material fact respecting the internal state of the union; and it was from particular circumstances well known to one of us, and entirely believed by the rest, that its external relations had been betrayed to the English cabinet, through the agency of a foreigner with whom we negotiated.

This was even so little disguised that, on the preceding 12th of March, the contents of a memoir which had been prepared by one of the undersigned at Hamburgh, and transmitted thence to Paris, were minutely detailed to him by Mr. Cooke. Nevertheless those with whom we negotiated seemed extremely anxious for our communications. Their reasons for this anxiety may have been many, but two particularly suggested themselves to our minds; they obviously wished to give proof to the enemies of an Irish Republic and of Irish Independence, of the facts with which they were themselves well acquainted, while at the same time they concealed from the world their real sources of intelligence. Nor do we believe we are uncharitable in attributing to them the hope and wish of rendering unpopular and suspected men in whom the United Irishmen had been accustomed to place an almost unbounded confidence. The injurious consequences of Government succeeding in both these objects, were merely personal; and as they were no more, though they were revolting and hateful to the last degree, we did not hesitate to devote ourselves that we might make terms for our country.

What were these terms? That it should be rescued from civil and military execution; that a truce should be obtained for liberty, which she so much required. There was also another strongly impelling motive for entering into this agreement. If Government on the one hand was desirous of rousing its dependents by a display of the vigorous and well-concerted measures that were taken for subverting its authority and shaking off the English yoke; so we, on the other hand, were not less solicitous for the vindication of our cause in the eyes of the liberal, the enlightened and patriotic. We perceived that in making a fair and candid development of these measures we should be enabled boldly to avow and justify the cause of the Irish union, as being founded upon the purest principles of benevolence, and as aiming only at the liberation of Ireland. We felt that we could rescue our brotherhood from those foul imputations which had been industriously ascribed to it—the pursuit of the most unjust objects by means of the most flagitious crimes.

If our country has not actually benefited to the extent of our wishes and of our stipulations, let it be remembered that this has not been owing to the compact, but to the breach of the compact, the gross and flagrant breach of it, both as to the letter and spirit, in violation of every principle of pledged faith and honour.

Having been called upon to fulfill our part of the compact, a stop being put to all further trials and executions, a memoir was drawn up and signed by two of the undersigned, together with another of the body [they being selected by Government for the purpose] and was presented to Mr. Cooke on the 4th of August. It was very hastily prepared in a prison, and of course not so complete and accurate as it might otherwise have been; but sufficiently so to draw from Mr. Cooke an acknowledgment that it was a complete fulfilment of the agreement; though he said the lord lieutenant wished to have it so altered as not to be a justification of the United Irishmen, which he said it manifestly was.

Upon the refusal to alter it, Government thought proper to suppress it altogether, and adopted a plan which they had already found convenient for promulgating not the entire truth, but so much of the truth as accorded with their views, and whatever else they wished to have passed upon mankind under colour of authority for the truth. This was no other than examination before the secret committee of parliament. By these committees several of us were examined, and to our astonishment we soon after saw in the newspapers, and have since seen in printed reports of these committees, misrepresented and garbled, and, as far as relates to some of us, very untrue and fallacious statements of our testimony—even in some cases the very reverse of what was given. That no sus-

picion may attach to this assertion from its vagueness, such of us as were examined will, without delay, state the precise substance of our evidence on that occasion.

The Irish parliament thought fit about the month of September in the same year, to pass an act to be founded expressly on this agreement. To the provisions of that law we do not think it worth while to allude because their severity and injustices are lost in comparison with the erroneous falsehood of its preamble. In answer to that we must distinctly and formally deny that any of us did ever publicly, or privately, directly or indirectly, acknowledge crimes, retract opinions, or implore pardon, as is therein most falsely stated. A full and explicit declaration to this effect would have been made public at the time, had it not been prevented by a message from Lord Cornwallis, delivered to one of the subscribers on the 12th of that month. Notwithstanding we had expressly stipulated at the time of the negotiation for the entire liberty of publication in case we should find our conduct or motives misrepresented, yet this perfidious and inhuman message threatened that such declaration would be considered as a breach of the agreement on our part, and in that case the executions in general should go on as formerly.

Thus was the truth stifled at the time, and we believe firmly that to prevent its publication has been one of the principal reasons why, in violation of the most solemn engagements, we were kept in close custody ever since, and transported from our native country against our consent.

We conceive that to ourselves, to our cause, and to our country and to posterity, we owe this brief statement of facts, in which we have suppressed everything that is not of a nature strictly vindicatory; because our object in this publication is not to criminate but to defend. As to their truth we positively aver them, each for himself, as far as they fall within his knowledge, and we firmly believe the others to be the truth, and nothing but the truth.

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of John Sweetman:

On the 12th of March, 1798, the deputies from several counties, having met in Dublin to deliberate upon some general measures for the union, were arrested in a body at Mr. Bond's as were also many others of its principal agents, and put into a state of solitary confinement.

Some of these persons were examined by the privy council previous to their committal to prison; when it appeared beyond a possibility of doubt that the negotiations of the United Irishmen with France had been betrayed to the British Government on the 30th, the Kingdom was officially declared in a state of rebellion, and put under martial law. A proclamation from the lord lieutenant had directed the military to use the most summary method for repressing disturbances; and it was publicly notified by the commanders in some counties that unless the people brought in their arms in ten days from the period of publication, large bodies of troops would be quartered on them who should be licensed to live at free quarters, and that other severities would be exercised to enforce acquiescence. In the latter end of May the United armed men of the County Kildare felt themselves obliged to take the field, and hostilities commenced between them and the King's forces on the 24th. About this time the Counties of Wexford and Wicklow were generally up, and those of Down, Derry, Antrim, Carlow, and Meath were preparing to rise. The appeals to arms in these counties were attended with various success on both sides, and the military were invested with further powers by a proclamation issued by the lord lieutenant and council, directing the generals to punish all attacks upon the King's forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwise, as to them should seem expedient. For some time the people had the advantage in the field, but the defeat at New Ross on the 5th of June, at Antrim on the 7th, that of Arklow on the 9th, of Ballinahinch on the 12th, of Vinegar Hill on the 21st, and Kilconnell on the 26th, with the evacuation of Wexford, and some unsuccessful skirmishes which afterwards took place

in the County of Wicklow, removed all hope of maintaining the contest for the present with any probability of success. In the interim troops were arriving from England and several regiments of English militia had volunteered their services for Ireland. About the end of June a proclamation was issued promising pardon and protection to all persons except the leaders who should return to their allegiance and deliver up their arms, which it was said had a very general effect. A large body of the Kildare men had already surrendered to General Dundas, and on the 21st of July another party with its leaders, capitulated with General Wilford. The King's troops, by this time, were victorious in every quarter, and the park of artillery which had been employed in the south had returned to the capital.

It was now upwards of two months since the war broke out, during which time no attempt had been made by the French to land a force upon the coast, nor was there any satisfactory account then received that such a design was in contemplation. The expedition of Buonaparte and the forces under his command were already ascertained to have some part of the Mediterranean for their object. No other diversion was made by the French to distract the British power during this period. Military tribunals, composed of officers, who in many instances, as has been publicly admitted, had not exceeded the inconsiderate age of boyhood, were everywhere instituted and a vast number of executions had been the consequence. The yeomen and soldiers, licensed to indulge their rancor and revenge, were committing these atrocious cruelties which unfortunately distinguish the character of civil warfare. The shooting of innocent peasants at their work was occasionally resorted to by them as a species of recreation—a practice so inhuman that unless we had incontestible evidence of the fact we never should have given it the slightest credibility. During these transactions a special commission under an act of parliament was sitting in the capital; and the trials having commenced, it was declared from the bench that to be proved an United Irishman was sufficient to subject the party to the penalty of death, and that any member of a baronial or other committee was accountable for every act done by the body to which he respectively belonged in its collective capacity, whether it was done without his cognizance, in his absence, or even at the extremity of the land. As it was openly avowed that convictions would be sought for only through the medium of informers, the government used every influence to dignify the character of this wretched class of beings in the eyes of those who were selected to decide on the lives of the accused; and they so effectually succeeded as to secure implicit respect to whatever any of them chose to swear, from juries so appointed, so prepossessed. It was made a point by the first connections of Government to flatter these wretches, and some peers of the realm were known to have hailed the arch-apostate Reynolds with the title "Saviour of his Country".

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of William James Macneven:

In the case of Mr. Bond, the Jury, with an indecent precipitation, returned a verdict of guilty on the 23rd of July, and on the 25th he was sentenced to die. Byrne was also ordered for execution. In this situation of our affairs a negotiation was opened with Government, and proceeded in through the medium of Mr. Dobbs. An agreement was in consequence concluded and signed, which, among other things, stipulated for the lives of Byrne and Bond; but Government thought fit to annul this by the execution of Byrne. As, however, the main object, the putting a stop to the useless effusion of blood, was still attainable, it was deemed right to open a second negotiation. In its progress Government having insisted on some dishonourable requisitions, which were rejected with indignation, occasioned the failure of this also. It was however proposed by them to renew it again, and deputies from the gaols were appointed to confer with the official servants of the crown. A meeting accordingly took place at the Castle on the 29th of July when the final agreement was concluded and exchanged.

In addition to the fulfilment to the letter of this agreement, the official servants of the crown pledged the faith of Government for two things—one that the result and end of that measure should be the putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and that all executions should cease, except in cases of wilful murders. The other was that the conditions of the agreement should be liberally interpreted. The agreement was in the course of a day or two generally signed by the prisoners.

Whilst the United Irishmen retained the control of the original Directory, their progress was sure and steady, but from the moment that its members were snatched from their position, and either crushed unto death or consigned to dungeons, the contrary result, as might naturally be expected, ensued.

W. J. Fitzpatrick.

The views of those who are associated as United Irishmen did not extend beyond the attainment of a reform in parliament by peaceful and constitutional means.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XII

Continued quotations from the memoir—Reasons for entering into and ratifying the agreement made with Government—Absolute denial of the truthfulness of the Government statement regarding the terms of treaty recently made by any Irish leader—This declaration due to the credit of their country and countrymen—The course in Parliament of Hon. Francis Hutchinson toward the State prisoners—Action of Wm. C. Plunket—McNaughten moved that they should be immediately brought to trial and executed—Madden's statement as to the relation of T. A. Emmet and Plunket—St. John Mason's statement—The views of Dr. Robt. Emmet and Macneven on this subject—Rigors of Emmet's imprisonment—Letter from Emmet to Russell in relation to Tone—Phillips on Tone's course—The enmity of Clare and Ponsonby to Tone—The efforts of Marcus Beresford, George Knox, and the Atty.-General Wolfe to save Tone's life—The special views of Geo. Knox—Consent of the Government that Tone should go into exile to the United States—A parole of honor no doubt implied as to his exile—Tone's account of an interview with Emmet and Russell and his statement that they fully agreed as to his interpretation of his relation to the government—Did Tone violate his parole of honor and justify England's course?—Tone's relation with the French minister at Philadelphia—Savage's account of the friendship existing between Emmet, Russell and Tone—Description of Thomas Russell, his person and political course—Tone leaves his family in the United States and returns to France—Falkiner's account of the relation between Tone and Lord Clare.

THE quotation from the Memoir is continued at greater length:

Having thus stated the facts, we proceed to declare our reasons for entering into and ratifying this agreement; 1st, Because we had seen, with great affliction, that in the course of the appeal to arms, while four or five counties out of the thirty-two were making head against the whole of the King's forces, no effectual disposition was manifested to assist them, owing, as we believe, to the extreme difficulty of assembling, and the want of authentic information as to the real state of affairs. 2ndly, Because the concurring or quiescent spirit of the English people enabled their government to send not only a considerable additional regular force, but also many regiments of English militia into Ireland. 3rdly, Because it was evident that in many instances the want of military knowledge in the leaders had rendered the signal valor of the people fruitless. 4thly, Because, notwithstanding it was well known in France that the revolution had commenced in Ireland—an event that they were previously taught to expect—no attempt whatever was made by them to land any force during the two months which the contest had lasted, nor was any account received that it was their intention even shortly to do so. 5thly, Because that by the arrest of many of the deputies and chief agents of the union, and by the absence of others, the funds necessary for the undertaking were obstructed or uncollected, and hence arose

insurmountable difficulties. 6thly, Because from the several defeats at New Ross and Wexford, no doubt remained on our minds that farther resistance, for the present, was not only vain but nearly abandoned. 7thly, Because we were well assured that the proclamation of amnesty issued on the 29th June had caused great numbers to surrender their arms and take the oath of allegiance. 8thly, Because juries were so packed, justice so perverted, and the testimony of the basest informers so respected that trial was but a mockery, and arraignment but the tocsin for execution. 9thly, Because we were convinced by the official servants of the crown, and by the evidence given on the trials that government was already in possession of our external and internal transactions; the former they obtained as we believe through the perfidy of some agents of the French government at Hamburgh; the latter through informers who had been less or more confidential in all our affairs. 10thly, and finally, every day accounts of the murders of our most virtuous and energetic countrymen assailed our ears; many were perishing on the scaffold, under pretext of martial or other law, but many more the victims of individual Orange hatred and revenge. To stop this torrent of calamity, to preserve to Ireland her best blood . . . we determined to make a sacrifice of no trivial value—we agreed to abandon our country, our families and our friends.

And now we feel ourselves further called upon to declare that an Act, passed in Ireland during the autumn of 1798, reciting our names and asserting that we had retracted our opinions, acknowledged our crimes, and implored pardon, is founded upon a gross and flagrant calumny—neither we, the undersigned, nor any of our fellow-prisoners, so far as we know or believe, having ever done either the one or the other; and we solemnly assert that we never were consulted about that Act, its provisions or preamble, and that no copy of it was ever sent to us by any servant of the Crown, though repeatedly promised by the under-secretary, or by any other person. On the contrary it had, unknown to us, passed the House of Commons, when one of us [Samuel Neilson], having seen by mere accident an abstract of it in an English newspaper, remonstrated with the servants of the Crown on the falsity of the preamble, and was silenced only by a message from the lord lieutenant that it was his positive determination to annul the agreement and proceed with the executions, etc., if any further notice whatever was taken of the preamble, or if one word was published on the subject. We did not conceive ourselves warranted, situated as things then were, in being instrumental to a renewal of bloodshed. We have ever been constrained to silence, for, in violation of a solemn agreement, we have been kept close prisoners.

To our country and to posterity we felt that we owed this declaration; and to their judgment upon our conduct and motives we bow with respectful submission.*

Dr. Madden in "The United Irishmen, Their Lives and Times", continues this subject as follows:

In the month of July, 1798, the negotiations were entered into with the government of which the principal details have been given in the preceding manner. On the tenth of August T. A Emmet was examined before the secret committee of the House of Lords. A very small portion of this examination was given in the parliamentary report purporting to contain the examination of the State prisoners. On their liberation from Fort George, Emmet, O'Connor and Macneven published in London a pamphlet containing the memoir of the origin and progress of the union they had delivered to the Irish government and an account of their examination in which the suppressed portions of their evidence were given.† The pamphlet is now rarely to be met with, and from it the following account of the examination of T. A. Emmet is taken, after having compared it with the original document in the possession of the son of one of the parties to the compact.

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*See Appendix, Note XII., Second report to the House of Lords from the Secret Committee in relation to the State prisoners.

†"Memoirs of the Irish Union", Robinson, London, 1802.

The original, found among the papers of T. A. Emmet, from which Dr. Madden obtained the copy he reproduced in his work, was also copied by the writer and will be found in the Appendix (Note VIII).

In connection with the action of William Conyngham Plunket in Parliament, when the reputation of the State prisoners was at stake, they published a statement taking exception to the truthfulness of the Government statement regarding the compact made, which was under consideration before that body. Dr. Madden has treated the incident at some length. As Mr. Emmet was known to have made so little reference to the subject, the writer felt hesitancy in doing so. But on due reflection he decided that the subject as an incident in Mr. Emmet's life could not be ignored. If more detailed information is desired, the reader will do well to refer to Dr. Madden's work.

Dr. Madden states:

We now come to a transaction which involves the character of a great Whig lawyer, namely, William Conyngham Plunket; and it behooves us in dealing with it to steer clear of angry commentaries and criticisms of his conduct in regard to T. A. Emmet, and to cite official authorities for any accounts given of his transaction and its results. I allude to his conduct in parliament during Emmet's imprisonment in August 1798 and in relation to an advertisement which appeared in two of the morning newspapers complaining of the garbled reports that had been published in the government newspapers of the evidence of Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven before the secret committees.

The only reports that existed of the proceedings in parliament in 1798 are those which are given in the newspapers of the day, except in the case of the Union debates, when important speeches are found separately published. I prefer taking the report of the proceedings in the Irish House of Commons on the 27th of August from a government paper at that time, and therefore I make use of the "Freeman's Journal" of the 28th August, 1798.

The Hon. Francis Hutchinson called attention to an advertisement of three of the State prisoners [Emmet, O'Connor and Macneven] in the "Hibernian Journal and Saunders' News Letter". He said:—"That advertisement whether considerd as a libel on that House of Parliament, or as a manifesto exciting rebellion, was one of the most daring and insolent compositions he had ever read" . . . Mr. Plunket said:—"He reprobated in the strongest terms the publication which had been read to the House by the honourable gentleman who had proposed the motion then before the House, and described it to be a species of proclamation or manifesto couched in the most libellous and insolent language, and proceeding from three men who were signal instances of the royal mercy to all the open and concealed traitors of the country; urging to rebellion and to the aid of a French invasion, calling upon their friends to cast from them all fear of having been detected in their treasons, and to prosecute anew those machinations which had been suspended. He felt strongly the obligation of government to observe good faith towards those men in any conditions made with them, but he also conceived it to be incumbent on the executive power to adopt such precautions as should effectually prevent the state prisoners from corrupting the public mind". [The report of Mr. Plunket's speech on this occasion is given without any curtailment]. . . . Mr. McNaughten was of opinion that, as martial law had not ceased, the persons in question, Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and Dr. Macneven, should be immediately brought to trial and executed.

Dr. Madden continues ("Lives", 3rd series, p. 77):

The late Lord Plunket had been the early friend and fellow-student at the University of T. A. Emmet. Of that fact there can be no doubt. All the members of the family and intimate friends and early associates of T. A. Emmet in America and Ireland, with

whom I have been in communication, are agreed on that point. . . . *I believe that the late Lord Plunket and Thomas Addis Emmet were not only intimate, as Lord Plunket stated, but very intimately acquainted and on terms of the most intimate friendship, when they were fellow-students at the University of Dublin, and at the Inns of Court in England.* And be it observed, there was a long interval between the two periods above indicated. T. A. Emmet entered college in 1778, and he was not called to the bar till the month of May, 1790. And Lord Plunket admits in his affidavit that it was after T. A. Emmet had been called to the bar "that all intimacy ceased between him and deponent". So here we have an admission of an intimacy that had subsisted twelve years and upwards between two young men of the same pursuits, of similar gifts and kindred talents, of congenial and literary tastes, being suddenly broken off on account of a difference in their political opinions, and at a time, too, when neither of them had ever taken any prominent part in political affairs or controversies. I say to that statement, the estrangement referred to is highly improbable, and that the friends of T. A. Emmet are not conscious of it . . . . T. A. Emmet, I have reason to believe, considered that Mr. Plunket was his friend up to the time of his arrest and imprisonment in March, 1798 . . . . Mr. St. John Mason, the nephew of Dr. Emmet's wife, in reference to the part taken in Parliament by Mr. Plunket in relation to Thomas Addis Emmet, makes use of these words in his written statement to me of his reminiscences of the Emmet family:— *"I have heard Dr. Emmet say that he [Plunket] was an ungrateful man".* That Dr. Emmet believed Mr. W. C. Plunket had been under obligations of friendship to his son T. A. Emmet I have no doubt. That T. A. Emmet was shocked and disgusted when he heard of the part taken by W. C. Plunket in the House of Commons on the occasion of the proceedings in relation to the advertisement of the State prisoners, I can have no doubt . . . . Dr. W. J. Macneven, conjointly with T. A. Emmet, published in New York in 1807 a work entitled "Pieces of Irish History". . . . In the latter treatise at page 162 Dr. Macneven, in reference to the advertisement signed by T. A. Emmet, A. O'Connor, and Macneven, of the 27th of August, says: "A tempest of folly and fury was immediately excited in the House of Commons. Blinded by their rage, the members of that honourable assembly neglected the obvious distinction between the newspapers and their report. They took to themselves the falsehoods that had been repelled. Mr. McNaughten, and two virulent barristers, Francis Hutchinson and Conyngham Plunket, were even clamorous for having the persons who signed the refutation disposed of by a summary execution. Plunket had been the bosom intimate of Emmet—the companion of his childhood, and the friend of his youth".

Is it to be imagined that T. A. Emmet would have allowed his statements to go forth in a work that was a joint publication of his and his associate and confidential friend, Macneven, if he believed the main facts with regard to his relations with Plunket were misstated—however more sober and less exaggerated the terms of it might have been, had that account of his former friendship with Mr. Plunket been written by himself?

But with the precision which characterized every thing written or said by T. A. Emmet, we find in a letter of his to Rufus King, dated the 9th of April, 1807, that when he speaks of this transaction he does not implicate Plunket in the atrocity he imputes to another member of the House of Commons; he merely says—"A proposal was made in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. McNaughten, an Orangeman, to take us out and hang us without trial".

No doubt Emmet's disgust and indignation at the treacherous conduct of Mr. W. C. Plunket in his regard—namely, in hounding on the government to measures of severity against him and the other two state prisoners—prevented his making mention of the name of W. C. Plunket. And this was the line of conduct that any one acquainted with the character of T. A. Emmet would have a right to expect at his hands.

It will be necessary to refer again to this subject when the trial of Robert Emmet is being considered.

The first question put to Mr. Emmet at his examination before the Committee from the Irish House of Commons was:—"Were you a United Irishman"? His answer was:—"I *am* one". This answer, and the fact that it was known that he had to a great extent written the different papers which had been issued in the name of the Irish leaders, increased the enmity and ill-will of several members of the Irish Government, and of no one more than Lord Castlereagh, who, to the last, persecuted his helpless prisoner. So far as an honest and charitable man could cherish to the fullest extent a bitter hatred for another, Mr. Emmet fully reciprocated the feeling. Through the press, the public was informed that the Irish leaders had been subjected to the closest solitary confinement in punishment for their late exhibition of a rebellious spirit. This was true so far as they were confined without intercourse with each other, but they were not restricted in the matter of occupying light and well-ventilated rooms, supplied with such books as they wished and with supposedly good food. Mr. Emmet was the only exception; by order of Castlereagh he was confined for six weeks in total darkness, but in a fairly dry cell under the prison. The cell was about seven feet in length, with the walls within reach on each side, and the only ventilation was from a loop-hole above the door. He was allowed no bed-clothing and lay on a stone shelf raised but a few inches from the floor. He had no change of underclothing during that time, and was deprived of every means of cleanliness, even of the facility for washing his hands and face. He was kept on bread and water, often insufficient in quantity to satisfy either his hunger or thirst. The bread was of the worst quality and the water always offensive both in taste and smell. Not many years since the writer had in his possession a small book about one and a half inches square and consisting of only a few pages, which Mr. Emmet had contrived to conceal on his person and in which he marked with pencil the number of days he was thus held in solitary confinement on insufficient food. Evidently his only means of computing time was the daily delivery of his bread and water. He saw no one save once in twenty-four hours, and that a foul-smelling attendant who threw his bread in anywhere upon the floor, and, before he could place the vessel of water on the floor, he often succeeded in spilling some portion, at the same time giving vent to the foulest combination of words in the way of curses at Mr. Emmet for his rebel proclivities.

Mr. Emmet fully realized at the beginning that he was placed there by his enemy with the determination to break his spirit and compel him to sue for mercy or lose his life in the struggle. The only movable article in the cell, with the exception of the wooden vessel for holding his allowance of drinking water was a heavy wooden bucket without a cover for containing the dejecta. On Mr. Emmet making the request for a cover, the brutal turnkey struck at his head with the bucket, knocking him from his seat. The blow glanced from his shoulder, but would have fractured his skull had there been light enough to direct it as intended. The receptable was never covered or washed out, and the contents were often emptied on the entry floor before the door of

the cell. As there was no ventilation except through the entry, which was at a great distance from any efficient communication with the external air, the atmosphere at no time could have been a healthy one and it is remarkable that the life of an individual could have been sustained in it. In the Appendix will be found some account of treatment of prisoners in English prisons (Note XIII). Day after day passed without a remonstrance on Mr. Emmet's part, although time ceased to have any connection with his existence, so far as he was able to appreciate it.

Mr. Emmet was a man who, without effort, saw and heard everything about him, and forgot nothing. There seemed no information to be acquired by a human being of which he did not acquire some knowledge, and often to the extent of being an expert. His time soon became fully occupied in the study of the masonry of the walls of his cell, which he could not see. He soon knew the number of stones in the walls of his cell and the size of each, and by touch he learned to recognize the work of each mason who dressed the face of the different stones. From his knowledge of geology he studied the natural history of each block and recalled where in different parts of Ireland he had noticed the out-cropping of the same material, or some indication of its existence in the neighborhood, and even gave thought to the special canal route by which it had been brought to Dublin.

Although he became emaciated and often too weak to hunt for the piece of bread last thrown in, he now felt that the end of his suffering was rapidly approaching, when at length, in his semi-conscious condition, he realized that he was to be released. Someone in authority was prompted through kindness to act and to do so without the knowledge of Castlereagh. The kindly wife of the head jailor was thus able to intervene without fear of the brute, Dr. Trevor,* a creation and tool of Lord Castlereagh, but the jailer was removed as soon as it became known that directions were not carried out. Mr. Emmet's condition was such that it was necessary for the messenger to swing him across his shoulder and take him to his new quarters. Until after the death of Mr. Emmet no knowledge of the details of his suffering during this close confinement was ever imparted even to his family. And then only as stated by Dr. Macneven, who learned them from his friend after his arrival in this country, but the sufferer was never known to have uttered a complaint

*It would be well for the reader to consult the Appendix, where a remarkable production from the pen of St. John Mason, a first cousin of the Emmets, will be found (Note XIII). Mr. Mason was arrested, apparently on no evidence beyond that of his relationship, and was only released after a long imprisonment, broken in health and fortune. He had acquired the enmity of Trevor and suffered a merciless persecution in consequence. After Mason's release he devoted every effort to the purpose of having Trevor removed, but it was only after some years that he finally succeeded in having the matter brought before Parliament and an investigating committee appointed by the House of Commons, by which he succeeded in his purpose. He published three large pamphlets, the first and the least voluminous of which is given in the Appendix as showing the type of men which always have been selected by the English official and which come in contact with the Irish people. To be totally unfit for the position is the chief requisite. To such persons was given a free hand to rob both the people and the Government. If by accident a better man came into place he was soon removed. One of Mason's books contains a statement of his case, and the last, the most valuable for historical purposes, is rendered so by containing little more than extracts from the report published by the committee of the House of Commons. These works are now so rarely to be found that it seems as though a determined effort must have been made when they were published to destroy all evidence connected with them. This ruffian, Trevor, was allowed to hold his position for many years, with the same immunity enjoyed by others, regardless of public complaint. In his work Mason published Trevor's so-called vindication, well written by his lawyer, as a general denial, but proved to be false, as he retired in possession of over half a million of dollars, although he was a penniless tramp when appointed.

even to his wife. He himself never referred to the subject, and when questioned by his wife and others, he answered with a suppressed sigh, but in as cheerful a manner as he could assume: "The little I was called on to bear was as nothing to what so many others had to suffer". From the recollections of his childhood, the writer is now the only one living who has any knowledge of this incident in Mr. Emmet's life. It was a subject his grandmother always avoided in after life, but he learned from the younger members of the family that they could recall hearing it said their father was a changed man after his recovery from his experience, and bore to his grave a saddened expression, not so much in remembrance of his own experience during the six weeks of solitary confinement under Kilmainham gaol, as owing to his knowledge of the suffering of so many others. Through the kindly prompting of some official, as Mr. Emmet had many friends, when his wife called to inquire she was allowed to see him. Once having gained admission she refused to leave him and displayed such a determination to hold her position that she was permitted to do so, but the visiting committee directed that if she could ever be caught outside of her husband's room she was to be forcibly cast out from the building. Mr. Emmet's room was about twelve feet square and his wife remained there for twelve months, leaving it but once in that period. This was occasioned by the dangerous illness of one of her children who were staying with their grandparents. Information was communicated to Mrs. Emmet as to the condition of the child. She appealed to the jailor's wife, the mother of children, who let her out of her locked cell and conducted her through the jailor's apartments to the street. She visited her child, remaining until the next night when the child was out of danger, and returned by means of the same sympathy. As she was on the point of entering Mr. Emmet's room she was discovered by one of the keepers who had heard the introduction of the key, but she was too quick and the door was closed in his face. She never availed herself of the same agency and fortunately had no need to do so. During her absence, Mr. Emmet's room was frequently visited; the curtains around the bed, which had been closed, were not disturbed. Some bundles of clothing had been placed under the bed-covering in case an examination should be made, and as the keepers came in they were requested not to disturb Mrs. Emmet, as she was afflicted with a sick headache.

The following letter written by Thomas Addis Emmet to Thomas Russell is without date, but it must have been written after October 10th, 1798, and during the first ten days of November, while Tone was under arrest awaiting trial, and while Mr. Emmet was yet a prisoner in Kilmainham gaol:—

My dear Russell,

It is impossible for any one to be more concerned or more anxious than we all are about the fate of Tone. There is not a thing that would appear to us to have any chance of saving his life that we would not gladly do. But it is owing to that very feeling that your letter embarrassed us most exceedingly, because your letter seems to imply that you and all your fellow-prisoners imagine that some such thing could be done; while we have do doubt that any such application would, if possible, do injury. When we negotiated for Bond's life, etc., we had something to give—our banishment and some in-

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

KILMAINHAM GAOL, DUBLIN

formation. What have we to give now? If we cannot make it a matter of truck, surely you can not suppose we could obtain it as a favour, when we have been in vain soliciting the very small favour of good faith being kept with us. I am sure government hate us, and if we asked a favour they would doubly rejoice in the opportunity of gratifying their own vengeance against him and dislike against us. The day we were at the Castle, the chancellor mentioned that Tone had, before he left the kingdom, signed such a confession of his treason as would and was intended to hang him in case of his ever returning, so that I am sure the points on which you rely would avail nothing. Indeed I am convinced it would not be in the power of any interest to ransom him. Even retaliation (the only chance) I think will not avail; but if it should have any weight our interference would interfere with it. These are our fears, and have prevented our doing anything, because we see nothing we can do. But if you or your friends with you can point out anything which you think would have any chance of success, draw it up and send it to us and I assure you it is not a trifle will prevent our signing it.

Yours,
T. A. Emmet.

The letter just read appeared for the first time in "Studies in Irish History" by the late P. Litton Falkiner (1907). The original material is in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, and it was undoubtedly intercepted and prevented from reaching its destination. It was written in response to an appeal by Russell to Emmet and the other State prisoners to exert themselves in Tone's behalf. It is impossible to doubt that Emmet, whom Tone in his autobiography brackets with Russell as the first of his friends, would have spared any efforts to save the life of his unfortunate friend, had it been in his power. But for Lord Clare's enmity, Tone's life might have been saved and it seems probable that Mr. Emmet knew of this influence.

Phillips, in "Curran and his Contemporaries", makes the statement:—

It was on Jackson's trial, to which reference has been made, that a paper was discovered completely compromising Tone. The ardent friendship, however, of men who abhorred his politics saved his life; indeed, the greatness of his manners and the kindness of his nature, rendered personal enmity almost impossible. Lord Clare and George Ponsonby seem alone to have entertained it. Through the interference of the Hon. Marcus Beresford, George Knox, and Wolfe, the attorney general, he was permitted to expatriate himself.

The association of these three names shows beyond question that some influence was brought to bear on the Government to render it advisable to save the life of Wolfe Tone. No man had more friends nor so much the sympathy of those who were most at variance with him in politics. George Knox, the son of Lord Northland, the college friend and intimate of Thomas Addis Emmet and of Tone, wrote to give him warning of his intended arrest, stating:—"I felt that politics was a thing of a day, but friendship was a matter that was forever", and again in writing to another he stated:—"I have had a struggle between friendship to that man [Tone] and the duty I owe to those I am connected with". He held at that time an office and was in sympathy with the Government. Tone in his diary gives an account of a visit to his friend Emmet at Rathfarnham, in company with their mutual friend, Thomas Russell, just before Tone was to leave Ireland, according to an agreement with

the Government. Tone mentions an incident which, with our present knowledge, admits of no explanation. Certainly whether expressed or not, the only object the Government had in sparing Tone's life was that he should go into exile and not return to Ireland without its consent. Moreover the chief object with the Government was the implied pledge that Tone should no longer take part in Irish politics to the worry of the Government. And yet Tone states that the three friends, Emmet, Russell, and Tone, men of remarkable intellectual development, put the same construction on the agreement that Tone was free from all obligation to the English Government on completing his voyage to America! Unless there were existing circumstances now unknown, Tone was certainly in the position of having violated his parole.

That some of the circumstances in relation to Tone's position with the British Government, are unknown at the present day seems clearly shown by the following extract from Tone's Life (September 28, 1796):

As my time is growing shorter, I pass over a very busy interval of my life, all the important events of which are detailed in different diaries among my papers, and I hasten to the period, when in consequence of the conviction of William Jackson, for high treason, I was obliged to quit my country, and go into exile in America. A short time before my departure, my friend Russell being in town, he and I walked out together to Rathfarnham to see Emmet, who has a charming villa there. He showed us a little study of an elliptical form, which he was building at the bottom of the lawn, and which he said he would consecrate to our meetings, if ever we lived to see our country emancipated. I begged of him if he intended Russell should be a party, in addition to the books and maps it would naturally contain, to fix up a small cellaret, which should contain a few dozens of his best claret.

He showed me that he had not omitted that circumstance, which he acknowledged to be essential, and we both rallied Russell with considerable success. I mention this trifling anecdote because I love the men, and because it seems now at least possible that we may yet meet again in Emmet's study. As we walked together into town, I opened my plan to them both. I told them that I considered my compromise with government to extend no further than the banks of the Delaware, and that the moment I landed I was free to follow any plan which might suggest itself to me, for the emancipation of my country; that undoubtedly I was guilty of a great offence against the existing government; that in consequence I was going into exile; and that I considered that exile as a full expiation for the offence; and, consequently, felt myself at liberty, having made that sacrifice, to begin again on a fresh score. They both agreed with me in those principles, and I then proceeded to tell them that my intention was, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, to wait on the French Minister: to detail to him, fully, the situation of affairs in Ireland, to endeavor to obtain a recommendation to the French government, and if I succeeded so far, to leave my family in America, and set off instantly for Paris, and apply, in the name of my country, for the assistance of France, to enable us to assert our independence. It is unnecessary, I believe, to say that this plan met with the warmest approbation and support from both Russell and Emmet; we shook hands, and having repeated our professions of unalterable regard and esteem for each other we parted; and this was the last interview which I was so happy as to have with these two invaluable friends together. I remember it was in a little triangular field that this conversation took place; and Emmet remarked to us that it was in one exactly like it in Switzerland, where William Tell and his associates planned the downfall of the tyranny of Austria. The next day Russell returned to Belfast . . . . It has often astonished me . . . . that the government, knowing there was a French Minister at Philadelphia, would have suffered me to go thither, at least without exacting some positive assurance on my part that I

would hold no communication with him, direct or indirect. . . . They suffered me to depart without demanding any satisfaction whatsoever on that topic, a circumstance of which I was most sincerely glad; for had I been obliged to give my parole, I should have been exceedingly distracted between opposite duties; luckily, however, I was spared the difficulty for they suffered me to depart without any stipulation whatsoever.

By an oversight the English government evidently neglected to exact a recognition of the only condition of Tone's leaving Ireland, but, nevertheless, enforced what it regarded as the implied agreement, and Tone lost his life in consequence.

Savage states in "Ninety-eight and Forty-eight":—

Here are Thomas Russell and Thomas Addis Emmet, who were esteemed by Tone as the first of his friends. They were worthy of that esteem in every respect, eminently worthy of the cause they adorned and the affection which rises like an echo in the bosoms of those who have taken their histories to heart. Both were noble, chivalrous and refined. Russell was a great good man; Emmet a good great man. It might be said that all who met them were refreshed by the amiability and direct honesty of the one and the more stern intelligence of the other. There was, if I might use the phrase, a manly boyishness about Russell that endeared him to his friends, while his attainments, like to pillars supporting a beautifully constructed and systematic dome, prevented the least chance of his being regarded as indiscreetly trivial or unsteadily balanced.

To those who did not know him he appeared haughty from the martial carriage and stateliness of his mien; which, with the sensitive delicacy of his nature, made him at times reserved. The beauty of his nature, shone through his actions and accomplishments, irradiating and giving them that peculiar brilliant ease which, from its rarity, we so delight to find in the world.

Dr. Madden quotes from an Ulster magazine:—

A model of manly beauty. Though more than six feet high, his majestic stature was scarcely observed, owing to the exquisite symmetry of his form. Martial in his gait and demeanour, his appearance was not altogether that of a soldier. His dark and steady eye, compressed lip, and somewhat haughty bearing, were occasionally strongly indicative of the camp; but in general the classical contour of his finely formed head, the expression of almost infantine sweetness which characterized his smile and the benevolence that beamed in his fine countenance, seemed to mark him out as one who was destined to be the ornament, grace, and blessing of private life. His voice was deep-toned and melodious; and though his conversational powers were not of the first order, yet, when roused to enthusiasm, he was sometimes more than eloquent. His manners were those of the finished gentleman, combined with that native grace which nothing but superiority of intellect can give.

Tone in his diary stated:

I think the better of myself for being the object of the esteem of such a man as Russell. I love him, and I honor him.

Russell was arrested with Neilson and others in 1798 at Belfast, and sent to Fort George, Scotland, where he was imprisoned with his friend Thomas Addis Emmet. After the release of the three prisoners from Fort George he went abroad, but took an active part with Robert Emmet, for which he was arrested September 9th, 1803. He stated:—"I glory in the cause in which I have engaged; and for it, I would meet death with pleasure, either in the field or on the scaffold". He was tried, convicted and executed October 21st, 1803

Probably a similar instance never existed of so close a friendship being maintained unbroken for years between three individuals, as that of Emmet, Tone and Russell, who were men of the utmost degree of intelligence and purity of character.

In May, 1795, Tone with his wife and children and other members of his family, left, as was supposed, never to return from America. But almost immediately after his arrival he began making an arrangement with the French minister. He returned to France, leaving his family in the United States. He joined a French expedition fitted out for the invasion of Ireland, landed there, was recognized, arrested and imprisoned. He was to have been tried for treason, but he died from the effects of a self-inflicted wound in an attempt to commit suicide. Tone had so many friends even among his political opponents that it was possible he might have been allowed to escape, but for the emnity of Lord Clare. Falkiner in his recently published work, "Studies in Irish History", shows that the mother of Tone's wife was a relative of Lord Clare and that Tone quarreled with his wife's family to such an extent as to insure the uncompromising ill-will of Lord Clare. Judging from the letters now accessible in the Rutland and Dropmore collections and from what Falkiner writes, this enmity of Clare to Tone was known to Thomas Addis Emmet.

The people have not sought insurrection, they will not seek it, but it may be forced upon them.

T. A. Emmet.

The rebellion of 1798 itself was avowedly and beyond doubt provable, fomented to enable the British Government to extinguish the Irish legislative independence and to bring about the union.—But the instrument was nearly too powerful for the unskilful hands that used it, and if Catholic wealth, education and intelligence had joined the rebellion it would probably have been successful.

Daniel O'Connell, M.P., "A Memoir on Ireland", 1844.

Chapter XIII

Correspondence in relation to the State prisoners—Removal of Emmet and other State prisoners from Dublin to Fort George, Scotland—Violation of British Government pledge—List of the prisoners—General orders of the commander—Spies imprisoned with Emmet—Governor Stuart's kindness to Mr. Emmet—His wife and children allowed to join him—Prison life—Instructing the children—Mr. Emmet writes some contributions to Irish History.

N the evidence of the following letter it is shown indirectly that a difference was to have been made in the treatment of Mr. Emmet, if the wish of some of the members of the Government had been carried out. The letter is quoted from "The Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*":—

MR. WICKHAM TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Whitehall, March 26th, 1799.

MY DEAR LORD,

I believe that before this time the prisoners from Dublin will have been safely conducted to Fort George. No particular instructions either as to the expense of their maintenance or the mode of confining them have as yet been transmitted to the Governor; but it is wished that your Lordship should have the goodness to communicate to me for the Duke of Portland's information, the regulations under which they were confined in Dublin and particularly the allowance they received from government, according to their respective situations and conditions in life, or that which was paid on their account to the gaoler.

Should any more prisoners be sent to Scotland, have the goodness to take care that the Duke of Portland be informed of their names in time to send warrants down to meet them in the port where they shall be disembarked in Scotland . . . . It is the present intention that a Bill should be brought into Parliament immediately after the recess, confirming what has been done, and authorizing the detention of these gentlemen, and of others whom you may send over. At any other moment a Bill of this kind might have and perhaps ought to have met with opposition; but I rather think that there will be an unwillingness on the part of Opposition to bring the name of Arthur O'Connor into question.

All the correspondence relating to the negotiation with the State prisoners has been put together and the whole has been well read and studied by Mr. Pitt, who will probably take this occasion of saying something on the infamous charges that have been brought

*Vol. II, page 335.

against the Irish Government of having broken their faith, &c., which O'Connor has taken great pains to circulate among his friends here, and which, for the sake of better intentioned persons, it may be as well to refute openly once for all . . . .

Believe me, ever &c.,
WILLIAM WICKHAM.

The following letter is from the same correspondence:—

MR. WICKHAM TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Whitehall, March 28, 1799.

MY DEAR LORD,

I send your Lordship enclosed a copy of the letter from Doyle, that was found under the table at the Division of United Irishmen, No. 2. I should be curious to know whether the Address to the Irish Nation, found at the same place and printed in the Report of the Secret Committee, was known in Ireland and in general circulation there? It is stated to have been brought over by Doyle.

Then follows a letter from "Thos. Doyle to Division No. 2, United Irishmen, taken at the Royal Oak, March 10th, 1799", which has no interest in connection with the subject here under consideration. The "Report of the Secret Committee" is doubtless the examination of O'Connor, Emmet and Macneven. In all the papers published in connection with this case is to be found Mr. Emmet's "Memoir", with which, Dr. Macneven stated, O'Connor would have nothing to do. However through his vanity he was persuaded to sign it first, and it has always been put forward by the English Government and by all writers as the work of O'Connor. The Government was fully informed that O'Connor did not write this paper, and from this time he was on good terms with the Government. He was sent, as a supposed prisoner, with four other so-called State prisoners, to act as a spy on the other leaders to be confined at Fort George. For writing that paper and the one charging the Government with bad faith, Mr. Emmet was punished to the last day he was within the power of the Government. Doubtless Castlereagh, notwithstanding Wickham's statement to the contrary, directed that Mr. Emmet should be closely confined and he was the only prisoner, as will be shown, who was thus treated at Fort George. There have been indications presented which seem to show that Mr. Emmet wrote some other paper which gave great offence to the Government, but which seems to have been suppressed and never given to the public—could the Address to the Irish Nation have been this paper? The writer has been informed that among the English State papers there were letters from Arthur O'Connor written from Fort George keeping the Government informed almost daily as to the condition of affairs there.

On March 18th, 1799, Mr. Emmet was notified that on the following morning he would be removed to another place of confinement. That evening he was visited by his sister, who, after seeking an interview with the viceroy, Lord Cornwallis, was permitted to see her brother and to take leave of him for the last time. Both were left in absolute ignorance as to Mr. Emmet's destination beyond the statement that he was to leave Ireland. He did not realize that he was never to see his native land again, and that his departure was to be the beginning of the end, in the wiping out of the direct connection with Ire-

land of the Emmet family. Father, mother, sister and brother he was soon to lose, and the last of the race left in Ireland, his brother Robert, was in the near future to offer up his life for his country by legalized murder, under the charge of treason to his native land, so dear to both of them.

With Mr. Emmet a number of other political prisoners were taken by the transport ship "Aston Smith", to Belfast, where some were landed and others received. On the 30th of March the remaining prisoners were disembarked at Greenock, having been detained on the vessel on account of stormy weather. Their names were as follows—with Samuel Turner, the spy, whose name is never mentioned officially:

Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, Roger O'Connor, Dr. Wm. James Macneven, Thomas Russell, Robert Sims, William Tennent, John Sweetman, Hugh Wilson, John Sweeney, Joseph Cuthbert, Edward Hudson, Joseph Cormack, Mathew Dowling, John Chambers, Rev. Wm. Steele Dixon, George Cumming, Samuel Neilson, Robert Hunter.

The Governor in command of the fortress where they were consigned, issued the following orders on their arrival, which were to regulate their daily life and govern their relations with the outer world:—

Fort George, 9th of April, 1799.

GARRISON ORDERS—

Lieutenant-Governor Stuart desires that the troops and inhabitants of the garrison may attend to the following orders:—

Government having thought proper to send to this Fort certain persons charged with the heinous crime of high treason, to be kept here in sure custody, it is the lieutenant-governor's orders that no communication whatever be held with the said prisoners, except by the persons appointed to keep them and attend them, or by any persons furnished with a written order for that purpose from the lieutenant-governor.

Any letters directed to them, or attempted to be sent to them, to be stopped, and immediately brought to the lieutenant-governor or officer commanding.

The sentinels on duty are to hold no conversation themselves, nor permit any other person (except as aforesaid) to hold any conversation or have any intercourse with them.

The lieutenant-governor has no doubt of the troops doing their duty correctly, and he cautions all other persons to attend strictly to those orders, as they shall answer it at their peril.

J. H. BAILLIE,
Major and Fort Major.

Fort George, 10th May, 1799.

The prisoners are to be locked up at all times, except when at meals or airing. They will be permitted to air as follows: at ten in the morning ten prisoners will go out in two divisions, as usual, and may remain till one o'clock, when the other ten men may go out, and remain till four o'clock, after which the prisoners are not to be permitted to go out. This allows three hours for air and exercise to each man. They must mess in two divisions, as formerly directed; and it being impossible to serve each prisoner in his own apartment, one choosing one thing and one another, they will please to agree among themselves whether they will have tea, or bread and cheese, &c.; and they will be permitted to assemble in two divisions, as at dinner, from seven to half-past eight, when they must retire to their apartments.

STUART, Lieutenant-Governor.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR STUART.

Whitehall, 31st October, 1799.

SIR—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to desire that you will acquaint the State prisoners under your care, that it will be proper for them to inform their correspondents in Ireland that all letters addressed to them should be sent open, under cover to the secretary for the civil department in Dublin, who will forward them to this office, from whence they will be sent to you to be returned to the prisoners. In the meantime, and until you shall receive such letters from the office, you will be pleased to transmit to his grace such letters as shall arrive at Fort George for the said prisoners, before they are given to them.

(Signed) J. KING.

Mr. Emmet, for some time after his arrival at Fort George, was kept in close confinement, the only one of the prisoners so treated, and he doubtless suffered by the order of Lord Castlereagh. It is believed that this confinement continued until after the arrival of Mrs. Emmet, with her children, when Lieutenant-Governor Stuart took the responsibility, and Mr. Emmet was allowed the liberty accorded to other prisoners.

Mr. St. John Mason visited his cousin in April, 1800, and states in a letter to the Right Hon. Lord Henry Petty*:—

My relative, Thomas Addis Emmet, was involved, yet he had too much generosity to influence me. Though an exile from his country, I cannot but respect and love him, for I well know the private integrity of the man, and influenced by my sincere regard, and by no other motive, I undertook a journey from London to Fort George with the hope of being admitted to converse with him. I was not, however, allowed to do so, but I remained several days in that garrison under the protection of Lieutenant-Governor Stuart, through whom our correspondence passed.

In the counter depositions of July, 1804, I have been basely calumniated. The personal allusion I despise, but, my Lord, I think it right to state that I never spoke to Mr. Russell previous to my confinement. I saw him indeed at Fort George, at a distance within the limits of the bastion where the prisoners were permitted to walk out. And at Kilmainham I could from the nature of my confinement have had no personal communication with him, was it not insidiously allowed by the Inspector for the purpose of ensnaring me into some act of indiscretion. And I cannot possibly believe that the Secretary of State, Mr. Wickham, in whose custody I then was, could have descended from his high station to countenance a plot against his own prisoner.

This quotation is made to show that Mr. Emmet had already been in close confinement over a year, at the time of Mr. Mason's visit, and the passage relating to seeing Mr. Russell shows that the other prisoners were allowed to be about the grounds while Mr. Emmet was not, or Mr. Mason would have had no difficulty in seeing him. Mr. Mason's reference to having spoken to Russell while at Kilmainham, betokens a plot for obtaining evidence against him, on the ground that he had known Russell previous to his arrest.

Mr. Emmet was held a prisoner notwithstanding the fact that the Government had been unable to formulate a charge to bring him to trial, even in Ireland, where among the hangers-on in the Government interest it had never been difficult to find some one both willing and able to swear to anything. Yet Mr. Emmet and others were held close prisoners for years after the honor of

*"Memoir of the Case of St. John Mason, Esq., Barrister at Law, etc."

the Government had been pledged to permit these men to leave the country without delay after the revolutionary movement had been finally suppressed through their aid. Truly, the charge against England, attributed to Napoleon, of being "Perfide Albion", was a just one.

Great Britain certainly has never shown mercy to a political prisoner in Ireland. All who have ever been entrusted to the custody of the Government official have, as a rule, been subjected to the same rigorous treatment, which might truthfully be termed barbarous. Many Irishmen have lost their lives in prison as a direct consequence of the cruelty and privation to which they were subjected by the Government or by some demon in human form vested with a little brief authority. It is a singular fact that the officials generally employed to represent the British Government in the capacity of gaolers have invariably been of the same type, the one differing from the other only in the degree of his capacity for cruelty. It is true beyond cavil, and it is only an exception to the rule, when an Irish political prisoner has ever been released before his bodily health has suffered and his mental faculties been greatly impaired. When one has the good fortune to be an exception, he has had cause to be thankful for a physical and mental organization which the ingenuity of a British gaoler could not destroy.

Mrs. Emmet was not allowed to accompany her husband to Fort George. Subsequently she was granted permission to see him, but only after great influence had been exerted by her friends to obtain it. The privilege, however, was transformed into a piece of refined cruelty by the stipulation that they should meet only in the presence of a gaoler. This was quite in keeping with the course of petty persecution which the Government had evidently wished and had directed to be inflicted on Mr. Emmet from the beginning of his confinement. The fortress was under the command of Col. James Stuart, a brother of Lord Moray, who fortunately ignored or modified these offensive orders, and throughout took the kindest interest in the welfare of Mr. Emmet and his family.

During the first year of Mr. Emmet's imprisonment in Fort George, his wife made many ineffectual efforts to obtain from Lord Castlereagh permission to visit her husband. She at length wrote to the Duke of Portland, the British Minister of State, but it was only after seeing him in person with all the letters of influence to be obtained, that she, as a great concession, received the following letter:—

SIR,

Mrs. Emmet, wife of Mr. Emmet, one of the prisoners at Fort George, has obtained permission to see her husband; but as she is suspected of having imbibed his principles, you will take particular care that she shall not be the means of communication between him and the disaffected in Ireland. She is only to see him in the presence of a proper person, and you are to take such steps as that she may not carry any letters or papers in or out of the Fort.

I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

PORTLAND.

The Hon. Lt. Governor Stuart.

Mrs. Emmet and her three children proceeded to Fort George with this letter. On her arrival Governor Stuart kindly ignored the condition of the permit, and after placing her on her honor allowed her to see her husband freely, while he took the children to his own quarters. He then brought a sufficient influence to bear on the Government, and permission was finally obtained for Mrs. Emmet to remain with her husband. The following poem, printed in the "Literary Remains of the United Irishmen of 1798", was written by Thomas Russell, also a prisoner at Fort George, and vouched for to Dr. Madden by Miss McCracken, a daughter of Mr. Joy McCracken, the Ulster leader.

ON MRS. EMMET'S VISIT TO HER HUSBAND

Companions so brave who in evil times meet
For the glorious endeavour our country to free,
Amidst all our sufferings, each moment is sweet,
When each patriot united like brothers we see.
May the Power that rules all, grant this ardent request:
May we live our dear country triumphant to see
Or if this is too great and it so judges best,
May our death like our lives serve dear Ireland to free.

How delightful the thought for an object thus great,
Embracing the rights and the freedom of all,
Which thus in a prison can transport create,
And in exile the right of our country recall;
That you who endeavour these rights to insure
By arts or by eloquence, science, or arms
See the courage as with affection so pure,
Virtue, and beauty devoting her charms.

Gov. Stuart took charge of the children and, until quarters could be fitted up for them in connection with those occupied by Mr. Emmet, they were made part of his own household and allowed free intercourse with their parents. In time, through Gov. Stuart's influence, both Mr. Emmet and his wife were allowed the same privileges as were enjoyed by the other prisoners.

In accord with the regular discipline maintained in the Fortress the prisoners were all locked up at night in their quarters. One night a fire occurred in Mr. Emmet's apartments from a defective flue, and before the family could be released, the mother and children suffered greatly from the smoke and fright. Owing to the locked door, the fire gained considerable headway and was only extinguished with difficulty. Col. Stuart was one of the first to reach the quarters and having seen how serious the consequences might have been, he addressed the following note to Mr. Emmet:—

The lieutenant-governor's compliments to Mr. Emmet. He hopes Mrs. Emmet suffered no inconvenience from the alarm of fire which was given last night. As the idea of being locked in may occasion a disagreeable sensation to a lady's mind, in case of any sudden occurrence (though the lieutenant-governor flatters himself that none in future will arise), he will give directions that the passage door leading to Mr. Emmet's apartments shall not in future be locked, being convinced Mr. Emmet would make no improper use of all the doors being left open.

Dr. Madden in his work makes the following comment:—

What a singular contrast between the conduct to Emmet of the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort George, grounded on the conviction that "Mr. Emmet would make no improper use of all the doors (of his prison) being left open", and that of Lord Castlereagh, based *on the suspicion of his wife being so contaminated by his principles that the safety of the state required he should not be suffered to enjoy her society, except in the presence of a sentinel.* So long as the conduct of the brave Scotch officer is remembered by Irishmen—ay, and by Englishmen—with honour, so long shall that of the unfeeling, cold-hearted political apostate—the minion of Mr. Pitt, be remembered with loathing and contempt by right-thinking men of all parties.

For occupation, the special friends of Mr. Emmet among the prisoners now began to teach his children. Mr. Emmet instructed his son Robert in Latin; Dr. Macneven* wrote out a grammar and taught them French. Mr. Hudson gave them music lessons, and others taught them dancing and the son to fence.

Mr. Emmet at this time began to write his "Contribution to Irish History," which was afterwards published in New York.

Among Dr. Macneven's papers was found an article written by himself, commenting on the different traits and habits of each State prisoner associated with him at Fort George. The following related to Mr. Emmet:

The several prisoners in Fort George had embraced some particlar course of reading and study, to which they applied with far more assiduity than if they only read for

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*In a family scrap book from which had been copied a number of newspaper clippings in connection with the death and burial of Thomas Addis Emmet in 1827, a memorial was found relative to Dr. Macneven. A clipping from "The Truth Teller" (Oct. 8, 1842) gives an account of the public meeting held for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of Dr. Macneven. Among the speakers Judge Robert Emmet was called on and is reported as saying:—

"If the gentleman who has just preceded me found it difficult to speak of the virtues of Doctor Macneven, if he felt embarrassed in giving vent to his feelings on this occasion, I think I may be allowed to say, that I am burthened with the same embarrassment in a much greater degree—embarrassed indeed by associations which cannot operate in his case, and which language is very inadequate to express. Doctor Macneven was one of the earliest friends whom my recollection can trace. For more than forty years previous to his death I was almost constantly with him, not as a mere acquaintance or ordinary friend, but as one whom I regarded with filial affection and respect. I first remember him in that prison where following the fortune of my own father, while yet a child, we were immured together, and where that bond of attachment was formd which continued and grew in strength through life, and was severed by death alone (*loud cheers*). From the disastrous times of 1798 to the last moment of his life, through adversity and prosperity. I have scarcely been, I may say, out of his sight. Fate threw us for three years into the same prison at Fort George in Scotland, where I received from him some of the first rudiments of my education. The love and respect with which his character at this early period inspired me, never abated. I need hardly say that between Dr. Macneven and my father there existed a tie of brotherhood rarely to be found except between brothers. With all these feelings now revived in my mind and memory, I feel inadequate to the task of eulogising the character of Dr. Macneven as it deserves, or of paying a first tribute to the memory of one who in private life was so honorable, high-minded and charitable, who was so eminent in every walk of science, who was so profound in council, whose love of country and devotion to her welfare were without limit and who sacrificed his fortune and liberty and perilled his life in the attempt to give freedom to that loved land of his birth, far from which his ashes now repose (*loud and continued cheers*). Fortunately much cannot be required to urge those who hear me to perform the act of duty for which we have met here this evening. We owe it to the memory of Dr. Macneven—we owe it to the land of our birth—we owe it to ourselves to proclaim and record in the most public and enduring manner the love, gratitude and respect which we feel for his character and service. It is true that his memory finds a monument in the heart of every true and patriotic Irishman, but it is expected from us as a duty that we should do more, and the stigma of apathy must not rest upon us in this matter.

"We are called upon here as Irishmen and the friends of Ireland, not as belonging to any particular party or sect, to record for future generations our esteem and admiration of one to whom all Irishmen owe a debt of gratitude, not only for his efforts and sacrifices in his native land, but for his watchful and zealous exertions for the best interests of Ireland's persecuted children in the land of his adoption. One who by a life of undeviating honor and integrity probably sustained the name and character of our country among our American fellow-citizens. One who by his talents and attainments and the contributions which they enabled him to make to science has imposed a debt of gratitude upon men of all countries and creeds.

"It is to honor the memory of such a man that we are assembled and with that view I now beg leave to propose the following for your adoption—*Resolved,* That a suitable monument be erected in the memory of the late William James Macneven"!

amusement. Emmet applied himself chiefly to mathematics, or, more properly, to algebra, in which he made signal proficiency, and to which he was so devoted, that for whole months he employed the greater portion of his nights in the study of this science. He had little or no acquaintance with it when he arrived at Fort George, but it chanced Euler's Algebra came among the books we received there; this opened the subject to him, and he afterwards prosecuted it with the greatest assiduity, until the arrival of Mrs. Emmet and three of his children divided his attention. After this period Shakespeare was his favourite reading; he never touched a law book while at Fort George, and had made up his mind to purchase land and turn farmer in America. Having embraced this project, he never disturbed his mind with any other schemes, but waited tranquilly for his release, and the opportunity it would afford.—He was remarkable for great equanimity and good temper through the whole of his confinement; he was also exempt from any disease during that time; his stomach was never out of order, and his palate so undistinguishing, that, provided he got sufficient food, he was careless of the kind and almost of the quality; he was, however, moderate in the quantity, and very abstemious as to drink, so that repletion never injured his health or faculties.

The preceding extract in Dr. Madden's work seemed strangely familiar to the writer, as if he had read it before. He came to the conclusion that he must have copied it from the original, when the material was being prepared for Dr. Madden's use. A very likely occurrence, as he was on a visit at the time to his uncle's family and was called upon to do the work, as he was considered to be more painstaking and trustworthy for such work than his cousins, who were about his own age, but whose tastes were different.

Mr. Emmet was granted better quarters by the Governor of the Fortress after the arrival of his family, with the free use of pen, ink, and paper. He availed himself of this privilege by writing an extended sketch of the early organization of the United Irishmen and their efforts to obtain an amelioration of the conditon of the Catholic population in Ireland by the repeal of the Popery Laws, with a descripiton of what led to the outburst of the people in the so-called Rebellion of 1798. The fact that he had taken an active part and was able to relate in detail the circumstances of which he had a personal knowledge renders his statement of particular value. It may be claimed moreover, that very few historical events have been so accurately recorded, without prejudice, as this portion of Irish history by Mr. Emmet.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Emmet was unable to accomplish what he had contemplated in the writing of an exhaustive historical work covering the period of which he had a personal knowledge. But after his release from prison he was forced to lay aside all thought of any additional literary work, because of the necessity of providing for the support of his family.

After Mr. Emmet had settled in New York, and had been subjected through party spirit to both insult and opposition, owing to the ignorance and prejudice existing towards his native land, as well as knowledge of his political connection with it, it became necessary, for political reasons, to print Mr. Emmet's essay, together with some other material from the same source. It is this essay which has been selected to form the opening chapters of this work. It begins with an account of the corruption and venality of the Irish Parliament in 1788 and 1789, and terminates with the conviction and execution of Messrs.

Weldon, Hart, Kennedy and others in 1795. This was published by his friend and fellow-prisoner Doctor Macneven, who made some additions to the work and published it under the title "Pieces of Irish History, Illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the Origin and Progress of the Political System of the United Irishmen and of their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government, New York, 1807". Without Dr. Macneven's assistance as editor, it is likely that this work would never have been published, but the fact that it appeared under the name of another deprived Mr. Emmet, to a great extent, of the credit to which he was entitled.

Had the reduction of Ireland to the state of a Roman province completed the extensive plan of Agricola, we might demonstrate by the contrast of facts applied to Ireland and herself, the difference between the condition of a dependency of Rome and a dependency of Britain.

T. A. Emmet.

Parliaments and charters are too often the trappings of the slave.
T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XIV

Family letters received by Mr. Emmet and his wife while imprisoned at Fort George

HESE interesting letters were written to Mr. Emmet by his father and mother while he was at Fort George. It is evident that the correspondence is not complete, but the letters which have been preserved will be presented to the reader in chronological order. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Emmet's letters in answer, and those of his wife to her mother, have been lost.

The following extract from Madden's "Life of T. A. Emmet" will enable the reader the better to understand the conditions under which these letters were written:

Poor Dr. Emmet and his wife, from the time of the arrest of their son, Thomas Addis, gradually sank under the calamity which laid the proud hopes of their old age in the dust. They were no longer the same people. In their appearance, their conversation, their mode of life consequent on the abandonment of their former enjoyments and the cessation of intercourse with those who formerly were the companions and associates of their imprisoned son, now "all gone, and not a friend to take his fortune by the arm", the change became obvious to the few who proved in the time of their adversity that they were friends indeed in their acts and thoughts, and not in name only.

The first of the series of letters preserved was written by his mother just one year after Mr. Emmet reached Fort George:

April 10th, 1800.

My Dearest Tom,

I know not what to say about your removal from Fort George. We are yet in a state of uncertainty and may say anxiety upon the subject. The reports about it seemed to have died away. Yesterday, however, Mrs. Patten told me that Mrs. Colville had a letter from Mr. Burleigh, who had seen the commanding officer at Carrickfergus Castle the day before, who told her that he was in daily expectation of your arrival, and that his regiment had been in readiness to change quarters, but were countermanded, and ordered to remain in their present quarters for the purpose of receiving State prisoners from Fort George. He told her that his orders with respect to you were very strict. I am ignorant of how you feel about the matter, but to us I confess it to be a cause of uneasiness. We know that however strict your present confinement may be you are well treated, and that your accommodation is good, the latter of which would not be the case here; nay, I even doubt that it would be possible for Jane to remain with you; at all events her situation would be, I fear, unpleasant. Upon this and many other accounts our wishes are that while you are to remain a prisoner your prison may be at Fort George, where you have been treated in a manner different from what you met here, and I sincerely hope that Mr. Holmes' conjecture may be true, which is that as

the Habeas Corpus Act does not, as we are told, operate in Scotland, the intention of bringing you over has been given up, and that these orders, which were given under the original idea, have not been recalled. My mind is at present so much occupied by this subject that I cannot write about any other, and in fact I have at any time but little to say; doing the same things, and almost saying the same things, every day, offers but little entertainment for a settled correspondence. Your father however desires me to tell you that he wonders how you can be surprised that he should find employment upon thirteen acres when Penelope could find so much upon a webb.

He has as much perseverance, and has as great occasion to find work for himself as she had. His changes are not great, but they are constant and happy is it that they are productive of amusement to a mind that wants its natural props to support it. His health and spirits keep me from sinking, for I am tired of looking at prospects, which in this uncertain climate are oftener overcast than otherwise, and therefore cannot afford satisfaction to a mind that has a great deal to wish for and can behold nothing but remote prospects. Your children are indeed often an amusement to us all, but tho' they are as good and as fine children as we could wish for, they are but bad substitutes for those they represent.

Mary Anne's happiness in consequence of having married a very worthy man, of whom she is very fond, and he equally so of her, is certainly a great source of comfort to us. She has grown so stout that scarce a day passes without her walking to town, about town, and out again. The pleasure of her husband's company has I believe wrought this change, and her health is greatly benefited by the exertion. Your friend Dr. Drennan* has got a little heir, and he is so anxious about it that he is continually watching the cradle lest it should die. Lady Anne [Fitzgerald]† is gone with her sister to spend the summer at Lord Farnham's, but not without paying a kind visit, and desiring to be remembered in the most affectionate terms to you and Jane. There has not been any account of the De Fontenays‡ since they left Lisle, and I suppose the prohibition to Montreal vessels has been the cause of their friends not hearing from them.

Knowing as you must how much you possess the affections of all under this roof, it is needless for me to mention them. Jane also I hope is assured that she and the children have their full proportion, and therefore I trust it is now not necessary to assure her and them of mine, any more than it is to assure you, my dearest Tom, how truly I am your affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

July 6th, 1800.

My Dearest Tom,

As you have been made acquainted with Jane's going to England, you will not be surprised at receiving a letter from me, especially as Mary Anne is confined to her bed, having on Friday evening given you a nephew, who though not of the giant race is likely enough to do well, but what is more material, his mother is in as good a way as I could wish her to be. We have now eight grandchildren under our roof, but alas! (save Mary Anne) we have not their parents. We, however, must not murmur, but acquiesce in the dispensations of the Supreme Being for those he has left and for those he has taken away. Robert [the eldest child] has felt your rebuke; he rose early this morning in order to answer your letter and is now busily employed in manufacturing one to you, which I am sure will give you more pleasure for being entirely his own. He and the rest of your children are all in good health, and have all of them such dispositions

*Dr. Drennan, a distinguished physician of Dublin, a United Irishman, a writer for "The Press" and a noted poet.

†An old friend of the family and a sister of the "Knight of Kerry"—to be again referred to.

‡The Marquis de Fontenay and his family had been French émigrés in Ireland, and were friends of the Emmet family. Several letters from Robert Emmet to Madame la Marquise will be given hereafter.

as promises happiness to you and themselves. I have every hope that Jane will succeed in obtaining the object of her journey. Had she received your letter before she went I am of opinion that she would have gone direct to Scotland, instead of England, as it was only the apprehension of giving uneasiness to you that withheld her. It always was my opinion that she ought, for both your sakes, to go to Scotland, but it was a matter too delicate for me to broach until her uncle mentioned it. And then I felt myself warranted in declaring myself, and recommending the measure which she was upon the point of carrying into execution, had she not been dissuaded by St. John Mason's account of the extreme strictness which was observed with respect to the prisoners. However, I hope she will be able to get the same permission which Mrs. O'Connor has, and more she will not ask. Your old friend, Dr. Drennan, whose attendance on Mary Anne has given us an opportunity of seeing him oftener than we have of late, is married to a very amiable pretty young woman; he has waited to some good purpose.

Mr. William Colville [Mrs. T. A. Emmet's cousin] has just been here; he read to us a paragraph in a letter from a friend who was applied to for the purpose of recommending Jane's business; it says that he will do everything in his power to serve her and hopes she will make his house her own during the negotiations. He is an intimate friend of the Colville family, who have all of them behaved in a very friendly manner, and especially young William, who is a very affectionate good young man. You know what breaches have been made in our family of late, not only by Jane's departure, but also that of Mrs. Patten and John. We could but ill bear such a diminution of our family, but patience is our only remedy for every ill. Your father, our only prop, is, thank God, well, may the Almighty Being, in mercy to us all, protect and prolong his life.

E. Emmet.

Your father, Mr. Holmes, and Mary Anne desire me to assure you of their sincerest affection, and the juniors all join in love and duty to you.

Thos. Addis Emmet,
Fort George, Scotland.

The object of Mrs. Emmet's journey to England was to obtain from the British Government permission to join her husband in Fort George. This privilege was obtained, as has been stated, with some difficulty, but finally she was permitted to go and take several of her children with her. Her particular object in being with her husband at this time was in consequence of a report that the State prisoners were to be sent at an early day to Van Dieman's Land, and Mrs. Emmet felt that if she were with her husband at the time of departure there might be a possibility of being allowed to accompany him.

July 14th, 1800.

My Dearest Tom,

Mary Anne has received your letter of the 29th of June, and as she is not now quite strong enough to write, I sit down in her place to answer it, thinking that as Jane is not here, a letter from your old correspondent will not be unwelcome to you. Mary Anne is recovering fast, but the infant lived for only a week. This event has not given uneasiness; it was very small when born, and I am persuaded could not, from the many and great agitations its mother underwent, have grown up healthy. I suppose Jane gives you an account of herself in a less circuitous manner than we can. We had a letter from her, but it was written immediately upon her arrival in London, when she could not know anything about the success of her application, but should she fail in hers I am confident that success will be obtained through means of our dear worthy Lady Anne [Fitzgerald], who was here on Saturday. She did not know when Jane

was going to London, or she would have written to you. She, however, while she was here, wrote to Sir John in such terms as you would expect from her warm heart. The manner in which she mentioned you and Jane is highly gratifying. She presses the suit very strongly, and begs that even if she should have left London unsuccessful, that he will nevertheless use his best efforts to get her request complied with. As much as we shall miss Jane and the dear children, it will afford us the greatest comfort that they should be permitted to go to you. I am very sorry that your hopes of embracing them must be so long deferred, but as your patience has never yet forsaken you, I hope it will not now abandon you. We feel, my dear Tom, very sensibly your kind solicitude about us in every action of a most affectionate and kind son, but who can fill the present vacancies in our family? Mary Anne is truly amiable, and Mr. Holmes very worthy, but it is not in either of their power to supply the places of those from whom we are separated.

Your father's fortitude is equal to his affection for his children, and I trust in a merciful Being that he will be rewarded, even in this life, no matter in what country, so we are blessed with the presence of our children. I rest in an humble hope that the hand of the Almighty does not lie thus heavy upon us for our transgressions against him, and I place a confidence in his mercy that as he does not delight in the affliction of his creatures, he will, when his wisdom sees fit, restore happiness to us all who sincerely trust him. Mr. Holmes has just received a letter from John [Patten]; he says that your letter which Mary Anne transcribed to Jane has given her the greatest pleasure.

The judge who directs the affairs of Sir Edward Denny* has intimated that he will give an annuity, which he will himself secure, to the amount of three thousand pounds and the interest thereof, which was given for Knockenagh; how much it will be I know not, but your father thinks, and so do I, that it will be better to accept it than to proceed in a law-suit, as we do not want a vexatious litigation.

Your father and all join in most affectionate love to you. Your children are all well. I am, my dearest Tom, with the most ardent feelings,

Your truly affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

To Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

August 1st, 1800.

My Dearest Tom,

You may easily have more agreeable correspondents, but you cannot have a more punctual one than I am. Mary Anne is very much better, but you know of old that she has one complaint of which I have no hope that she will be cured: indolence has still, and always will have, domination over her, except when exertion becomes necessary; then indeed no person can exceed her in efforts. I wish, however, for her own sake, that her exertions were brought more into the practice of every day, and not reserved for great occasions. She has a very strong mind, and I think it would operate more upon the body if more frequently called forth. I fear you have felt some uneasiness from your being too early in your calculations about Jane's arrival; before now, however, I hope it is all over, and that you are happy in having your wishes and expectations realized. Your father and I are like the moon, enlightened by reflection, but the happiness we receive in this manner is sufficient to make us feel very comfortable, and makes us very often forget how far we are from the source of the secondary kind of happiness. In answer to one part of your letter I can only assure you that our gratitude has never been more excited than in feeling that we were able to give an asylum to your wife and children. Under this roof they should have been sheltered and shared the loaf with us; let what would have befallen us it is only to make you happy, but not without some reluctance, that we have parted with those who are gone

*Of County Kerry and a noted English sympathizer.

to you. And as to the division of the children, it is just what we would have made if the appointment had been our own. We love Robert too well not to wish him under your care, and the girls could not possibly be so well anywhere as with their mother. The three that we have shall meet all the care that is necessary for them at present, and when they come to require instruction I trust in a merciful Providence that it will be under your own inspection. Strange indeed would it be if we thought your children an incumbrance; it is an idea of which I trust you think us incapable.

When I had written thus far I was agreeably surprised by a visit from Mrs. Patten, who came to spend a day with us; by this means you will receive this letter two days later than I intended. Mrs. Patten desired me to tell Jane that she had written two sheets of paper, and had burned them both, as she could not bear to write for the inspection of officers. This consideration, I confess, never disturbs me, as I feel it to be of no importance to have my style defective or my letters incorrect, provided you understand me and my feelings, and I am quite satisfied as to what the opinions of others may be. She desired to let John know that the message about the deeds did not reach her till the Tuesday after he had left. She is extremely well and in much more tranquil spirits than when Jane went away. I find you are disposed to shuffle me off upon Jane's hands whether she likes it or not, but it will not do. I shall always have the sincerest pleasure in Jane's letters, but I know she does not always like to write, and I would not have her correspondence with me imposed on her like task-work, but a volutary act whenever she chooses to perform it. I have, moreover, another cogent reason for having you my general correspondent, which is, that I have written more letters to you than to any other person alive, and therefore find I can write with more ease to myself than to any other person. Tell Jane that Mr. Macaubry* lamented that he had left Belfast before she arrived there, as he would have felt much pleasure in having it in his power to be of any use to her; they are a very feeling family. I long much to hear of the safe arrival of all the travellers; we must have a very minute account of the meeting, and whether the children have grown more or less than you expected. I fear Robert will not do me much credit, as he sometimes forgets what he has learned. He is, however, a charming child, a fine soil, and just fit for you to work upon; authority, but not severity, is very necessary for him. I suppose you lament that Elizabeth is not handsome.

Adieu, my dearest Tom, and believe me ever yours,

E. Emmet.

August 7th, 1800.

My Dearest Tom,

I have taken Mary Anne's place, as she seems somewhat lazy and not inclined to write. I would not, however, let you remain without hearing from us, tho' I have nothing to communicate further than we are tolerably well, and very happy in the reflection that probably before this reaches you you will have the gratification of embracing your wife and three of your children. I need not tell you how we feel like two old oaks exposed to mountain storms and left almost leafless, but we still bear up trusting in the goodness of Providence that we shall in some country, before we sink into the grave, see our family re-established and happy. I am persuaded that when Governor Stuart sees your wife and children he will feel all those agreeable sensations that arise in generous minds upon finding that their humanity has been employed for worthy objects. I have perhaps calculated wrong in supposing that Jane would be with you before this letter shall reach you; should it not be so do not therefore be uneasy, as she may have unforeseen delays upon the road. She and the children were in perfect health and spirits when they left this. Your other three children are all well, and shall not be neglected. Your father is, thank God, extremely well; what a mercy it is that his health is so good.

*This Mr. Macaubry was the grandson of Diana, the sister of Christopher Emett, as already stated.

Mary Anne's recovery has been somewhat retarded by the loss of her little child and by Jane's departure. Tell Jane that Kitty [Temple Emmet's daughter] has with great ease accomplished that lesson upon the piano which seemed so difficult; she has good musical talents, and it would be a pity they should not be employed. All here join most cordially in love and every fond wish to you and your happy circle.

My dearest Tom, I am, your ever affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

Sept. 4th, 1800.

My dearest Tom,

The account of Jane's and the children's arrival gave us heartfelt satisfaction, and you may be assured that your present happiness is to us a source of the greatest comfort. You have indeed cause to be vain of your wife and children. Jane, I hope, is well convinced how favourable our opinion is of her conduct and how strong our attachments are to her, and I will add that not only her conduct but that of her entire family has been meritorious in a high degree, different from what we had expected on another melancholy occasion from another quarter; that Mrs. Patten and John should behave so is what I expected, because I am sure that they both love you almost as well as they do Jane.

But others of the family, whose interests and opinions were opposite to yours, have behaved with the utmost delicacy and liberality, and have shown a great cordiality about you and Jane. Mary Anne is very much better; she has had a variety of complaints; her feelings, tho' seemingly calm, have always fallen upon her constitution, which you know is naturally delicate. We do not think that her affection for Mr. Holmes, which to be sure is uncommonly ardent, has in any respect diminished that which she has felt for her other friends. These things are possible, and you, my dear Tom, are an example that losing one object does not abate your affection for your other relations. I am very glad that you did not hear of Elizabeth's illness till the account was accompanied with one of her being better; she is certainly a very fine child; nature has been very liberal to her in disposition as well as in beauty. Margaret is undoubtedly her inferior, but she, however, is not devoid of merit, as she has many good talents, & if I mistake not, will be a shrewd observer, but always direct and liberal in her transactions.—Robert is a fine creature; that he did not learn more was my fault, not his, and I did not always find my mind fitted for giving instruction. He is now, thank God, in a proper situation for receiving it, and with your cultivation will yield a plentiful crop. Don't let the children forget us, but more especially do I wish to retain a place in Robert's kind heart. The three that we have are so much our own that they will not rival the others, they stand a good chance of treading fast upon their heels. The little fellow is delicate, but he has a happy temper, which I hope will attend him through life. He has been much reduced from cutting teeth, he is now better. His grandpa's claret has been of great use to him, and I assure you he fights hard in dumb show to become an equal partaker of it. I beg you will always be very minute in your account of the three children, as you will thereby give us great pleasure, we being glad to feed upon crumbs that fall from your table. I was well aware of Jane's dislike to writing, when I declined encumbering her with my correspondence. A letter from her will, however, always afford me almost as much pleasure as it would to Mrs. Patten, but I would have it a free will, not a compulsory offering. But however great her dislike may be to writing, I hope and I am sure she will not suffer it ever to overcome her so far as to induce her to decline writing to a mother to whom she owes so much, and tho' she is good-natured enough not to require more, ought not to be put off continually with accounts at second-hand. She should not be kept waiting for intelligence 'til we are first served, and, whether she writes or not I hope Jane will hold a regular correspondence with her. Mary Anne wished to write, but as your last letter was to me I would not substitute her to write in my place. I again request that you

will be particular in accounts of yourself, your wife, and your children. Do not fear being guilty of egotism; to others such things may be tedious, but to us they will be matters of great satisfaction. I hope you take care to have good air in your chambers, and if you all sleep in one room, an attention to this point will be the more necessary. I am the more particular upon this head, from my knowledge that both Jane and you love to indulge in a good degree of warmth.

All here are well, thank God; your father more so than we had a right to expect. The healing hand that has been held out to us in every tryal has mercifully preserved him. May our gratitude bear some proportion to the mercies we have received. I suppose John Patten will have left you before this can have reached you; if he should not, assure him of what he is so justly entitled to, our most cordial regards and good wishes. You see how I scribble on without saying anything, but I write in full confidence that my letters will not be uninteresting to you, who must be convinced that I am most truly your affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

Your father, Mr. Holmes &c., join in kindest affection to you, Jane, and the children. Kitty is very well.

Sept. 19th, 1800.

My dearest Tom,

I am sorry to perceive by your letter to Mary Anne that your old colds in the head are again visiting you; I hope not as heavily as they used to do formerly. The cold of Fort George, I am told, is very great in winter and from the same quarter I hear that your airing ground is very limited. Neither of these accounts have given me much pleasure, but I endeavour not to feel uneasiness when I reflect that you never have complained of either. I, however, entreat that you will do all you can to harden yourself before Winter comes. I hope Jane has quite recovered from her fatigue. Mrs. Patten has had a great uneasiness about her and was sure if she had not been ill that either she or John would have written to her. I can blame neither her fears or her jealousy, I think she has had too much room for both, your last letters, however, have in a great measure removed the former, and the sight of John will certainly put an end to the latter. I hope when Jane is quite established you will prevail upon her to be more prudent. She will not probably in Fort George have an opportunity of making those great efforts of which she is so fond; the last indeed has cost her dear enough, and I doubt not but she will in time perceive that system is better than swiftness. We may admire the speed and power of a race-horse, but a steady draft horse will in general be found as useful and much more durable.

Late hours too I hope you will avoid, you are both fond of them, yet be assured that eventually they will materially injure your constitution, and as you are now situated you cannot pay too much attention to the preservation of health. Jane's good sense will, I am sure, point out to her that these musty precepts import nothing but kindness to her. Mr. Palmer* and his wife dined here yesterday, he seemed a very plain sensible man, and she a very unaffected woman, rather agreeable than handsome, I believe very like her mother. She did not mention even her brother's name, but I heard that he has arrived in England for the purpose of purchasing an estate in Devonshire. Mr. Palmer says that any part of America is unfit for persons of small fortunes to live in. The Dowager Lady Temple pays two hundred pounds a year for a very small unfurnished house in Boston. He says that the yellow fever is continually returning to every part of America, and he attributes it to the climate. It made great havoc in Boston, as well as in the other parts of America. Mr. ——— also dined here, he has gotten an employment of five hundred a year, and now sees very clearly that the Union will not be prejudicial to Ireland.

*Mr. William Palmer, of Boston, married Augusta, the daughter of Sir John Temple.

Mary Anne is better, and the various complications which threatened her are now subsiding. Your father is, thank God, extremely well. God grant that changes of weather at the approach of winter may not affect him. Your children are all well, John very content, but growing more animated, Tom shrewd and firm, and if the little one gets a body equal to his mind he will equal any of your children. Upon reading your description of Robert at receiving his cousin's letter, your father felt strongly inclined to open a correspondence with him, but gave up the idea upon reflecting that it would be somewhat strange that he should hold one with him when he doesn't with you. Mary Anne in her letters, I dare say, expresses Mr. Holmes' feelings; he is not apt to say much, but I believe there is not a man alive he reveres more than he does you. I am sure you will be glad to hear from myself that my spirits, which were much depressed, at Jane's leaving us, are now much better. Necessity, that infallible teacher, has brought our feelings to submit to our situation, and the consciousness we have of your happiness conveys to us the best cordial we can have in our present state of separation. We are all very impatient until John's arrival, and by your not mentioning him in your last we conclude he has left you and will be soon here. Mrs. Patten is at Clontarf, and is very well. You cannot say too much of yourself, Jane, and the children. Omit nothing that you can crowd into a letter, anything you can say will be food for us, and I know you like to deal food to the hungry with a liberal hand.

May every blessing attend you and yours, prays your truly affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

October 9th, 1800.

My dearest Tom,

Mary Anne and I have received a letter from you, and are happy that you and Jane and two of the children are so well, and we hope to hear in your next that Margaret's complaints are all over. Great must your pleasure be in the discharge of your different occupations, especially when assisted by such an usher. I perceive it will be necessary to guard yourself against Elizabeth; she is a very fascinating child, but the tenderness of Robert's tones and the brightness of his countenance give him the advantage over all the other children whatever. I must confess that the caution which I give you is necessary here at home; the two youngest ones are gaining ground so fast as to be likely to distance poor John, who is certainly a very honest, good tempered fellow, but his talents are of the slow kind, he may nevertheless hereafter head the tribe, for we know that the battle is not to the strong, nor the race always to the swift. Little Tom is a critical observer, very clear in his ideas, and very concise in the delivery of them; the young one promises to be like our Robert, and if he equals him in talent and disposition your paternal wishes need not desire greater excellence. I fill my paper with speaking of your children, supposing that you will not be tired of the subject. From this house, so void of anecdote or incident, you cannot hope for entertainment from our letters. Your gratification in perusing them must arise from the accounts which, thank God, I can give that we are all well, going on with uninterrupted sameness, and bearing our separation with sufficient fortitude, arising chiefly from reflecting upon the happiness which you at present enjoy. I read with great pleasure Jane's letter to her mother, it is a pity she should be so averse to writing; it will indeed not be pardonable in her ever to shrink from any occasion which demands the use of the pen, when she makes such extremely good use of it. We have not received all the satisfaction from John we expected, we can learn nothing with respect to any plan for your future arrangements. Whatever tends to render the prospect of our meeting uncertain makes us all unhappy. I strive what I can to suppress gloomy thoughts, which a reflection upon this subject must always exert. You expect that we should make the children remember you, this is not so easy an affair. I just now asked Tom if I should give his love to you all, and his reply was that he loved Murray, he will always I believe

try to keep fair with those who hold the loaves and fishes. You may remember what Mrs. C—— and Bell often told us, we then, my dear Tom, attributed to prejudice what we now find to be a fact. I suppose Mrs. Patten has informed you of Miss Ryal's death, she doubtless has fallen a victim to a broken heart, most sincerely do I pity the poor prisoner who must in close confinement bear this severe misfortune.

You will perhaps imagine that I usurp too great a share in correspondence when I am only a co-partner in it, and that Mary Anne is younger and much better able to sustain her part therein. I confess I feel gratified in conversing with you, even on paper, and therefore I have indulged myself in becoming the secretary of this day.

Your father, who is taking his accustomed wet weather walk about the room, joins in the strongest assurance of the warmest affection to you, Jane, and the dear children. The rest of the family are dispersed, but I can answer that their most cordial wishes for you and Jane will always unite with those of your ever affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

Oct. 30th, 1800.

I thank you, my dearest Tom, for the increasing tenderness with which you treat all my weakness, of which you have given me a great instance in your last letter. Your lenient temper administers a calm for every malady. We are happy to find by your two last letters that you are all well, and that Margaret is quite recovered. Dear Robert's letter gave us great pleasure, it is a true picture of his heart, overflowing with innocence, honesty, and good nature. May he give to you and his mother as much comfort, without the pangs, as you have given us. I have not seen Mrs. Patten for some days, as she has gone to spend a week at Clontarf, but I hear with pleasure that Jane has written to her. John dined here on Sunday last, he kindly remembers us, and sometimes gives us a day, but not as often as we would wish, tho' I believe as often as he can, as he seems to have much business upon his hands. Change of weather has not as yet, thank God, had any bad effect upon your father. I have had a severe cold, which, however, has quite gone, and as usual without any remedy to remove it. The rest are all very well, except the little fellow, who is quite delicate in spite of our wishes and endeavours to have him otherwise; he is just now very tolerable, and I still trust a great deal to his own cheerfulness. I would not have you imagine that I am partial to his name; I assure you that he is a great favorite with every other person in the family, as with me. Little Tom is also a charming child, but as circumspect, crafty, and faithful to his own interests as any of the race of Abraham ever were. John, tho' last named, is not, I assure you, ever forgotten by us; he looks robust and hearty, is much more playful and lively, but still your father thinks that his lungs are in a very spongy state; we have been obliged to shave his head, so that he will continue a baldpate for the winter. You may be sure that nothing upon our part shall be omitted that we think may tend to promote his health. I am thus minute about your children, thinking it right that you should know every particular concerning them. Our list of Peers has lost three of its members, it seems as if they were grief-stricken, that the Peerage is merely nominal. Lord Farnham is perhaps the most to be lamented. Lord Belamont* has left a lesson behind him, upon the shortness and uncertainty of human life; he rode his own horse against Mr. R. Latouch on Friday, walked about the streets of Dublin on Saturday, and was dead before Monday morning.

Your father desires me to tell you that he does all he can to throw amusement into those hours which he would spend in happiness if you, your family, and brother [Robert]

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*The grandfather of this peer, bearing the same title, was the Colonial Governor of New York for several years previous to 1701. He was charged, with James Emott, of New York, and Livingston, with having fitted out Kidd, the pirate, and with having shared with him his spoils. The truth of the story would seem to be that Bellamont and others had fitted out a privateer and had placed Kidd in command. After having made some legitimate returns as prizes for the owners, Kidd at length turned pirate for his own gain.

were around him. This however is an idea which we must not dwell upon, but tho' we endeavour to suppress it we are not able to prevent it always from obtruding itself. Mr. Chamberlain has been given over, but is now recovering, he was laid up at the same time in the gout. Your father had lately a letter from St. John [Mason], he is very well, and you may be sure affectionate in his inquiries about you and yours. So are numbers besides, and none more than our now only neighbours. I have no news to tell you, unless I was to inform you that our loaf is growing larger and our potatoes very thin in the ground. It will not be news to tell you how much we all love you and your fireside, and that I am most truly your

ever affectionate mother,
ELIZABETH EMMET.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

In another handwriting, and probably that of his sister Mary Anne:

MY DEAREST TOM—

I send you two glasses of number nine, which the opticians say is your number, and will send another in the next letter.—

The following letter is from his father;

NOV. 13TH, 1800.

MY DEAR TOM,

Yesterday your mother received yours of the 25th of October, wherein you express so much pleasure at receiving her former superscriptions by me: that I find myself bound by mere civility and etiquette to make more than a proxy acknowledgment of thanks to you, and impelled by paternal affection to give you as much pleasure as is in my power.

I take up my pen to address an entire letter to you, and on gilt paper if you please, for if the bare superscription of a letter by me, affords you every satisfaction as to my health, in addition to the reports of it made by your mother and Mary Anne, the receipt of an entire letter from myself must increase that satisfaction more, and thus much for the preamble.

Now as to the subject matter, that I love you I need not assure you, that our separation has thrown gloom on my evening of life is unnecessary to mention! But away with this sombre commencement. The clouds of my evening are not as pleasure-fringed as I could wish, but they are not sorrow-charged; if not gay, they are at least serene, and they receive reflections of satisfaction even from Fort George. When I know, if you are immured, you are also comfortably lodged, honourably treated, and indulged with the companionship of a beloved and love-deserving Partner, with half a very promising progeny who must soon grow up well and advantageously accomplished under yours and their mother's tuition.

As to those under my care, they must certainly fall short in point of education, but we will do the best we can. John is at a crown and a quarter school, where he tells me he makes great proficiency, four or five lessons a day in his A, B, C, but as yet he does not couple them very accurately. John, however, is a very well-disposed, well-tempered child, and if he does not mount into the Empyrean Galaxy, he will always keep the Milky path of life, and never tread on thorns. Tom has, I fear, by the commentary of your letter, been rather misrepresented to you; he seems to be a little more attentive to self, than either Robert or John, but he has right good material to be wrought upon, solidity, circumspection, attention, and love of approbation. Little Temple, *signa fata . . . alter Marcellus erit,* should he live for the germs to open, blossom, and ripen into fruit, he will equal I think his namesake uncle. But of this no more now; as to myself, entering on my seventy-first year of Life, I find the strength of constitution, praise be to the Donor, reducing a disorder to a mere inconvenience and leaving nothing to be complained of on that head. I eat, drink, and sleep very sufficiently and comfortably; boiled bread

and milk as usual for breakfast, the chance of the table and everything welcome at dinner; after that the certainty of three glasses of claret, for your mother insists upon it that it is the proper wine for me, and that you know decides it, for in point of Medical regulation, *Mihi est Magnus Apollo.* If the weather be fine and sunny, I vibrate a pendulum walk from the esplanade to your study for half an hour, or longer if dry, but with a western wind the vibration line is changed from the Esplanade to the mount and the time shortened. Now as to amusement, what am I to say? Why, a recluse, and scarcely seeing any person but my own family, I am under the necessity of saying and doing the same thing over and over again, planting one tree, pulling up another, *diruens, edificans, mutans quadrate rotundis;* sometimes not so much in real action or expense, building castles in the air, travelling and planning on the *Loire* from Nantz to Blois, sometimes on the *Seine* from Havre de Grase to Paris; sometimes on the *Villain* from Roche-Bernard to Rennes. But seventy-one years of age and a very comfortable settlement at Casino, come athwart me and soon fall the castles and all their improvements. Luckily the demolition and the last page of my paper coincide, and the deficiency of imagination to maintain any farther Essays happily remains undiscovered. This, the only letter which you have had written to you by me since your arrest you will probably think sufficiently compensatory, by its length, for the continued silence; what then will the official person think of it when he wades thro' such folly and nonsense? He must e'en think the best he can. Had he relied on my good sense and judgment not to write anything that was improper for official inspection, he would have read an entertaining chapter in *Tristram Shandy,* or any other equally entertaining book, and have forwarded this unread. If he has not had that opinion of me, he must blame himself for the consequences; at any rate, if it affords you the shadow even of satisfaction I shall feel myself compensated for my part of the performance, and still more so as it affords me the opportunity of assuring you that I am with the most sincere and undiminished parental affection, yours as ever,

ROBERT EMMET.

Casino, Nov. 18th, 1800.

The late King of Prussia thought, or said, that the postscript was the only part of a letter worth reading. My love, and all our loves, to Jane, Robert, Margaret, and Elizabeth, yourself not forgotten.

DECEMBER 12TH, 1800.

MY DEAR TOM,

On Tuesday last I received yours of the 22nd of November, and to show you how willing I am to continue a correspondence, which I had hitherto declined entering into, merely because you had then three correspondents in the family; one of them happily being admitted to a more pleasing intercourse than letter-writing, I shall step forward in her place and continue you to the jogg-trot practice with three correspondents. Before the receipt of your letter I had heard of the circumstance which you apprehended would give such pleasure to your mother. It has indeed afforded very great pleasure to all of us, as it gives you an opportunity of acting as you have done, and which has been perfectly to the wishes of every member of the family; you are quite right, I think, in resolving to curtail both correspondences. Novel-writing is grown into a common practice for masters and misses, but letter-writing, I think, should not yet be committed to children; for it would do worse than spoil the manner of forming their alphabetical letters; it would give them a confidential manner of communicating nonsense and tiring their friends. Not that any of Robert's have been so, which on the contrary have always given pleasure to every one of us who have received or read them. His representation of that great ugly Goat, which he mentioned to Kitty, as getting on the ramparts, and which I fancy beat him from the rear, has made me laugh repeatedly; and tho' I do not in general approve of children's letter-writing, yet when you shall think his hand sufficiently practised for small letter-writing I shall be extremely glad to hear from him by a letter to yourself,

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Sir John Temple and Lady Temple, with the eldest child, Greenville Temple and Daughter. From an oil painting by Trumbull

but he must not, therefore, drop his preceding correspondents, grandmamas, and even Kitty, may grow suddenly jealous.

I do not know whether in the turmoil and agitation of public and private affairs, you have been made acquainted with the death of Sir John Temple. Sir Grenville is now in London, where he intends to pass the winter, and in the spring, if circumstances admit it, to pass over into France. He means, if the reign of *Democracy and villainy* shall be over, as he expresses himself to his aunt, and in which letter he desires to be affectionately remembered to all this Family, including his mistaken friend. He has been very lucky, by all accounts, in the Lottery of Marriage, a very fine young widow with a fortune of sixty thousand pounds, as they say, but Mrs. Temple or Harriet are not perfectly correct in arithmetic calculations, you know, and half the sum may be, perhaps, the truth. The apprehensions of approaching scarcity, if not of famine, are unhappily too probable! The corn harvest has certainly been sufficiently productive, and if no more of it was to be exported I am certain that we should have enough for home consumption.— Were it not that our potatoes, which you know are the chief substance of three-fourths of the community, have turned out but poorly, and consequently must increase the demand for corn. But the attention of Government will, I trust, procure a great and general importation of it; and as Ireland is now, no longer a distant Kingdom from England, but an integral part of the British Empire, I hope it will participate in the advantages of not having any of its own produce drawn from it, but also of having quantities of foreign corn thrown into it. My line of living and amusements continue to be much the same; save that, as the weather is growing very cold, my walking is curtailed, and I am necessarily thrown more upon books. For this week's reading I observe with great pleasure how Brutus by one well-timed act defeated the enemy, refuted his falsehood, detected the calumny and silenced the detraction of Cassius; for, tho' both were embarked in the same cause they were certainly men of very different characters and acted upon very different principles.

Adieu, my dear Tom, may every blessing of my heart attend you and yours, and may you, in your children, feel all the comfort, confidence, and satisfaction which I do in mine. My love to Jane, Robert, &c. &c.

ROBERT EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

DECEMBER 18TH, 1800.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have received two or three letters from you since I have last written, but since the number of your correspondents have increased, my turn for writing does not so often happen, and I imagine your father's letters more than compensate for mine being less frequent. It is not of much import who holds the pen provided you get regular weekly intelligence from this quarter. We have but one mind towards you; our affectionate feelings are the same in all, and can be as well expressed by one as by another; and whether they are expressed on paper, or not, I trust that Jane and you will both be assured that they continue undiminished and will always do so.

A comparison upon the approaching season and those we have passed together does not tend to lay them asleep, but we are, however, most truly grateful when we reflect how much more your happiness is than it has been for some preceding Christmas. When Kitty wrote last to dear little Robert, she also wrote, from an impulse of her own, a letter to you, wherein I find the poor child accuses herself of vanity, which, believe me, she does not possess. Jane will, I am sure, acquit me of any partiality, when I assure you that I have never met any child, with, or without her endowments, farther from having any such disposition, Jane will also tell you that she is humble-minded and modest. She is very affectionate, and therefore ready to oblige her friends; this temper makes her solicitous to obtain their approbation, and this she mistakes for vanity. But you may rest satisfied

that she has not more than even you would wish, nor of any other bad propensity that I know of, and I am tolerably attentive to all her dispositions. I also find that you have been uneasy about little Tom, what Mary Anne and I have said imported nothing more than to convey to you an idea of the strength of his intellect, for surely you did not suppose that the disposition of a child, not four years old, would do more than to divert you, instead of giving you sincere alarm. The share of understanding which he promises to have will be fully sufficient to overcome his little childish dispositions, and without severity he will do what is right by only pointing it out to him.

This we even already find to be the case, that his character will be strongly marked I have no doubt, but I am also sure that it will be marked for rectitude and firmness. Finding, however, that what we meant only to amuse has given you uneasiness, I must request in future that you will not infer too much from any of my letters, otherwise I shall be obliged to write with a caution that would be unpleasant to me. There have been accounts from the De Fontenays [the Marquis de Fontenay and family] from Rotterdam; they had a very bad passage thither, which affected him so much that she was uneasy about his life. Most sincerely do I wish that he may be able to embrace his family before he quits this uneasy and uncertain life. They cannot yet have reached the end of their journey, even tho' she should have been able to proceed much sooner than could well have been expected. Your father, thank God, continues well, and so do we all, the children remarkably so, the little fellow, whom a month ago we did not expect to live, now climbs up on the chairs.

I am very glad that Jane continues steadily to the practice of going every day out; from experience I can tell her that it is the surest way of preserving health. Mary Anne, tho' she loves her much, cannot now sympathize with her, which I am not sorry at all for.

I have not said anything of your declining the late act of uncommon kindness which has been shown to you, and I shall only say now that we have always the fullest confidence in your conduct; and from hence we are also satisfied that you have taken care that your refusal should not appear ungracious to the person whose humanity interested him so much in your favour.* Adieu, my dearest Tom, assure yourself, your Jane, and your children, of the warmest affection of all under this roof, and none more than that of your ever affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

*Governor Stuart had offered to let Mr. Emmet go beyond the bounds of the fortress to visit different persons in the neighborhood who had shown some kindness to Mrs. Emmet and himself. He wished to exact in return his honor to keep within certain limits as to distance and time of returning. For some reason now unknown he declined to accept the privilege.

Man may be comparatively civilized by conquest, may be raised above the brute, but in order to attain the true dignity of his nature he must shake off the conquest, he must dare to think as he pleases and to speak as he thinks.

T. A. Emmet.

Ireland, to have been well educated, ought to have been left to herself, to work her own way in the world of science and government and trade, by her own talents, her own spirits, and her own industry.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XV

Correspondence of Dr. Emmet and his wife with their son continued.

UNDER the burden of uncertainty as to their son's fate, Dr. Emmet and his noble wife made every effort to bear up and to accept with courage the sorrow which had come upon them in their old age. Nothing could be more pathetic than the following letter with which the poor old heart-broken father greets his imprisoned son at the beginning of the New Year:

January 1st, 1801.

My dear Tom,

The first day of the new year has advanced thus far without our customary embrace and mutual expressions of heartfelt affection; but tho' the form has been precluded the essence of our sentiments remains happily unimpaired; and separated as we are by Lands & Seas our cordiality & attachment are still united & for ever will remain so. Let us, however, preserve even the forms, as much as we can and for this purpose, in the fullest effusion of my heart, I assure you of every sentiment of paternal affection which a father ought to entertain for a well deserving son, could I express them stronger I would. Give a kiss of cordial affection to Jane on my part and the same to Robert, Margaret, and Elizabeth,—tell them that I love them as well as if they were at Casino, but I should like Casino much better if they were at it. Whatever is, however, is perhaps for the best, and true wisdom of man, it may be, would be perhaps always to think so. At least to act as if he thought so, and consequently to factor every moment of time to the comfort and pleasing enjoyment of the present. "Carpe horam" was Horace's advice, "Vive la bagatelle" that of Swift, and since what is passed cannot be recalled, and what is to come may never reach us, our prudence would seem to be—the cheerful enjoyment of the present. May you and yours enjoy it in its fullest extent.

What a period, my dear Tom, for abstract thought and philosophic contemplation, the eigtheenth century has closed, but the Temple of Janus not shut, on the contrary every portal thrown open, and Bellona issuing forth with redoubled rage and augmented fury? Heavens, when will it end? Long had I hoped that ere this a general peace would have secured the tranquillity of the world for the currency of the commencing century. Consequently that I should have had the happiness of clasping you to my heart, and closing my course of years in the same land, if not in the same house, with you, and of leaving you as my substitute and guardian of the dear connections I should quit. But that prospect is now over, or at least too far removed to be reasoned upon with probability. But no more of that,—"Cheerful enjoyment of the present" I have stated to you as probably the best of human wisdom, and I am resolved to adopt the practice. Thanks to the Supreme Disposer of all things, I have a very competent share

of health and wealth; the proper disposal of them depends upon myself, and if I can, *aequum mihi animum ipsa parabo.*

There is not anything new or important within my sphere of information which merits being communicated to you; the vicissitudes of human life are too frequent to be a subject of news, and the objects frequently too insignificant to be of importance. Such perhaps you may consider the present condition of the unfortunate Gifford, formerly, as you know, sheriff of the city, captain in a corps of its yeomanry, who after having been long *in coventry,* as they term it, with the regiment, is now under trial for having discharged a loaded musket at Col. Seabury, his commanding officer, and the consequence, it is thought, will be fatal to him. Your letter of the 20th of December to Kitty is this moment come to hand; the contents of it are certainly instructive, and will, I doubt not, be really of service to her; not that she has one atome of vanity in her composition. She has indeed ambition of knowing a great deal, but no ambition of making a display of that knowledge, and with whatever acquaintance she may have there is a simplicity and childishness joined, which prevents even the most distant appearance of vanity.—What the state of this country, in the approaching spring and summer, with respect to provisions, is very doubtful, if not probably melancholy. Our shilling loaf at present weighs but three pounds, and mutton sells at 8d. per pound. The advancing season will considerably diminish the size of the former and increase the price of the latter. But to what extent cannot be determined. I have made what little provision I could against the worst, and rely on God's goodness with the hopeful expectation of the best. That thought, my dear Tom, takes in your return and settlement at Casino, which wants but that one circumstance to make it to me always a cheerful and happy residence. Adieu; may the Almighty take you into most special protection, may he bless you and yours with prosperity and many returns of happy years, and may the new year, at most, restore you to the embrace of your affectionate father,

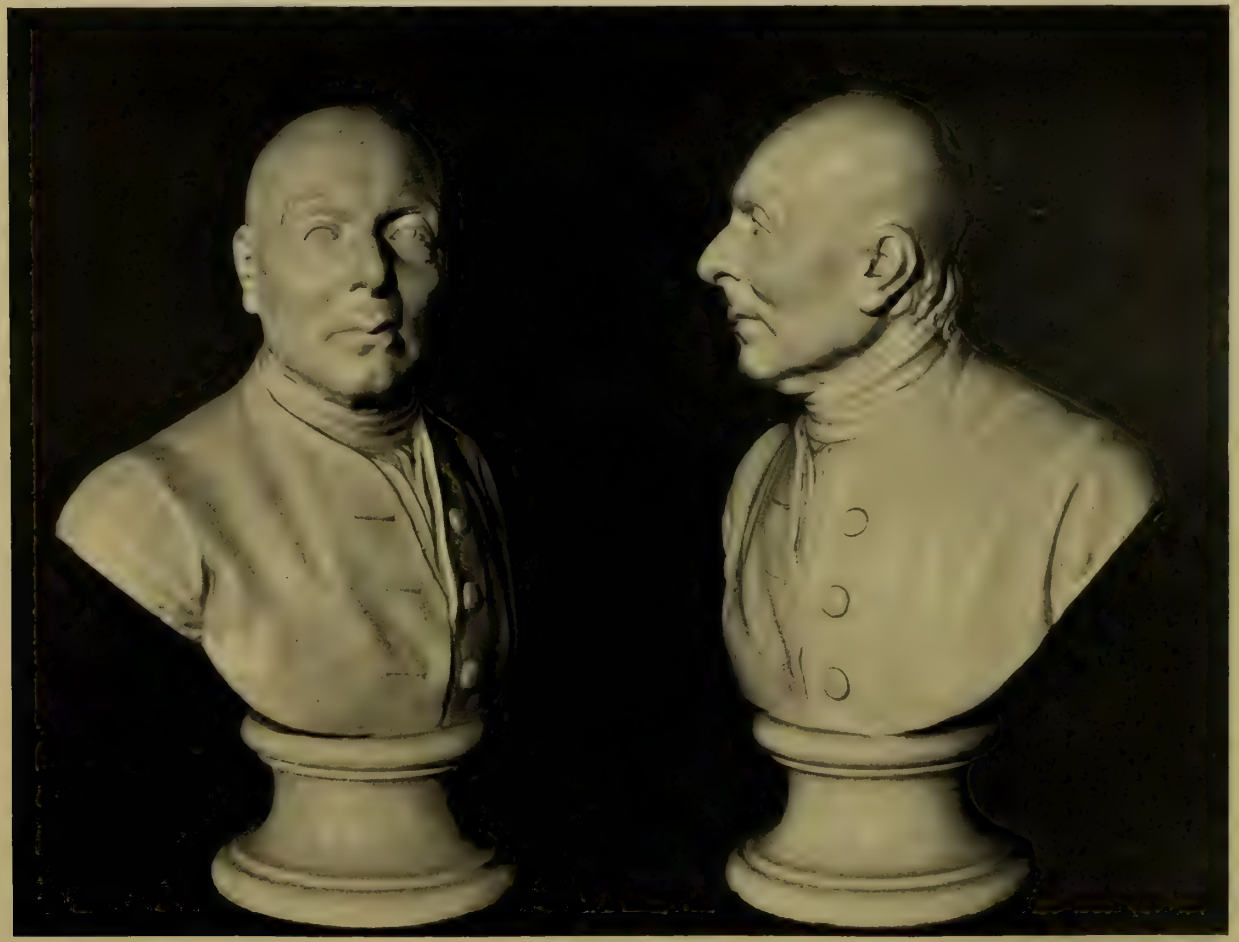
ROBT. EMMET.

His mother next resumes her old place as the regular weekly correspondent:

JANUARY 9TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

Without a new sentiment to impart, or a new incident to relate, I sit down to write, well knowing that you would rather have the same thing repeated over and over again, than to be left in suspense about our situation, which is, thank God, in every respect but that of separation from those we love tenderly, as well as we could possibly expect. Your father, the first object of our solicitude, is better than he has been for the last three years, and tho' he goes very little out, his spirits continue unbroken; he amuses himself very much with the children, they are with us the most part of the day, and tho' they play a great deal he does not complain of the noise—a sure proof that his nerves are stronger, as well as that they are great favourites. The three are all in perfect health, and I have never known better children. The little fellow engages in all their plays with as much spirit as any of them, and he forces himself into notice more than the others. But be assured they are all equally objects of our care. I must, however, confess that the two youngest are the most interesting. John's ideas are, however, I think, opening more, and to show you that he looks beyond the present time, he asked me the other day, with great sobriety when I thought he would be fit to be married. I am happy to hear that Margaret has so good a capacity; indeed she showed marks of shrewdness before she left this, and I have no doubt but her improvement will amply repay the care that is taken of her. My namesake ought not to be outdone, for I am sure she has talents to take the lead of most children. But whatever talents they may have, it will not be easy to persuade me that they, or any of your children, will ever outstrip Robert, in disposition they cannot for I have never seen a finer one than he is blessed with.



REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

BUST OF DR. ROBERT EMMET MADE FROM A DEATH MASK

The night before last Lord Aldbourough was interred by torchlight; his last honours were paid to him by the performance of a grand Requiem in Thomas' church. How fleeting are the pomps and vanities of this life, and yet they are sought and pursued with as much zeal and solicitude as if they were to be enjoyed eternally. His titles and estates devolve upon his brother John, and Mrs. Stratford, she at least will enjoy them to the utmost as long as she can hold them.

Tell Jane that Betty Lyne was married on Sunday last to Mr. Drew, a man with eleven hundred pounds a year, some say two thousand, but which ever it is it may be sufficient to excite unpleasant sensations in the minds of some doomed to drag on a single life, some against their inclination. One, I am sure, thinks tho' she does not say it, "What better has she than I?" I do not mention either Mrs. Patten or John, because Mrs. Patten writes constantly to Jane; you therefore must have your accounts from the fountain. John is so much engaged in business of his own, as well as his friends, that we do not see him half as often as we wish. I need not repeat to you the usual compliments at the commencement of our New Year. You are well assured how warmly we wish them to you, to Jane, and to your children. There is but one wish in this throughout the house, in the parlour it is a most cordial and united one, and even descends to the kitchen. Adieu, my dearest Tom, believe me always, and unalterable your truly affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

January 30th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

I have delayed writing these two days hoping to get a letter from you, but as the post has been here without bringing one I would not longer run the hazzard of causing uneasiness to you by not hearing from us. It is needless to express the great satisfaction we have felt at your present good accommodations. Every circumstance which relates to you and yours, is at all times interesting to us, but much more so now when our chief enjoyments are derived from a reflection on your happiness, joined to that of your wife and children. I am glad you did not persist in your project of sending for little Tom. I think a child of his age would have embarrassed you more than all the others, and he could not have been so well as he is here, where he can have the fullest liberty; you need not fear that he is not attended to in every particular. The health and dispositions of the three are very much objects of our care, and as they could not any of them reap much advantage from your instruction at present, I think it would be wrong to move any of them from a place where you must know your children will meet with all the care and affection which you can possibly wish for them, and which they deserve upon their own account. They are all very docile, they do not require the least degree of severity, and they do not meet that kind of indulgence which is generally prejudicial to the tempers and dispositions of children. I find Mrs. Patten has compelled me, along with herself, to express a little jealousy at your intending to send for Tom in preference to John. Jane will know how to translate this, as she knows that her mother is partial to John, and that I do not profess to be so, tho' I assure you he is rising very much in our estimation. He gave us all very great pleasure the other day by an instance of self-conquest and firmness which would have done honour even to my dear little Robert; the incident is too trivial and too tedious to make a part of my letter, but it would have given you pleasure to have seen it. Poor Mr. Mercer died on Saturday last, much regretted by all who knew him, and by many friends his loss will be severely felt. His fortune he has left to his brothers and sisters. His will was hastily made last summer, when he was dangerously attacked in the country. He determined to have altered it when he came to town, but hoping every day to grow better he deferred it from day to day till it was too late to make any change in it. His intention was to have left the

reversion of his fortune divided among his friends, in which number he mentioned our friend here, for whom he had great regard. I learn from Kitty that Harriet has written to Sir Grenville [Temple] in a manner you would hardly expect, by which I am sure she will draw upon herself his strong resentment, a passion the most predominant in his mind. Your father waits for an answer to his last, and will not write again until he receives one. He, thank God, continues extremely well, and along with Mr. Holmes, Mary Anne and Kitty, desires to assure you and Jane of that warm affection which is felt for you all under this roof. Tom desires me to give his love to you all, and to tell you he is a good boy, and that he said his lesson to cousin very well to-day. John is at school, and the little fellow knows ye not. Remember me in the kindest manner to Jane and the children, you will say a great deal if you say what I feel for her, and them, for you I will only say that I feel all that you can wish from your most affectionate mother.

E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

Feb. 26th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

Considering the distance there is between us it is not wonderful that we should feel uneasy at every indisposition you may have, the bare relation of it cannot but excite apprehension in a mind so weak and so deeply interested as mine. But Jane's second letter to Mrs. Patten, which I did not know of 'till yesterday, has set my mind very much at ease, and has prevented the anxiety I should otherwise have felt at not getting a letter either this day or yesterday. The attack was very violent indeed, and I can very well conceive that Jane must have suffered in her short agony. I hope she and the children have not been as heavily visited as you were. Here, thank God, all enjoy good health, your father in good spirits, and creating amusement for himself by forming small plans, some of which he executes, and others he destroys, always, however, maintaining that cheerfulness which determines him to make the best of everything and to submit patiently to what he cannot either prevent or cure. This happy disposition has been a wonderful support to me, who certainly am not naturally of so good a temperature, and but for this constant cheerfulness must long since have sunk under all that had befallen us. It also contributes much to his health, which by the mercy of Providence is beyond anything we could have hoped for. Mary Anne is better than I have seen her for a length of time, she has been very much an invalid, but she seems to have now a great increase of health, strength, and spirits. As a proof thereof, she has in a great measure conquered her native indolence, and can even, without having any particular object to impell her, exert herself upon common occasions with tolerable diligence and regularity; here you know her difficiency always lay, for upon great occasions she always rose above herself and above other people. She is very fortunate in having a husband who sees and is able to estimate all her merits. Your children are all in perfect health and increasing in favour every day; two of them grow fast enough, but Tom is short and does not appear to have grown a hair's breadth since his mother left us, but what he loses in height he gains in strength, and is upon the whole a very fine boy and one of the most ameanable children I have ever met, but not more so than the two others. The accounts of your Scottish children afford us the sincerest pleasure, it gratifies us very much to hear that they do not forget us, and tho' they do not possess one token of my affection, I nevertheless hope that they will continue to remember with some degree of interest an old ungracious grandmother, who often treated them with roughness, but who in truth always felt great kindness towards both them and their mother. All here request to be remembered in the kindest manner to Jane, you, and the dear children. Kitty is very well, but as she is with her grandmother she cannot write at present, but John assures us she is quite well. May the Almighty and Merciful Providence preserve you, my dear Tom, from sickness, or further misfortune, and spare you long, very long,

to your deserving wife and your fine children, and may your father and I be permitted to spend our latter days in the midst of our children. I am most truly your affectionate Mother,

E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

At length the Act for suspending the Habeas Corpus expired by limitation, so that the Government could no longer hold a prisoner without question. This freed Lord Cloncurry, a lifelong friend of Mr. Emmet, and, in "The Life, Times and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry" it is stated:

On the morning of the memorable 3rd of March, 1801, when it became evident to the ministers that a further suspension was totally impracticable, the Duke of Portland seized his pen, and wrote to Lord Cornwallis, the Viceroy, apprising him of the fact:

"My Lord—Various events having rendered it impossible to apply to Parliament for a renewal of the Act for suspending the Habeas Corpus, Your Excellency must be sensible that the traitors who are confined in Fort George will be entitled to require to be remanded to Ireland. You will therefore not be surprised at hearing of their return. I must not, however, omit to apprise Your Excellency that it is intended that a bill should be brought into Parliament as soon as circumstances will permit, for the further renewal of the suspension, and from the favourable account which has this day been received of his Majesty's health, I trust this measure will not be long delayed.

I am &c,

Portland".

How little did Lord Cloncurry think when elevating his withered heart in thanksgiving to God on the fortuitous termination of so iniquitous an Act that it was the full intention to introduce a bill demanding its farther renewal. Thank God, circumstances did not prove propitious for seven and forty years, notwithstanding the fond hopes of William, Duke of Portland, that the measure would not be long delayed.

Cloncurry had been imprisoned in the Tower, London, and was promptly released, but the prisoners in Fort George, being out of the way of being aided by their friends, were illegally detained in prison for more than a year longer.

March 19th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

Our minds have been a good deal occupied here in consequence of a current report that you were all to be brought over to Carrickfergus Castle 'till such time as the Habeas Corpus Act should be renewed in England; it is also said that preparations are making at the above place for your reception. For these matters we have no authority but that of common report, and we must wait the issue with the same patience that we are forced to exercise upon other occasions. I withhold all opinions on the subject, farther than to say that I should not much admire a voyage, tho' it is but a short one, nor a journey through the Highlands for you, your wife, or children at this boisterous season of the year, but acquiescence is a duty we must and do perform. John delays sending you your box 'till he can learn what is intended by Government about your being brought over or not. Little John is at my elbow and expressly desires me to tell you that he is a very good boy; that he has gotten a new spelling book from his grand Mama Patten, and that he will take care and get his lessons well; all this I am sure he has sincere intentions of performing, tho' I must confess that in his spelling book he is not very brilliant. He, however, I am told, performs the part of an usher in the school, and acquits himself with great propriety. Tom, in point of erudition, cannot be much

boasted of, but his is more the effect of laziness than want of capacity. In fact what children of their age learn serves much more to gratify the vanity of parents, than to edify the children. Of this kind of vanity I have felt a great deal, but like all other vanities under the sun I have found it unsubstantial. I think it right to have young children in the habit of learning something, but under seven it need not be more than play. John I think is much better at school, it helps to enliven him and in some measure opens his ideas; he does not learn any bad habits, and he is very fond of it; at home he would be apt to grow sluggish. He and the other two are all well, so is your father, Mary Anne, &c.

When I have said this much you can easily suppose the rest, for we have no domestic changes except that we have it in contemplation to take Patrick Delaney as an apprentice. We owe it to the father's fidelity, and Murray is growing very deaf. Your father is now a good deal out of employment, he has executed all his small plans, and has been projecting others, which have been laid aside with a view of occupying a mind naturally active, but deprived of the objects that would interest and support it. No person, however, can bear up with a more cheerful fortitude than he does under such uncommon privations which would bow down the spirits of most men less advanced in years than he is. His health grows, thank God, better, and his firmness continues unshaken. Having blotted so far of my paper without saying anything, I have only to conclude in the same manner by assuring you of what I trust you are already convinced of, that I am most sincerely your truly affectionate mother.

E. Emmet.

Remember us in the warmest manner to the children.

May 10th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

Tho' it is not exactly the time for writing, nor my turn for holding the family pen, I could not forbear committing an usurpation upon Kitty's right, as I wished to express the greatest pleasure which we have felt at the happy recovery of our dear Jane, whose situation it was most kind in you to conceal from us, as it would undoubtedly have occasioned great anxiety to us all. To you it must have given serious alarm, and I well know what you must have felt. Nor am I much surprised at the agitation which caused it, her apprehension did not exceed the reality. Had you been brought over, I am assured that the intention was to make your confinement very rigorous,* you would not have been allowed any intercourse from without, you would have been denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and I apprehend that neither Jane nor the children would have been suffered to continue with you. All this I am sure she foresaw, and felt deeply; it is therefore no wonder she was afflicted in the manner she has been, and very fortunate it is that the loss has only been such as can be soon repaired. But tho' I am not surprised at what has now happened I most sincerely wish her to guard in future against such acute feelings. She is young, and with so long a life as I hope she has before her, she must not expect, even after her present trials cease, that as a wife and mother she shall not always be subject to anxieties of various kinds. You will say, and with justice, that like some advisors I recommend what I do not practice, but I am in some measure warranted by experience in what I now say. Solicitude has through life stuck to me like an inner garment, and I find that it exceeds even those of the children of Israel, it is a habit that instead of wearing by time, grows stronger by constant use. I would not, however, have you conclude from hence that I am ungrateful. Be assured that I feel all my blessings with a thankful heart, and that I wish to discern and to adore the healing hand which has been held out to me in the midst of trials and distresses, and without which my natural infirmities must have sunk under the scenes I have gone through; but let me not tire you with egotism. I have still the same pleasing account as

*From this letter it was quite evident that the public knew that the severe treatment to which Mr. Emmet was being subjected in prison was at the wish of the Government.

when I wrote last, to give you of your father and the children. Mary Anne indeed begins to complain a little, but without waking compassion from any of us. The kindness which you say you have received is indeed gratifying to us as well as to you, instances of the kind exalt human nature, and we are thereby made to feel very sensibly our relationship to our species. When you and Jane are known I doubt not but you will always meet with such conduct, but it is not common for persons in your situation to meet such from strangers, and it is my belief that the reverse would have been, as it was before, your portion in an Irish prison. We long much to see once more a letter from our dear kind-hearted little Robert, whose progress in improvement gives us all very sincere pleasure. Margaret's diligence is also to be much commended, and I should be glad that my little idle namesake did not place herself, where nature did not intend she should be, in the back-ground of the family group. The two eldest boys desire their love to you all, John never omits desiring me to read your letters to him, and I generally take the liberty of framing a paragraph for them, to which they both hearken with pleasure and attention.

Mrs. Patten tells me that Tom is grown, but I do not perceive it; neither does he increase in literature. His spelling book seems so burdensome to him that we have laid it aside for some months lest he should take too great a dislike to it, notwithstanding this he is a very fine boy, and I have no doubt that he will make a very learned as well as a very fine man. I asked the little one [Temple] what I should say for him; his reply was that he was a very good boy, and this you may believe both from his own report and from mine. We are in the act of painting both our carriage and house, the latter has caused much dirt, but we could not defer either any longer without injury to both, and now that the inconvenience is nearly over, we find that all we do only excites a fond and fruitless wish that we could enjoy all our comforts in the midst of our entire family.

Adieu, my dearest Tom; I have scarcely left myself room to assure you that I am, with the tenderest regard to Jane and the children, your truly affectionate mother,

ELIZABETH EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

JUNE 4TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I would not omit writing in due time, tho' I have nothing but the old story to relate, but I am certain that it cannot be ever too often repeated to you, that we all are, thank God, well, except Mary Anne, who is just gone to have some of her teeth drawn, which will not cause much more uneasiness to you than it does to us. Jane's sympathy may indeed be excited, she having so often suffered from the same cause, and it is not very unlikely will again be visited in the same manner. Most sincerely do we all rejoice that she is for the present so well established in health, long, very long may she enjoy that and every other Blessing which this world can give. Your father desires me to tell you that you need not fear that he wants employment; he has at present work enough upon his hands. He is gravelling the walks completely all around, he is raising and means to finish the nursery in which he indulges the fond hope of seeing all your dear children reassembled, "the promises of hope", I have heard, "were better than the gifts of fortune". This I am convinced of, that tho' it too often deludes us it contributes much to support us, and tho' mine has ever been a trembling hope, still it has in a great measure kept me from totally sinking.

I have received your last letter in due time, and cannot avoid observing that you obliquely charge me rather unjustly with indulging prejudices against America. We are seldom, I grant, sufficient judges of ourselves, but if I know anything of myself, I am not, I think, very subject to prejudice. What I have said of America has been collected either from natives, or persons who have lately been there, and the same opinion is very general here. But, independent of this consideration, it is sufficient for me that in the

event of your going there I should lose all hope of ever seeing you again, and surely the sternest Philosophy would allow me to feel at such a prospect.

I am not, my dear Tom, so weak as to imagine that I could dissuade you from any plan which you may form for the advantage or happiness of your wife or your children, nor if I could would I attempt it. I only wish that when you have the power of choosing, this consideration may be thrown in the balance. I have farther to add, in reply to your last, that tho' I am not very fond of attributing the faults of my temper to the weakness of my nerves, still if I have any nerves at all, it will be granted that I have enough to disturb and shatter them, and therefore I cannot think that my feelings are either unreasonable or unnatural, or that I am unthankful to Providence for having my right arm tho' I may feel the loss of my left, if I had been deprived thereof. Thus much I have said as a kind of justification of myself, at the same time assuring you with sincerity, and I am too old for affectation, that I should be sorry you thought so ill of me, as I do of myself.

The only news I have to relate is that Mr. Blackwood* is going to be married to Miss Finlay, daughter of Mr. Finlay of the Co. Kildare, and niece of the Banker; he gets very little fortune at present, but it is likely to be a good match in future. She was to be presented yesterday to Mrs. Temple and Harriet; he paid them the compliment of consulting them before he had spoken to the lady's friends.

We have just begun to bath the children; they are all well and often speak of Robert, more than the girls, and the two eldest still remember their mama. God bless you, my dear Tom, this you will easily believe is the ardent wish of all here and none more warmly than is that of your truly

affectionate mother,
E. Emmet.

Assure Jane and the children of our love and most cordial good wishes.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

June 25th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

I have the happiness to inform you that your father has recovered from an indisposition under which he has laboured, more or less, for six weeks past. It seems to proceed from indigestion and a bilious stomach, sometimes attended with irritation, but no tendency to spasms. I do not know that the attacks can justly be attributed to cold or over-exercise; at least he is not willing to admit that it was occasioned by either. Knowing the energy of his mind as you do, you expect too much from us when you desire us to restrain him in any of his projects and pursuits. Whenever he has an object in view he forgets that he is an invalid and cannot bear to be watched. How I have felt for nearly two months you and Jane can easily guess. But, thank God, my fears are over for the present. The next subject that I am sure you would wish me to mention is your children. They are all, I can assure you, in excellent health. The little fellow was somewhat languid, but Bark has again set him up, and he is now growing tall, fat, and strong.—John is not long returned from a week's visit to Mrs. Patten, who has made him very happy with entire new clothes and a great number of Buttons; he felt very visibly the importance he had acquired by his visit to town, for as soon as he returned he desired that John Delaney should be brought in to play with him, as his grandmama had always a boy on purpose to play with him. He does not, I assure you, want either observation or intellect, he has great natural justice and a very open good-natured temper. Tom has naturally a pensive temper, concise in his expressions, and very little of the prattle of a child; in short he is more addicted to thinking than to speaking, he is very

*Hans Blackwood, who married, in 1784, Mehetabele, daughter of Robert Temple, succeeded his brother, in 1799, as Baron Dufferin. For his second wife he married, in 1801, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Finlay. They were the grandparents of the present Marquis of Dufferin.

docile and mild, and would suffer himself to be over-ruled by the young one if we did not prevent it. This little Brat is to be sure the chief favourite throughout the house; we, however, do not spoil him, and I assure you that I fondle him less than the others. Mary Anne caresses him more than I do, but at the same time treats him with steadiness; in the kitchen he would be commander-in-chief if we did not prevent it. He is quite a miniature of our dear little Robert, especially when he holds up his hands and says he won't be bold any more. Tom is beginning to shoot up, which I am glad to observe, as I began to despair of his stature. Mrs. Patten goes, as I suppose you already know, to the North of Ireland; she is extremely well, and growing visibly fat. John, with his usual goodness of heart, comes whenever he can to amuse the Doctor and to sooth me. How often, how much I miss Jane I need not say, she has made a wide gap that is felt by us all, but by none more than me. Your father and Mary Anne are both blessed with more self-support than I have, for alas, I am a tottering fabrick, built originally of bad material, and therefore require more props. Jane of course could not be removed from us without my feeling it very seriously indeed; but whatever my regrets may be they are all turned into gratitude when I reflect upon what you enjoy in her society and that of your children. She has, however, deprived me of a great gratification in not reading her letters, for ever since she mentioned that they were written exclusively to her mother, I have not thought my self warranted to read one of them. And to say the truth, tho' I wished to release her from the necessity of a correspondence that might interfere with Mrs. Patten, both Mary Anne and I hoped to have heard from her occasionally, tho' not constantly. I admit that your writing is sufficient, and the drudgery of writing to us ought most certainly to devolve upon you, whom I would not exchange for any other correspondent, but this would by no means destroy my relish for a letter from Jane. I beg you will assure her that we all love her tenderly, as well as the dear children. I am, dearest Tom, most sincerely

Your affectionate mother,
E. Emmet.

I have just now the pleasure of looking out and seeing your father with a rake in his hands.

July 15th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

I have just finished a letter to St. John Mason which will probably cause this to be shorter than it would otherwise be, as I have not either fingers nor eyes for writing two letters in one day. I would not however, defer writing in due time to you, lest you should thereby be rendered uneasy at not hearing from us in due course. Your father is, thank God, much better and stronger than when I last wrote; your children are all extremely well, Mary Anne and the rest of the family in good health. Little Tom was some days ago not very well, but a timely dose of senna has set him up again; he is beginning to stretch a little, which in general produces little indespositions that are often attributed to other causes. I had written this for yesterday when I was interrupted by a visit from Miss Fitzmaurice and Ally Spring, who came to spend the day with us. The latter has left Farnham,* which has now become the seat of hospitality and magnificence, for the purpose of bathing, and which under Miss Fitzmaurice's quiet roof, has been of great service to her. She talks of going to spend some time in Kerry, from whence it is not likely that she will return, at least for some time. She left Lady Anne very well, but Mary Herbert† very delicate; they are all very constant and very affectionate in their inquiries about you all. St. John writes me word that he has almost a certainty of gaining the lawsuit in which he is engaged with Dr. Lawlor which if he does, will, along

*Farnham, the country-seat of Earl Farnham, Co. Cavan.

†It is not known who was the father of Mary Herbert, nor what was her connection, if any existed, with the Emmet family. An artist bearing the name of Herbert painted the portrait of Thomas Addis Emmet and that of Dr. Macneven before their arrest. He was probably a friend of Mr. Emmet and the father of Miss Herbert referred to by Mrs. Emmet.

with another farm which will be out of lease in May next, add two hundred and fifty pounds a year to his income. It is a pity that his feelings and his income are not better suited to each other; as it is at present they produce constant irritation to him, and subject him to constant mortification and depression, which renders his many virtues of very little use to himself, or to mankind.

Mr. William Colville is returned from the North, where he left Mrs. Patten and his mother in perfect health, with only a little fatigue after their journey. Our kind-hearted friend, John, comes to us whenever he can do a friendly office, but it is not in his power to come half as often as we wish to see him; his visits afford us more comfort than we can now possibly receive from any others. Our worthy friend Richards and his pretty unaffected wife are to dine with us to-morrow.

I am but just returned from town and it is near dinner time, which will prevent my filling up my paper. I must, however, observe that a letter from you, which was due in the course of last week, has by some means miscarried. But we have been saved from uneasiness by one from Jane to Mrs. Patten which John opened. Tell my dear Robert and his sisters how happy we should be to see them all under a cherry tree, and Jane and you looking at them; but it is much easier to form wishes than to believe in the probability of their being gratified. We are all in the hands of a Supreme Being, in him is my hope and trust, and upon this Pillar I must rest. Give my most cordial love to Jane and the children, in which this little circle all sincerely join.

I am, my dearest Tom, your ever affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

Thos Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

[*The United Irishmen*] *stated as their "heavy grievance" that they had no "national government, but ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen", and as its effectual remedy they pledged themselves . . . to endeavor by all due means to procure a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament, including Irishmen of every religious persuasion.*

T. A. Emmet.

This institution [United Irishmen], which from its very outset looked towards a republican government, founded on the broadest principles of religious liberty and equal rights; that this institution, the consequences of which are yet to be read in the history of Ireland, was not the cabal of ambitious leaders or artful intriguers or speculative enthusiasts.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XVI

Continued correspondence of Doctor Emmet and his wife with their son at Fort George —Letters of T. A. Emmet to his family on leaving Fort George intercepted by Major Sirr—Mr. Emmet's letter to Lord Hope—Letter from the Governor of the Fort announcing the release of the prisoners and their arrival at Hamburg.

AUGUST 6TH, 1801.

Y DEAREST TOM,

I have not received the week's letter which in due course I expect will be addressed to me, but as punctuality is almost my only merit, I would not defer writing to you beyond the accustomed time, well knowing how anxious you and Jane are to hear from this side of the water; and I am happy in telling you that your father and your children are, thank God, all well, Mary Anne as she should be, and the rest of us in good health. It was in compliance with your father's injunction that we did not inform you in the beginning of his illness. I proposed doing it, but he would not suffer me. May our Supreme and Merciful Being shield me from suffering what I have done. I cannot pass over in silence that part of your letter relative to Jane not writing to us. It is a very bad compliment either to our good-nature, or to our judgment, that we should avowedly do so, and her humility is in truth a satire upon us. We none of us have dispositions to criticize the letters of others, and surely our conduct to Jane has never left room to suppose that we should exercise the talents towards her. Your father's tenderness to her, she well knows, and tho' I am not blessed with so gracious a manner I have not felt less affection for her, and in Mary Anne she always found a sister. Which of us, then, can she fear? I know not how Mary Anne writes, never having had an opportunity of receiving letters from her since she was a child and those she wrote to others I have never seen. I, however, suppose that she expressed herself sufficiently for all the purposes of correspondence, but I am sure she is no writer, and, if she were so disposed, Jane need not shrink from the comments of any person, much less from Mary Anne. For my own part I am neither qualified nor disposed to criticize, I am myself a very careless and very incorrect letter writer. I desire no more than that I should be understood, and it is of no importance to me how I write, provided I can convey what I feel to those I love. Me, then, she cannot fear, but surely Jane must know that she posesses an uncommon faculty in writing, and that no person can express themselves with more ease, eloquence and correctness than she does. What I have written is not with a design to force her into a correspondence with us, but merely to say that the reason she gave for not doing so bore too hard upon us all. Kiss the dear children three times over for their affectionate and interesting representation of us all. Margaret seems to be manager of the Fort George

theatre, and a very early and judicious capacity she displayed in casting her characters, it is truly flattering to us to live in their memories. May they through life be exempt from those trying scenes we have been engaged in, and are still likely to endure. Your father is at this instant engaged in his old work of raking the new graveled walks, which will show you that he feels himself well. The little fellow has been cutting two jaw teeth, which has kept him in a very delicate state for about a fortnight, but within these two days he has pulled up. Mary Anne goes every second week to the salt water and takes two of them, in their turn, which is as many as she can manage, at other times they bath in the tubs at home.

Since I began the above I have received yours of the 26th of July, and this will serve as an answer to that said about John. I shall show him your letter, as your father and Mary Anne seem to think I ought. O that it were in our power to pay you a visit, but you well know that the situation of your father and mine renders it impossible for us, and the purses of others do nearly the same thing. We must therefore acquiesce and console ourselves with the reflection that you are happy in having your wife and children with you. To the Almighty Being whose attributes are power, wisdom, justice, and mercy, I commend and commit you and all that is dear to us upon Earth, humbly trusting that he will protect and bless you and every individual of my beloved family. Assure Jane of our united and most cordial good wishes, and best affections for her, and the dear children, and assure yourself that I am truly

Your ever affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.

August 27th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

I expect before I finish this letter to receive one from you, and I am sure it is not your fault if I do not. Your affection and your punctuality never feel a lapse. The old, the young, and the middle-aged under this roof are, thank God, well, and, having told you this one important article, what more have I to say? We cannot go beyond the old topics; we have no new material to manufacture, and the old ones have been so much in use that I find it somewhat difficult to work up a letter out of such threadbare patches. I might as well put the Lord's Prayer in the form of a letter as to repeat what our feelings towards you are, they being both equally familiar to you, but however barren I may be of matter wherewith to fill a letter, I have not had recourse to your expedient of writing my lines very far asunder.

Your father has nearly worked himself out of employment; the walks are all gravelled, the nursery finished, and a noble one it is, but alas it is an unfinished, unoccupied room. We are now in a dead calm, which does not well accord with anxious, irritable, and deeply interested feelings. I, however, have enough to keep my attention awake in watching your father's looks; whatever they indicate decides what my feelings are to be. Of late, thank God, they have been much better, but for some months they kept me in constant alarm. Mary Anne has given up going to the water; she found it fatigued her too much, the children therefore could not be sent, but Harriet promises to spend a month with us for the purpose of sea-bathing, and they shall go under her protection. The little fellow, however, we have been obliged to desist from bathing, in either salt or fresh water, as neither of these agree with him. His appetite and spirits are both excellent, but his looks are delicate, occasioned somewhat perhaps by growth as he promises to be taller than the others. Tom is much more cheerful than he was, and John continues always at a steady gait, never very high, nor ever low-spirited.

I hope you do not attribute a pensiveness in Tom to any partiality in favour of the younger one. Below stairs I must confess that he is too great a favourite, which we do all we can to prevent, as he has been nearly spoiled by the indulgence he meets there, but in the parlour, I assure you Tom is much more noticed. He has very quick observa-

tion, but he has never been a prattling child, the young one, however prates enough for both, and they agree so well together that it would be wrong to separate them, at least 'till Tom outgrows his present system of education. You hurt us, my dear Tom, in supposing that your children can be any trouble to us, I beg that neither Jane or you will suffer such an idea to pass through your minds. Are not our children's children the same as our own? Why don't you permit my dear little Robert to write us? I know not whether you have taught him to write a good hand, but I am sure you have greatly improved his masterly hand. I suppose you have seen in the papers that Lord Rossmore has finished his career in this life. His fortune he has disposed of as was expected to his lady during her life, and at her death to Mrs. Gunn, encumbered with ten thousand pounds to be divided between her sister Taylor and the children of her sister Crook. This event has removed all anxiety from the mind of our worthy friend, Mrs. Frankland.—It would be endless for me to mention the many and very cordial inquiries that are made about you and Jane; sufficient to say that you are as affectionately remembered by all whose remembrance would gratify you, as your heart can wish. Give Jane and all the children as many kisses as you please for me, and assure them of my best affections, in which I am joined by the rest of the Family. I am, my dearest Tom, most sincerely your ever affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

Mrs. Patten is not yet returned; poor Miss Lennox is dead, her anxieties are all over,—in this manner may all rest assured our tribulations will all have an end, if not in any other.

T. A. Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George.

September 17th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

I have withdrawn myself from a larger circle than we have of late been accustomed to, in order to write, I know not what, to you. Harriet has been back and forward with us for about a fortnight, and is now here. Ally Spring came to us yesterday, to stay 'till Lady Anne's* return to town, and we are in hopes St. John may come to spend a little time with us, but for him there is no answering, the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we know as much the cause thereof as we do of poor St. John's movements. You may perhaps expect that an increase of family will enable me to write somewhat above the common dog-trot gait, but no such thing I assure you, on the contrary I find that a little morning conversation has quite exhausted me. We have been of late a very silent family, at which you will not be surprised when you remember that in fine weather your father is mostly out, Mary Anne deaf, and growing more so, Mr. Holmes either in town or in his study, and Kitty generally employed about her own particular business, so that speech has in some measure been a qualification for which we have had but little occasion; an enlarged circle is therefore an acquisition to us all. Of your father I shall only tell you that he is at present employed in close examination of all the trees, many of which have sentence passed upon them and are doomed to die betwen this and Christmas. I shall gladly compound for having them only decimated, but before October and November are over I apprehend they will be sacrificed without mercy. From this account, however, you will be able to collect with pleasure the present state of your father's health and spirits. Your children are all well, they have had a kind of pock attended with some degree of fever, which has been general among children, and in some instances fatal. Dr. Browne has lost his only son in it, and his three daughters were, I am told, at one time given over in the same complaint. Ours were for some time so peeking as to give us some uneasiness,

*Lady Anne Fitzgerald has been referred to by Mrs. Emmet several times in these letters. She was a sister of the Earl of Kerry and the widow of Maurice Fitzgerald, the "Knight of Kerry". She had been an intimate friend of the Emmet Family since her marriage. After the arrest of Robert Emmet her house was searched by the police. She made an effort to establish her loyalty with the Government, and an interesting letter from her pen on this subject will be found in the memoir of Robert Emmet.

but they are now quite well and in very good spirits. Mrs. Patten, John, &c., are all returned. I have not seen them, but I am told they are all well. I suppose it will not be news to tell you of Lord Downshire's very sudden and unexpected death, in him I am told his tenantry have lost an excellent landlord, and his neighbouring poor a great benefactor. Of all his greatness these alone will follow him; all his other marks of distinction are become as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. This truth so familiar to us, seems to be but of little practical use, for in all countries and in all climates riches, honours, and pleasures are pursued with as insatiable a thirst as if they were to be of eternal duration.

When I write to you I always fancy I am conversing with you, and commit my ideas to paper just as they arise in my mind, without order or arrangement, but I am persuaded that whatever I write will to you not be unwelcome. When will you suffer my dear little Robert to gratify us with seeing a letter from him? Has our dear Jane yet had the toothache? She I hope is well convinced of the interest we take in all that relates to her. You cannot gratify us more than in being very minute in your account of her and the children. I hope you have not relaxed in anything that can promote your health and theirs. Your letter of this week has not yet arrived, and has been expected for some days, which never happens without some degree of anxiety to me. May the God of health preserve yours and that of your wife and children. I am like a very weak garrison that can be assailed in many points, but the Almighty Being, whose mercifull eye is over all, will, I trust, preserve all those who are much dearer to me than life. Mary Anne goes on very well, she, her father and the entire of this family, sojourners and others, all join in the most affectionate remembrance to you all.

I am, my dearest Tom, your unceasing affectionate Mother,

E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.

October 2nd, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

Kitty has been in town for some time past with her grandmother, she has taken Harriet's place in town and I take hers in writing to you, and I sit down with a more tranquil heart than I have done for some time past, as I am able to assure you that your father is, thank God, to all appearance in better health than he has been since his last illness. The improvement in his spirits and appetite I attribute in a great measure to the employment of his mind, which at present is occupied in his favourite amusement of removing trees, against which I have ceased to remonstrate. Tho' from the earliness of the season and the age of the trees, I despair of ever seing a leaf upon any of them, but as we have a great demand for pea-rods they will not be useless. Your children also are better than they were during the whole summer, neither they nor their grand Father have been as I wished for months past, but praise to the Giver of health they are all much better, and that they may continue so is the united and fervent Prayer of us all however dispersed, we are sure to meet in this point. The summer is now over; God grant that the unceasing terrors and gloom I have suffered may have disappeared along with it, and that the tranquillity which I have felt only within these few days, may be of some continuance. I have often compared myself to the Sensitive Plant, which, tho' it shrinks at every touch is not of either use or ornament, and as it bears neither flowers nor fruit might as well be out of the greenhouse. Ally Spring is delighted with the dispositions of your three children. Tom she thinks the finest child you have, and he is certainly a very fine boy. He does from a sense of right what the other two do from a native feeling, but it is injustice to the rest to specify one, as they are in truth equally good, and yet I cannot resist transgressing this rule of right by relating a trait of the little fellow, which however foolish it may appear to those who are privileged to read our letters, will, I am persuaded, give you as much pleasure as it did me. Mr. Holmes sometimes takes them on his back, in consequence of which the young one came to me and asked me to take

him upon mine. I told him that my back was old, but in a little time I offered to take him, which he stoutly declined two or three times, and when I asked him why he would not he replied in a tone of great tenderness, "because you have a pain." The next night I again asked him if he would come on my back, and he at once said he would if I had not a pain. The disposition of all your children must afford you and my dear Jane the happiest prospects. May it please Divine Providence to grant you the enjoyment of the ripened fruit as well as the pleasure that must arise from beholding the blossoms. I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Patten, who seems to have laid in a store of health, which I sincerely hope she will enjoy for many, very many years. She has grown fat, which she began to do before she went to the country. Our dear kind John is also well, and continues to show us all the attention and good-nature which we could expect from an affectionate son. I wish from my heart that he could be disengaged more from his desk, his close application to it must injure his health. At this season of the year you cannot expect a visit from him at Fort George, whatever you may do early in the next. You may suppose that the entire of this family desire their best love to you and Jane. She and the children are, I trust, assured of mine. I should have rebuked Kitty if she had awkwardly begun her letter on the wrong side, for myself I will only hope that whatever graces my letter may want it will nevertheless be received with pleasure by you, as being the only vehicle through which I can at present convey my expression of that tenderness which is felt for you here, and especially by

Your affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.

You need not notice anything I have said about the destruction that awaits the trees, but knowing the season and the propensity you may recommend caution. He is as keen at the work as ever you knew him and I know of no medicine, except your returning, that could be so effectual to the promoting of his health, which is ample amends for the loss we may have.

October 8th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

The present period will account for my having taken the pen out of our established course. But before I make further use of it I shall inform you that I have never known so great an amendment in so short a time as there is in your father. His health, spirits, appetite, and energy of mind seem all restored to him; for this blessing our united and fullest gratitude is due. Your children are also much better than they were even when last I wrote. Now, my dear Tom, the time is at last arrived when I trust you will be permitted to choose the place of your future residence, and I hope you will not think me premature in what I am going to write, especially when I tell you that I do it by your father's direction. We are, you may suppose, ignorant of the intentions of Government and we do not wish to interfere in your decision, but we both think it may not be unimportant to you to know beforehand that beyond England your father thinks he cannot venture to go. If, therefore, you shall happily be left to a freedom of choice, he desires me to tell you that in any part of the South of England, Caermarthen, South Wales, to choose, he will join you with the utmost cheerfulness and gratitude to Heaven for the prospect of happiness which would thereby be open to him. You will easily perceive that he specifies the southern part of England, or Wales, chiefly for climate and also for another reason, which is not altogether unimportant, that of their contiguity to Bath or Bristol. Where perhaps he may be induced to spend a couple of winter months, which he would not be apt to do if he was at any distance from them, as land travelling he thinks not fit for him, nor does he much like it. I shall only further say upon this subject that besides the happiness of our living together, what we should be thereby enabled to contribute may not be unworthy your consideration. This I mention because I know that pecuniary matters are seldom thought of in your determinations. The depression of

spirits under which I have for some time laboured has been very great, my mind has been sorely burthened indeed. When your father's spirits were low he seemed determined not to quit this country, and I was resolved not to urge him to do it. But the eagerness with which he embraces this plan, and the pleasure which it seems to give him, has relieved my mind from a weight of gloom which you cannot well conceive and which I am not able to express. That this plan may not be frustrated by government, by you, or by any misfortune, is the ardent wish of my too anxious heart. Harriet is not with us now, but I hope she will soon return. Ally Spring has left us for a few days to attend Mrs. Browne, who is ill of a nervous fever, but I hope not in any danger. When Ally comes I shall show her your letter. Of St. John [Mason] I can tell you little more at present than that he is still St. John, and I much fear he will continue so to the end of his days. Mary Anne is very well, and thank God so are all under this roof, every one of them deeply interested in the result of the present crisis, that it may be productive of happiness to us all is the united wish, as well as the prayer, of all here. I need not add that it is also that of your truly affectionate mother,

E. Emmet.

Be sure to remember us all with the most cordial affection to Jane and the children. We shall not advertise the place 'till we know how matters stand, but if they shall happily turn out as we wish we shall not lose a moment in doing so.

October 15th, 1801.

My dearest Tom,

At this time you will not be surprised at my having superseded your other correspondents here, nor will you, I hope, be displeased that I should impart to you the various feelings of my mind, so fully occupied with what relates to you, your amiable wife, and your children. When I wrote last I was under the first impulse of very ardent feelings, my first impulses are, I confess always much too ardent. Since then I have reflected, and have been able to think of and to look at the worst, and find myself more composed since I have done so.

Some of your friends say that, supposing you were permitted to reside in England, or Wales, you ought rather to go to America, as it would tend more to the advantage of your family; of this you are the best judge. Your father and I both unite in desiring you to act as if we were out of the question, consulting only what you think will be most likely to make you and them most happy. We are very sure of what your inclinations would lead you to, but for my own part I declare to you that I should not feel happy, even in your society, if I caused in any respect sacrifice of your interest, your peace of mind, or your security. I speak of myself as the weaker vessel, of your Father's firmness you can have no doubt.

One point, however, I must entreat that you will weigh well before you decide in favour of America, and that is the disadvantages of the climate, which by everything I can hear is not congenial to European constitutions. Capt. Palmer* mentioned to us, independent of the yellow fever, he had perceived, and it was he said a general observation in America, that after the first two years Europeans generally decline in health. Do not call this a prejudice of mine. It has been mentioned to us that in America you could not follow your profession, but upon this head you will recollect that Sir Grenville Temple said, when he was last here, that a lawyer there could not by the profits of his profession pay for the expenses of his books. Add to this that a prohibition law did exist, which perhaps may have been since repealed, that any stranger intending to profess the law, must, previous to his doing so, be a resident for five years in the country.

I have now said everything I mean to say upon the subject until you have taken your final determination. That it may lead you to happiness, and the advantage of your family I shall never cease to wish and pray, and whatever our feelings may be we shall have the

*See footnote to letter of Sept. 19, 1800, p. 286.

consolation of having them unmixed with self-reproach. I mentioned in my last the great amendment in your father's health, which I thank God still continues and has been during the last fortnight beyond what we could expect. Your children are all well except Tom, who looks somewhat peeking, tho' his appetite is very good, and he is a strong-bodied child. Your father and the entire family desire to be most cordially remembered to you, to Jane, and the dear children. They are all warmly interested in what may be the event of the present period, but we must all practice patience, that virtue so necessary to mankind in general, and particularly so to your truly affectionate mother,

ELIZABETH EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

OCTOBER 26TH, 1801.

MY DEAREST TOM,

I have received your letter in due course, the contents of which did not surprise me, and you will see by my last, previous to the receipt of yours, that I am prepared for the worst. I have long foreseen that your determination would be, and ever since Jefferson has been chosen I have expected that in America you would reside. From some hints that John's [Patten] soothing disposition threw out with a wish of administering balm to my mind, I was fondly led to hope that perhaps you would think Wales an eligible place to live in, but this vision has been dismissed even before your last letter came. My consolation I must derive from your having adopted a measure in itself right. I have never entertained a hope that you would, in the event of a peace, return to this country, and I have never cherished a wish that you should live dishonoured in this or any other; with these sentiments you need not have any uneasiness about my feelings. Be assured that they are such as will not hurt me, and they shall not cast a gloom around me. I know that, however feeble my support is in itself, it is nevertheless deemed important by your father, and he shall have it to the utmost of my power, and tho' we are to be separated from the first prop of my old age, the Polar Star by which I at least, who often want direction and support, wished to steer for the remainder of my life. Yet, tho' your light will be denied to us, I trust in that just God, whom you have so truly served, that he will cause you to shine to advantage in another hemisphere. But you cannot expect that I shall not remember that between you and us there will be a gulph over which we cannot pass. I have only to add with respect to your three dear children, now under this roof, I am sure you will not, and I think you ought not, to separate them from your others. But admit that you would, I love them too well to withhold them from the benefit of having their mind formed and educated by you, no, not even a Temple Emmet would I wish to retain under such circumstances. I have very little doubt but that leave would be given to you to come over for the purpose of seeing your father and settling your affairs here, but I am not sure that you will avail yourself of such a permission. This point, however, like all others, must be decided by you alone. The pleasure we should have in seeing Jane, tho' very great, would I am sure be more than over balanced by the pain we should feel at parting with her. Yet, as I am sure Mrs. Patten wishes it very much, she ought to be gratified, and I hope that you will think it right that she and the dear children should come over and spend as much time here as she can before your final departure. Under this roof she will meet the warmest of affection and an admiration of her conduct, very little, if at all, short of what she can receive from her mother. You know your father, and you judge rightly of him, he feels with extreme tenderness, but he bears the evils which have befallen him with truly practical Christian patience. I, therefore, need only say of him that the great return of health, strength, and cheerfulness which he has had within this last month still continues, even under the certainty of your future destination. His affecion for you I have no need to inform you of, but you are not a more careful guardian of your unsullied honour and fame than he is. The reason why we did not

inform you of the real state of his health during the summer was, that we did not think it necessary to add to the gloom of a Prison. I have now said all that I can say, and I shall not write for some time lest anything should issue from my pen that might cause emotion, or any kind of uneasiness to you. Your children are all very well, your friends most cordially interested and affectionate towards you, Jane, and the children.

I am, my dearest Tom, most truly your affectionate mother,

ELIZABETH EMMET.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.,
Fort George, Scotland.

From the date of the above letter a break in the correspondence occurs, and we are left in ignorance for some fourteen months of all relating to the inmates of Fort George and their friends in Ireland. This letter in fact closes the correspondence, as Mr. Emmet and his family were in the interval released from prison.

It is only through these letters that we have been able to obtain any insight into the prison life of those confined at Fort George, or any knowledge of Dr. Robert Emmet's family during the same period.

It is not necessary, therefore, to offer either an apology for the number of these letters or for the great space which they occupy.

Among the letters and other "curiosities" found in the collection made by Major Sirr and now in the Trinity College library was a letter written by Thomas Addis Emmet to his sister and another to his niece, the daughter of Temple. These letters had been intercepted while passing by the regular route from Fort George and held as "curiosities".

Dr. Madden gives a copy of them and writes:

What will the reader think of the mean, dastardly malignity displayed by this Dogberry of a town-major, in thus retaining the private letters of a respectable citizen in the unhappy circumstances of T. A. Emmet, to his sister and another female member of his family, and thus depriving them of the only gratification they could then have—that of hearing from a beloved relative?

FROM T. A. EMMET TO HIS SISTER, MRS. HOLMES.

SATURDAY, 21ST NOVEMBER, 1801.

MY DEAREST MARY ANNE,

By your letter of the 13th, which I received yesterday, it is evident that one of mine has miscarried; whether that accident was owing to any part of its contents it is impossible for me to say, but if it was this letter may perhaps be more fortunate from the entire absence of anything that might deserve the name of contents. This style of writing it is I believe the best policy to adopt, where the only object is to transmit home regular accounts of oneself and friends, but in this instance I do not use it from prudential motives. The first ideas that occurred to me in hearing of the peace being made known to you, have lost their novelty; and no new room has been given for expectation or conjecture by a development of the intention of the Government. In this state of things my letters may very well hope to escape under the protection of their insignificance. You are right in supposing that Jane has recovered her sore throat, and notwithstanding the severity of the weather, which is exceedingly tempestuous at present, she is very tolerable. No one can set a higher value than she does on your love and that of all your circle, or be more grateful for the enjoyment of it, but not even the force of that senti-

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY, DUBLIN

ment, nor the severity of this climate, could induce her to remove from Fort George while I remain here, although I proposed it to her, when I hoped it might contribute to expedite our arrangements and be of service to herself. She does not, however, read with indifference, nor does she admit of the truth of your expression, that her happiness is now forever independent of your circle. That can never be so long as we are inhabitants of this earth. The spheres, indeed, in which we may hereafter move may nowhere join, but they will always be within the influence of each other's attraction. Imagination, and memory, and hope you know, are not fettered in the spot on which we live—neither the Atlantic nor the Alleghanies could obstruct their flight, nor prevent their being transported to your firesides and mingling in your round of occupations and enjoyments; but it is not merely from their illusions that we should derive pleasure or pain. The packets from Europe would certainly not be objects of indifference, and in the domestic accounts they would convey, who should not fail to find what would most powerfully operate on our circle . . .

Several concluding lines and the signature of Mr. Emmet are wanting. The letter was directed to—"Mrs. Holmes, Dr. Emmet's, Miltown, Dublin."

The only letter found among Mr. Emmet's papers of this period was the first draft of a letter to an old friend and college-mate, while a student at Edinburgh, Lord Hope, then the Lord Advocate of Scotland, and was as follows:

FORT GEORGE, 14TH OF DECEMBER, 1801.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am obliged to trouble you in consequence of Mrs. Emmet's uneasiness, from a paragraph which she read in a public paper reporting that we were to be sent to Botany Bay. If you have any reason to believe that the report is without foundation you will of course take no further notice of the contents of this letter than what your kindness may lead you to do, by enabling me to set Mrs. Emmet's mind at ease. If you entertain a different opinion of that rumour, you will be so good as to read the following detail, and make such use of it as you may think called for by your sense of national honour and public faith. I will not add to these motives any claims of private friendship, but leave them entirely to your own feelings.

After the insurrection had lasted for some time in Ireland, a negotiation [as we have seen] was set on foot, by some of the State prisoners, with the Government, to stop the further effusion of blood on the scaffold and in the field. In the course of that business, a proposal was made by Government, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Cooke to Mr. Dobbs (who was the organ between both parties) that the prisoners should consent to go to such country as should be pointed out to them. This with the other parts of the proposal was rejected by the prisoners, who, however, in the hope that matters might still be adjusted, appointed deputies to communicate directly with the Government: of these I was one.

In our interview with Lord Castlereagh, the chancellor, and Mr. Cooke, we again objected to the proposal—because it gave us no negative upon the country to which we might be sent; and added that it might be construed as if Government could send us to Botany Bay. At the mention of that place Lord Castlereagh expressed the utmost abhorrence of the idea; and assured us, that when Government made the proposal, it had no worse place in contemplation than the United States of America. To remove, however, all such apprehensions, it consented at once to give us the negative we required.

There was an expression used by Lord Clare, at that interview, which will never be effaced from my mind. When we were expressing some doubt about the entire execution of the agreement on the part of the Government, as our part of it was to be first performed, his Lordship said: "Gentlemen, it comes to this—a Government that broke its faith with you should not stand, and ought not to be allowed to stand."

I have now stated facts on my own authority, which, however, I am not afraid of

being contradicted in any quarter. What follows I can give you on the authority of an act of Government. We entered into an agreement, of which I send you a copy, and in which the words, relating to our exile are, "To emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and Government." This compact, Government fully authenticated by two acts—first they sent Mr. Dobbs, accompanied by popular and influential United Irishmen, to whom they gave papers of protection, to the county of Wicklow, where the insurrection still continued, to make the insurgents acquainted with it, and to persuade them to come in under it. This gentleman and his companions accordingly repaired to the Marquis of Huntley's and General Moore's camp, from whence they went among the insurgents, and actually persuaded all but a few deserters, for whose security they would not pledge themselves, and a very few of their associates to submit. In the north, General Nugent, the commander of that district, published our agreement in a proclamation which he issued in August, 1798, and called upon all those who chose to take advantage of it to come in accordingly. As he published it nearly verbatim, with some of the names annexed—among which was mine—it has therefore become a document incontestably authenticated by Government. After these transactions an act of parliament indeed was passed, purporting to be pursuant to an agreement, but of which I shall not permit myself to express to you what I think of its merits: suffice it to say, it was passed when we were all kept in close custody. As far as it goes beyond the agreement, it plainly contradicts the document which was transmitted by Government to General Nugent, and authenticated by his proclamation. This is also farther to be said, that those who signed the agreement have almost all (myself and my fellow-prisoners excepted) been either allowed to remain at large in Ireland, or permitted to emigrate to Germany, Portugal, or America; according to their own choice.

This statement I hope you will not think too long; the inferences from it are obvious. I ask only for that for which I and my fellow-prisoners gave a very important consideration, and to which Government stands pledged, if there be such a virtue as public faith.

I am convinced that neither Lord Pelham, nor any of the English administration, can be acquainted with the particulars I have detailed to you, if there be any intention of acting towards us, or any of us, in a manner different from what I require.

Believe me, &c.,

T. A. Emmet.

This incident has been presented elsewhere, showing how little the Government regarded the obligation of good faith; and in connection with Lord Clare's expression of the obligation, the quotation from the letter of Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville will be read with interest. This letter is dated, "Dublin, August 28th, 1798":—

You will have seen the details of the debate respecting the manifesto of Emmet, O'Connor and Macneven. The house was unanimous (even the most violent anti-attainters) in the necessity of excepting these three from the indemnity and giving them "up to trial" [packed jury]. Lord Castlereagh was the only dissenter, which between ourselves is not very wise; and stated that they had been immediately confined as close prisoners. This manifesto has evidently occasioned very great ferment, and ought, according to my poor ideas, to be pursued at the overt act of endeavouring to bring the King, his parliament and his Government into odium and contempt; which, in itself, is a new treason to which the compact of the Government with them could not apply.*

Castlereagh with all his double dealing in the service of the English Government shows now and again some appreciation of honesty and good

*Report on the manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore, Vol. IV, p. 290.

faith, while Clare, although he had, as shown by Mr. Emmet's letter, claimed to recognize the obligation, never offered the slightest protest to the expression of the majority on this occasion.

Lord Clare may have been the more sincere and honest of the two, for, as already stated, Mr. Emmet alone was subjected in the most rigorous solitary confinement that Trevor, who, as he asserted, acted under orders from Castlereagh, could devise. No time was lost after Mr. Emmet's arrest and conviction in punishing him for his rejection of office at the beginning of his career, when it was sought to make him a Government partisan. That he did not succumb to the severity of his treatment, as did many State prisoners who could not be convicted, was due solely to the vigor of his constitution. By his course with Mr. Emmet Castlereagh showed that he never forgot or forgave. It may have been the remembrance of some of his work that caused him to cut his own throat after gaining everything he had aspired to.

Among one of the last letters written by Mr. Emmet before leaving Fort George was one to his niece, Miss Emmet, the daughter of his brother Temple. This was forwarded to the government authorities to be sent to its destination. By some means it came into Major Sirr's possession, who held it as one of the "curiosities" of his collection, as has been stated. By this act Major Sirr deprived Mr. Emmet's family of any knowledge of his movements for several years, while the war continued between France and England.

FORT GEORGE, 30TH MAY, 1802.

MY DEAREST KITTY,

I sit down to write you a few lines in acknowledgment of yours of the 13th inst., which I only received last Monday. Our correspondence has of late considerably slackened in consequence of our suspense and want of subject matter, but as the fault may be in some measure my own, I feel it necessary not to let slip this post, though no better furnished with epistolary material than heretofore, and particularly as I find that Jane's occupation as a nurse will greatly interfere with her punctuality as a correspondent. I have no doubt of the pleasure which you and my other friends felt at hearing of her safe delivery, and both she and I have to compliment and thank you for the very gallant, elegant, and if I did not know the sincerity of your affection, I should say flattering manner in which you spoke of her. You are not much mistaken when you suppose the newcomer to be a favourite, but both you and the objects of our love may rest assured she will never supersede or weaken our previously formed and well grounded affection. She must be content to fall into her place at the end of the train, unless she can hereafter produce better pretensions to preference than her name.

My mother, I find is so much at a loss to account for our remaining here, that she thinks the delay may have been caused by waiting till Jane should be able to travel. If I thought that were the cause I should indeed be vexed at detaining so many others; but I am convinced, and so may she, that what ever may have occasioned our protracted confinement, it had no connection with Jane's situation. Government knew perfectly well that she has been able to travel perfectly well long since. Though we are here on the Borders of the highland, we are in a bad place for executing my father's commission of plaids—Sterling being the place where they are manufactured in the greatest variety. We will, however, discharge it to the best of our power whenever we have an opportunity. You will easily perceive that I have written this in a great hurry; the fact is, I

have had scarcely time to finish it, and can assure you, and all our friends at home, of the sincere affection of this family—

Ever yours,

T. A. Emmet.

Monday:—I have just heard from such authority as leaves no question that we are shortly to be sent in a King's ship to Hamburgh. I can state nothing more particularly at present, but must request an immediate remittance of £100.

Mr. Emmet also wrote a few lines to his sister:

My dearest Maryanne,

I can only write you a few lines at present, as I deferred doing it last night owing to a severe cold in my head, which made stooping disagreeable, and this morning I have no time to write at any length. Indeed Robert [his son] undertook to relieve me this time by writing to Kitty.

(Miss Emmet, Dr. Emmet's, Miltown, Dublin.)

The following letter from the Governor was addressed to the State Prisoners—:

Fort George, 31st May, 1802.

Gentlemen,

As it may be of consequence to your private concerns I lose no time in informing you (although I cannot do so officially) that I have very good grounds for saying that I believe a pardon is now making out by Government, upon the condition specified in the Irish Act of Pardon and Banishment, and that as soon as it is completed a King's ship will be sent to some convenient port to conduct the gentlemen to Hamburg. Although I am not warranted to give this information officially, I am very certain of the fact, and the gentlemen will make what use they judge proper of the communication.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

Stuart, Lt. Gov.

To the State Prisoners at Fort George.

Continued influence to effect the release of the State prisoners was exerted during a long period, until at length the British Government decided to release them, after having kept them in custody for four years in direct violation of their agreement. When the warrant directing the discharge of the prisoners by name was received from London, it was found that Mr. Emmet's name had been omitted, and this was done doubtless for the purpose of keeping him prisoner for an indefinite period and was probably Castlereagh's work. Governor Stuart sent for Mr. Emmet, and after relating the circumstance, said: "Mr. Emmet, you shall go; I will take all hazards and all responsibility. You shall go to-morrow with the rest of the prisoners, and I will stand between you and the Government". It is believed that this noble act cost Governor Stuart his place, as he was removed from his position a short time afterwards.

National independence by no means necessarily leads to national virtue and happiness, but reason and experience demonstrate that public virtue and general happiness are absolutely incomparable with a state of provincial subjection.

T. A. Emmet.

Whenever a clashing of interest between the two islands was perceived or apprehended, Ireland was forced to yield to the overbearing ascendancy of an insatiable and jealous rival. Her commerce was fettered, her manufactures surrendered, her raw material delivered over, her population drained, her resources exhausted, her agriculture neglected—all to aggrandize the power from which her government was derived, and with which her governors are connected.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XVII

Review of Mr. Emmet's relation with the Government during his imprisonment—Dr. Macneven's statement—Pitt's effort to force the Irish people into rebellion—Cruel and barbarous treatment of the Irish people—The Society of the United Irishmen contained over half a million sworn members—These were held from outbreak for over eighteen months during the period Mr. Emmet was at the head of the organization—He received the support of all the leaders with the exception of Mr. O'Connor—Mr. Emmet was opposed to receiving aid from France, as he believed that Ireland would thereby become a French province—Mr. Emmet expected to bring about the needed reforms through the influence exercised by the number enrolled in favor of these reforms—As Mr. Emmet could not be bribed or his influence weakened with the people, he and all the leaders were arrested without evidence to convict them, and with new leaders in favor of open rebellion at the head of the United Irishmen, Pitt was able to carry his wish with regard to establishing the Union with England—The Government feared Mr. Emmet's influence too much to release him, but did all in its power to underrate his influence with the people, as well as his importance as a leader—An obscure reference made, indicating that Mr. Emmet may have written something which came into the hands of the Government from the search made of the quarters of the United Irishmen—This seems only possible in case the manuscript of the Memoir addressed to the Hon. Charles James Fox, was returned to Mr. Emmet before the book was bound, which was suppressed by the Government and possibly destroyed. It shows how this communication to Mr. Fox and a portion of Irish history written by Mr. Emmet now form the opening pages of this volume.

It is held by the author that Mr. Emmet was a more important man as a leader in the Rebellion of 1798, than the English Government has allowed it to appear.

IT becomes necessary here to pass in review Mr. Emmet's status with the Government prior to his release from imprisonment and the spiteful and unrelenting punishment which accompanied it. That Mr. Emmet was subjected to a course of treatment different from that received by the other Irish leaders seems to have attracted no attention, and to have been unknown except to his family.

To the writer's knowledge all the older members of his family were able to recall hearing in their childhood that the

Government hated their father and treated him cruelly. He can also remember in his early manhood that Dr. Macneven had stated shortly before his death that Mr. Emmet had been punished by the Government for the writing of some paper. Unfortunately the circumstances calling forth the statement, as well as all means by which the special paper, claimed to have given offence, could now be identified, have been forgotten. While it is possible that the writing of some such paper influenced the treatment he received, the author's investigations have fully satisfied him that the chief cause was the vindictive feeling entertained towards Mr. Emmet by Pitt and the Irish Government for refusing to accept office as a bribe. He alone of all the Irish leaders was able to exercise influence enough to restrain the people from open rebellion and this influence he exerted for over a year.

There can no longer exist a doubt that after the recall of the Viceroy, Lord Fitzwilliam, Pitt, the British Minister, determined to bring about a "Union" between Ireland and England, at any cost. His purpose could not have been accomplished by either English legislation or brute force, for the world at large would have denounced the open use of both in the case of Ireland, which was recognized as a separate kingdom. But the craft of Pitt dictated the method by which the Irish people themselves should be forced to bring about the Union and their doing so appear a voluntary action. What Pitt desired was at length accomplished, but only after the country, by means of the most brutal cruelty, had been forced into open rebellion. After over one hundred thousand men, women and children had been slaughtered in an apparent effort to exterminate the Irish race (for the English soldiers were instructed to bring in no prisoners, and comparatively few were killed in battle), the tacit consent of the exhausted people was gained. Then, to give the transaction a pinchbeck glaze of legality, through the illegal action of the Irish Parliament, in a body where the people had no representation, the so-called "Act of Union" was passed, but only after every voter had been bribed by English agents, with misappropriated Irish money; and, by means of corruption, in violation of every precept of the Decalogue. This was all accomplished under the direction of Pitt, who certainly laid no claim to having employed moral suasion in the course of his political life. Yet the English people to this day, an avowedly civilized and God-fearing race, in the spirit of the Pharisee, justify the course of their government in Ireland during 1798 and the ensuing years to establish the devil's bond, claimed by the English to be a "Union" between the two countries.

The Society or Union of United Irishmen contained over half a million men, the greater portion of whom were initiated, through the influence, direct or indirect, of Thomas Addis Emmet; hence he was known to a greater number of individuals than any other leader in the organization, and his personal influence even among those who were not immediately connected with the United Irishmen was not equalled by any other man in Ireland. It is not known that Mr. Emmet had anything whatever to do with the beginning of the organization. This work was accomplished by Tone, Neilson and others

in Belfast. But it is known beyond question that at an early day and for several years before he took the oath as a United Irishman, he was secretly busy in organizing new branches; and after he became a member he continued this special service of initiating new members, that as far as was possible the other leaders should be unknown to the spy and informer who joined and had to be sworn in. The early policy of the United Irishmen in trusting to peaceful measures was adhered to until Mr. Emmet's arrest. It was believed that through his influence their purpose could be accomplished without loss of life, but, through the influence exerted by the large numbers of the enrolled members, all were ready to resort to arms in case this course became finally necessary.

It was thought that after the great majority of Irishmen had been enrolled, the English would not dare to refuse to make the reforms demanded. During the examination of the members of the Directory after their imprisonment, it was stated that there would have been no outbreak save for the action of the Government in arresting the leaders who were able to keep the people in check.

At no time did Mr. Emmet advocate an outbreak against the English Government, for he regarded it as a hopeless undertaking, unless aided by France. He only altered his opinion after the Government had resorted to every means in forcing rebellion, whereupon he became an advocate of total separation from England, and the creation of a republican form of government for Ireland. This was to be attempted as soon as an arrangement could be made with France whereby the number of French landing in Ireland should be limited. Mr. Emmet feared that without some restriction Ireland would be made a French province, and all rights of the Irish people would be disregarded. Before any plan had been devised by which the two countries could act together simply as allies, the English Government forced the issue by arresting all the Irish leaders.

Shortly after Mr. Emmet, Dr. Macneven and Mr. Arthur O'Connor became United Irishmen they were elected, together with two others who refused to serve, as members of the executive directory, and by the vote of Mr. O'Connor and Dr. Macneven, Mr. Emmet became the head of the whole organization. Soon finding that he could not dictate the management and policy of the society, Mr. O'Connor took no further interest in its affairs beyond opposing to the extent of his limited influence every effort made by Mr. Emmet. For nearly eighteen months, with the devoted aid of his colleague, Dr. Macneven, Mr. Emmet labored and finally succeeded in influencing the exasperated members of the organization throughout the country, thus checking the expected outbreak. There were many like Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the commander of the military portion of the organization, who had no faith in any effort but a military one, yet so great was the confidence in Mr. Emmet that all but Mr. O'Connor willingly yielded their individual judgment as to the time and mode of action to that of their chief.

Mr. Emmet's extensive influence and its effect were well known to the Government. As its action had long defeated every effort to force a rebellion,

Pitt, Lord Castlereagh and Lord Clare would have gladly availed themselves of the slightest evidence for getting him out of the way by means of the hangman's rope. Under ordinary circumstances the case would have been easily managed with a "devil's brief" and a packed jury. But Mr. Emmet was a man of too extensive an influence, and his profound knowledge of the law and fearless nature made him one who was not to be trifled with or restrained save by strictly legal measures. Under these circumstances the Government long feared to take any step, but at length, apparently regardless of consequences and blinded by determination to command the situation at all hazards, it ordered a general arrest, despite the fact that it was not in possession of the slightest evidence on which any leader could be legally condemned.

As was anticipated, the direction of the United Irishmen immediately passed into other hands, and in less than a week the whole country was in a condition of disorder. Several of the leaders were at once placed on trial and put to death; on perjured evidence and by a packed jury, was the assertion of the Irish people. Among those condemned to death was Mr. Bond, a man whose influence was feared by the Government almost as much as that of his friend, Mr. Emmet. As determined at the time of his trial, all the Irish State prisoners who, without legal evidence of their guilt, were confined in Dublin prisons, were allowed, before the day of execution, to come to an understanding with the Government, the chief provision of which was the cessation of the slaughter of the people. By this means Mr. Bond's life was to have been spared, but the plan was frustrated by his sudden death. The Government, as has been stated, gave the cause as apoplexy, but common belief ascribed it to poison.

From the time of Mr. Emmet's arrest he was subjected to the ill-will of the Government, and the feeling towards him was particularly indicated by systematic and unceasing misrepresentation of his work and influence with the people, until eventually this view of him became accepted by the world in general. The course of the Government was dictated only by the desire to weaken Mr. Emmet's influence with the people. Since, with no evidence of treason against him, he could not be put to death, his release from prison must have followed as a matter of course, but his undiminished influence with the people caused the Government to act with its customary bad faith and to hold him in close confinement for years.

As has been shown, the members of the Directory were subjected to a special examination, before a committee of the Irish House of Commons and another from the House of Lords. This was undertaken with the hope of thus gaining some evidence against the prisoners, from a memorial to Government prepared by Emmet, O'Connor and Dr. Macneven, acting as a committee appointed by the other prisoners. *As Mr. Emmet had been requested by them to prepare the paper, Mr. O'Connor had taken no part in its compilation;* but when the time came to sign it Neilson, Sweetman and others, friends of Mr. Emmet, persuaded Mr. O'Connor to be the first to attach his name. In this manner his vanity was appeased, and he remained a nominal member of the committee, but thenceforth Mr. Emmet and Dr. Macneven were con-

vinced that Mr. O'Connor had made his peace with the Government and that he took no further interest in Ireland's welfare, if indeed he was not afterward a spy in the Government employ.

Mr. Emmet also believed that Mr. O'Connor was sent as an ostensible prisoner with himself and others to Fort George, his purpose being to secure some evidence on which Mr. Emmet could be brought to trial and convicted. Fortunately Mr. Emmet's character and understanding were such that much more than a mere claim to the possession of such evidence would have been necessary to win credence. Mr. O'Connor doubtless informed the authorities that he had nothing to do with writing the paper and had only signed it for the sake of appearances, *but in order to lessen Mr. Emmet's prestige the authorities gave Mr. O'Connor all the credit for its composition. This document, which was fully appreciated and regarded as being most valuable from an historical standpoint, is still officially recorded as "O'Connor's Manifesto".*

The Government soon after issued as an official report a statement so devoid of truth that the State prisoners replied at once with an indignant denial. As though Government had never before been accused of such a procedure, as that with which they were charged by the prisoners, many members of Parliament, overcome with a sense of rectitude, which they found difficult to formulate, demanded that the prisoners should be immediately put to death or otherwise severely punished. It was officially stated that all the prisoners were thereupon placed in solitary confinement on bread and water. This statement was based on the fact that, with the exception of Mr. Emmet, all were confined to the range of their rooms, but subject to no other inconvenience.

Mr. Emmet, however, was placed in a dungeon beneath the prison, scarcely long enough for him to stretch out in at full length and in total darkness except when once a day the door was opened, admitting sufficient light to show a person standing within. Here he was confined for nearly two months on bread and water, which on no day was in sufficient quantity to fully satisfy his hunger or thirst. The brutal turnkey would place it anywhere on the floor, and he seldom withdrew without cursing his prisoner *for some paper he had written.* This circumstance, as held by family tradition, has always puzzled the writer, as he knew of no paper written by Mr. Emmet in relation to the Government but that which the reader has already seen. But this had, at least in the beginning, been received as a valuable contribution on the historical condition of Ireland, and Mr. Emmet had certainly, until after his examination, been treated with courtesy. The reader will recall that on the day of the publication of the circular the Government demanded that the prisoners should publish a full denial of their previous statement, but this they peremptorily refused to make. They were then informed that if they published anything more for the public, general slaughter and executions throughout the country would immediately be resorted to, and by this threat the prisoners were silenced and compelled to hold their peace until after their release.

It is possible that at this juncture Mr. Emmet prepared in the name of the prisoners, some communication to the Government, which was immediately sup-

pressed and which caused him thenceforth to be the special victim of the enmity of the Irish officials.

Within a recent period the author made careful examination of the pages of the "Dublin Journal" for 1798, the official vehicle for the publication of all notices and documents. From the great variety in style it seems evident that different writers were detailed to this paper for the purpose of creating public opinion, as well as to supply misleading information under any circumstances. In it was found the full and what must be accepted as the only official report of the incidents which have just been under review. This report contains an obscure reference which may possibly allude to another paper:

August 23, 1798. In the Irish House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh presented a report from the Secret Committee.—Arthur O'Connor and Dr. Macneven as Secretaries of the Executive Directory of the Society of United Irishmen had already been twice before the Committee.

The following is the official report, as taken from the "Dublin Journal":

Thomas Addis Emmet, Barrister at Law, in addition to the testimony in which he detailed the same facts as the other witnesses confessed "that he was a member of the Executive Directory of the Union, being appointed in January, 1797, and continued till May in the same year; and afterwards from his being re-elected in January, 1798, until the time of his arrest. The first communication with France which came to his immediate knowledge was in April, 1797, when in order to establish a constant intercourse with the French Directory, an agent was sent from Ireland to reside in France, where he still continues.

"He knew that France sent to this country assurance of her assistance, etc., that it became necessary to apply to France for a larger quantity of arms than were promised at first, in order to supply those given up to the government. He was certain that France gave assurance that the Armament in the Texel in the summer of 1797 was intended to come to Ireland, and that a promise of assistance in April, 1798, was made by the Directory. . . . He accounts for the loyalty of the lower orders in Munster during the Bantry Bay invasion, by the Union having taken no pains to prepare their minds for the French, as they had been amused with contradictory accounts from France, and it was always determined to avoid an insurrection until the French should come, had not the severe measures adopted in Kildare by the King's Ministers urged the alternative of rising or yielding up the cause. He believed had they waited until the French came, the rising would have been more general and more formidable.

"It was intended to raise a general fund for the service of the Union by the confiscation of the Church property, and that of all of those who did not join them; the persons of the latter, if they did not actually oppose the Union, were to be only held as hostages until it would be convenient to transport them; and their wives, if they were not hostile to the new order of things, were to be supported by a stipend out of their husband's property—the rest belonged to the Republic.

"He is persuaded that the bulk of the people do not care about or understand Reform and Emancipation, but they are become anxious for them, having been told that they lead to the abolition of tythes. It was determined to have no Ecclesiastical Establishment, nor any distinction of Rank.

"Witness being asked as to the practicability of Ireland being a separate State from Great Britain, when she had not means to build a Navy, and must be dependent upon England for the mere article of coals. He replied that he thought Ireland was fully able to stand alone as an Independent Republic; her wealth and population had infinitely increased within the last century, and though she might be much crippled by the Fleets

and Power of England, yet the strength of the British Navy would soon fall when Ireland ceased to act with Great Britain; and as to the article of fuel, the extension of Inland Navigation would soon remove the necessity of importation.

"It appeared by the concurrent testimony of all these witnesses, that as every individual concealed his own arms, no depôt or collection of arms for the Union existed".

(*Such is our faint sketch of the most important State paper which has for many years been made public. We have already said that it occupied two hours in the reading; it is therefore obvious that the above must be a very brief extract, but our desire to present as early as possible to the public a document of such importance, has induced us to hazard perhaps a very imperfect but we trust an honest Report. We hope soon to be able to give it in its more authentic form.*)

In the "Dublin Journal" of September 8, 1798, the following report appears:

IRISH PARLIAMENT

HOUSE OF COMMONS—FRIDAY, SEPT. 7, 1798

A Message was brought from the Lords; it was the Report of their Lordships' Second Secret Committee, and was as follows:

"The Lords' Committees appointed to examine the matter of the sealed up Papers received from the Commons on the 23d of July last, and to report the same as they shall appear to them to this House; having seen an Advertisement in the public prints signed Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet and William James McNeven in the following words. 'Having read in the different Newspapers, publications pretending to be Abstracts of the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons and four Depositions before the Committee of the Lords and Commons, we feel ourselves called upon to assure the public, that they are gross and to us astonishing Misrepresentations, not only unsupported by, but in many instances directly contradictory to the facts we really stated on these occasions. We further assure our friends that in no instance did the name of any individual escape from us; on the contrary, we always refused answering such questions as might tend to implicate any person whatever, conformably to the Agreement entered into by the State Prisoners with Government.

'ARTHUR O'CONNOR,
'THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,
'WILLIAM JAMES MCNEVEN,*

"have thought it their duty to examine the said Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James McNeven, with respect to such Advertisement, to the end that it might be ascertained whether they or any of them intended to contradict or retract anything which they had heretofore deposed before your Committee. And your Committee subjoin the several Examinations on Oath of the said Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet and William James McNeven, this day made and signed by them respectively upon that subject, as follows, viz."

Then follows the deposition of Arthur O'Connor and Dr. Macneven which does not differ essentially from Emmet's, viz.:—

Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., Sworn, Admits that the Advertisement which appeared in the "Hibernian Journal and Saunders' News Letter" of Monday, the 27th of August last, under the signatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet and William James McNeven, was published by their authority;—says he does not mean to contradict anything stated by him before this Committee or the Secret Committee of the House of Commons—but is willing to authenticate the whole of the evidence which he gave on those

Macneven is Irish and so spelt always by the family—the government and the English papers have always given *McNeven*.

occasions in any manner that may be thought fit.—Declares that the said Advertisement alluded solely to Misrepresentations in the Newspapers—says that he has read the evidence stated in the Appendix to the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, as having been given by him before that committee, and admits that the evidence so stated expresses nothing but the Truth, but omits many reasons which he gave in justification of his own conduct and of that of the Members of the *Union* at large.—Says he does not mean to contradict anything which has been so reported with respect to the Military Organization of the *United Irishmen* in this Kingdom, of the Nature or object of it, which was, after they had despaired of obtaining a Reform in Parliament by peaceful means, to effect a Revolution by subverting the Monarchy, separating this country from Great Britain and erecting such Government in Ireland as might be chosen by the People.—Says he does not mean to contradict the Details given in the said Report of the Correspondence and connection of the Irish *Union* with the Government of France, as far as he has any knowledge thereof, and which Details he so far admits to be accurate. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

The "Dublin Journal" of March 13, 1798, after giving the usual account of the arrest of the delegates at Bond's house, states:

At the same time we understand Dr. McNeven was apprehended at his lodgings near the Four Courts; Counsellor Emmet in Stephen's Green, John Sweetman in Francis Street and Henry Jackson and Son in Church Street.

From the "Dublin Journal"—Tuesday, August 28th, 1789.—

As the best answer to an insulting advertisement signed by three confessed Traitors, McNeven, O'Connor and Emmet, we have this day inserted the full and authentic Report of that evidence which they have endeavoured to deny by a cowardly insinuation, truly characteristic of the whole tenor of their conduct.

The indecency of a publication, signed by three *confessed* Traitors which appeared in the Morning Prints of yesterday, notwithstanding the notorious characters of the parties, we own astonished us. Of what class in Ireland are their *friends* whom these Traitors think it necessary to address? Do they consist of the outstanding Traitors, or those admitted to mercy? Or do they hope that it may reach and animate the invading foe, with whom by their own confessions, they have long secretly corresponded? Wretched men! have you not been satisfied with the blood you have been the principal cause of spilling? Have you no gratitude for the mercy extended to you? Consider your situation; your discomfited ranks, thinned by the valour of Irish loyalists, have implored and received pardon; do you wish to lead them a second time to destruction? *The Press* which teemed with audacious Treasons has been destroyed; do you seek to make an important attack on Government, under an equivocating, mean cover of attacking newspaper statements? If you are wise, desist; do not listen to the interested designs of notorious agitators who visit your prison; be assured that the flame of Treason is too much extinguished for your weak breaths to revive.

The "Dublin Journal" (August 30th, 1798), contained the following:

So utterly unworthy have the imprisoned *Traitors* proved themselves of the lenity which they have of late experienced, and so obviously was their last outrage intended to encourage and foment a new Rebellion, that Government is not only justified, but entitled to the thanks of the kingdom of Ireland, in having remanded them to their former strict imprisonment, etc., etc.

In the same editorial it is stated:

Singularly correspondent with the late Proclamation of the Irish Directory, is a paragraph in the [London] "Courier" of Friday last:

"It is not true, as has been reported, that the State Prisoners have drawn up a detail of their former proceedings, tending to criminate themselves. On the contrary, Arthur O'Connor, Dr. McNeven and Counsellor Emmet, have made out what is considered by the whole of them as a fair statement of their conduct, by no means tending to criminate any of them. It fills twenty-eight sheets of paper, and has been sent to Government [by the police]; and the prisoners have bound themselves [doubtless an untruth] not to publish it in any form whatever. It is understood to be a masterpiece of writing".

While we submit this paragraph to the indignitation of our readers, we cannot avoid asking of what nature can the justification be? A set of men, in order to escape the impending justice of the Law, made a voluntary (though it seems not a full) confession of their turpitude; they avow that they have been traitors; they acknowledge that they have committed perjury in falsifying their oath—their oft-repeated oath of allegiance; they admit that they have excited a rebellion the most savage in the annals of Ireland; they brand themselves with all the murders of men, women and children—old and young—resisting and unresisting—with the ruin of hundreds and misery of thousands; all these things they confess out of their own polluted mouths!—Confess that they have acted thus to gratify their own diabolical ambition, and yet they and their agents talk of justification! The massacre of St. Bartholomew was justified as a measure of State policy, while its actors were blasted with reprobation; the massacre of 1641 has been justified as a great attempt of one enemy to overturn another; but who ever justified the barbarians who plunged unoffending thousands into the grave?—yet now are the murders of the last six years and the massacres of 1798, not only defended—but the Prime Murderers—the Arch Traitors—the Chief Assassins talk of Justification!!!

The question which here presents itself is, what was the document referred to by the London newspaper as "a masterpiece of writing", which gave the Government great offence and caused Mr. Emmet to be subjected to relentless punishment? The same day on which the Irish Directory published their protest and contradiction of the untruthful report of their examination, as issued by the authorities, the persons and quarters in Kilmainham of O'Connor, Emmet and Macneven were thoroughly searched, all their papers being carried off, among them the manuscript of a history of Ireland on which Mr. Emmet had been for some time engaged, and he was put in solitary confinement immediately after his examination by the committee from the House of Commons and House of Lords. Fortunately, the first part of the history had been sent out to be bound, and a letter he had written with great care to be presented to the Hon. Charles James Fox, the leader of the Opposition, was to be engrossed. Both were thus saved and now form the opening pages of this work.

The question must rest on the possibility that Mr. Emmet's original manuscript, after it had been engrossed, was returned to him before the volume had been bound for presentation to Mr. Fox, and thus came into the hands of the Government, while the engrossed copy remained in the keeping of the family outside, until it was sent to New York years after. The authorities seem to have destroyed the history, and would have dealt in the same manner with the letter to Mr. Fox, as the party feeling was at that time intense. The Government may have heard of the engrossed copy, and Mr. Emmet have been kept in confinement for fear that if released he would rewrite it.

This is the only explanation of the theory that Mr. Emmet wrote something

additional, of which the public was not informed. The lengthy memoir he prepared for Parliament and the examining committees was well received and printed by the Government, while the offending advertisement issued by the leaders, consisted of but a few lines and was never printed officially. For the first time this subject has been brought to the attention of the public together with all the information to be gleaned in connection with it. As no copy of the "Courier" for 1798 has been found at the British Museum or elsewhere, despite the writer's exhaustive search, and no additional information obtained, it is likely that no explanation will ever be forthcoming.

THE DUBLIN JOURNAL, SEPT. 4, 1798

FROM THE TIMES

Mr. O'Connor and his Opposition Friends

The political mania of the present day may for a time support itself by the help of sophistry and the intrigues of faction, but must sink into contempt and abhorrence from the evidence of plain facts. The following statement, faithfully extracted from the Report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons on the subject of the late Conspiracy, and from the State Trials at Maidstone, will enable the Public to come to a fair decision on the nature of the political connexion between Mr. Arthur O'Connor and the Members of the English Opposition.

Report of the Committee

Mr. A. O'Connor stated in the Committee "That he was a member of the Executive Directory; he had been a United Irishman from 1796 and a Member of the Directory until January, 1798; and began his communications with France in the year 1790".

The Report also says "That Arthur O'Connor and the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald proceeded to Hamburg and Switzerland, but did not enter France, lest the government of this country should receive information of their so doing; that at Frankfort they had an interview with General Hoche, where they settled the intended descent, which it was agreed should take place in December".

Evidence given on the State Trials at Maidstone

Mr. Fox.—Mr. O'Connor lived chiefly with my friends, who are called the Opposition, and he also lived in esteem and confidence with me, and I believe with others. I always considered him as a person well-affected to his country. I considered him as a man highly enlightened and firmly attached to the principles which seated the present family on the throne, and to which principles we owe all our liberty.

Mr. Sheridan.—Mr. O'Connor's character is remarkable for its openness; he conversed on the politics relating to both England and Ireland with great frankness. . . . I never met any man in my life who so much reprobated the idea of any party in this country desiring French assistance.

The Earl of Suffolk.—I so much admired his political character, that two years ago I introduced him to the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Llandaff, and Serjeant Adair.

Mr. Erskine.—I never had any reason to think that his principles differed from my own as well on public as on private subjects.

The Duke of Norfolk.—From what I know, I considered him as a Gentleman warm in the political line, and attached to the Constitution in the same manner as myself.

Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor.—From all I know of Mr. O'Connor, I think him the last man who would favour an invasion of his country.

Lord John Russell.—I am acquainted with Mr. O'Connor; *I never had occasion to discover that he would favour an Invasion of the French.*

Lord Thanet.—I have the highest opinion of Mr. O'Connor's political character.

Lord Oxford.—The character of Mr. O'Connor is that of a perfectly loyal man.

Mr. Whitbread.—I know Mr. O'Connor; his character is amiable, and his political principles the same as my own.

To these *honourable* testimonials must be added that of *Mr. Tierney* in favour of Mr. O'Connor, delivered in the House of Commons on the 24th of April last.

Mr. Tierney avowed himself the friend of Mr. O'Connor; he had long been his friend; he was proud of that friendship, and agreeing with him always in political sentiments, before he could believe Mr. O'Connor guilty he must first have it proved by the verdict of our English jury; if, however, he should be found guilty, then he (Mr. Tierney) would look back on his friendship with regret and shame.

Query?—Has Mr. Tierney renewed his acquaintance with Mr. O'Connor, and do these patriotic Noblemen and Gentlemen still confide in the *openness* of character and political integrity of the *Ex-Director of the Irish Union?*

This long dissertation in the 'Dublin Journal" is the only instance within the knowledge of the writer where the Government ever permitted the publication of its own loss of temper, whereupon its agents, the Irish officials, seized the opportunity to show their vindictive feeling against the members of the Directory of the United Irishmen. The display of feeling, however, was intended for Mr. Emmet alone. O'Connor was probably recognized as the secret friend of the Government, and Macneven as a quiet and unobtrusive man, whose value as a leader was unknown, and he was supposed to take but little interest in any measure beyond that of Catholic Emancipation.

After the loss of several crops, for the soil could not be properly cultivated during the disturbed state of the country, there was naturally a scarcity of food, and in some sections, famine. A large portion of the people along the west coast had to subsist on certain wild weeds and grass, which were rendered more palatable and even healthy for food, by the free use of rock salt as a condiment. Fortunately, and no doubt for the benefit of the landlord's cattle, this article, which had a market value of from ten to fifteen shillings a ton, had for Ireland but the nominal duty of one shilling and its use was therefore within the means of all. At the very time this exhibition of "injured innocence" on the part of the Government was being published, some one, assuredly not actuated by charity towards the people in the famished districts, called attention to the low duty placed on salt, doubtless with a statement as to its special use by the people at that time. At once the duty on the crude article was raised, and that on the table salt was made eighty shillings per ton! The market value of the ordinary rock-salt was unfortunately not given, but this can be assumed, as the value of the best article was generally about double that of the crude salt.

At this prohibitory price, which could yield no return to the Government, the poor were no longer able to use the article and the writer has learned from other sources that many died from dysentery and other intestinal disorders in consequence of this legislation, spiteful and uncalled for, but certainly an expression of the vindictive feeling of the Government towards the people.

History has nowhere recorded this instance of cruel injustice exercised in 1798 through English influence. Yet it is true in every detail, and is but one among a countless number of instances as wilfully inflicted during centuries whenever the Government dared make use of an opportunity. The lower officials representing the English Government in Ireland seem either to have been of a different race from either the English or the Irish people, or the service has called forth the most merciless and barbaric acts ever performed by any race having the slightest claim to any form of civilization. No better example of this can be cited than the well-known character most active at this time and entitled to bear the name of Lord Kingsborough. He was probably best known as the commander of the "Cherubs", as they termed themselves, a body of Orangemen, who formed the North Cork yeomanry. This worthy, their commander, was the inventor of the "pitch cap", a man who never took a prisoner or did any fighting, but cowardly put to death every unarmed Irishman, woman or child within his reach. With those in his command he committed every known crime, but all as a loyal servant of the Government.

The "London Courier" was a Whig paper opposed to the Government and supported by the same individuals whose names have been just given as self-declared friends of Arthur O'Connor. In London they openly professed political views which, in Ireland, had caused many thousand Irishmen to be put to death without trial and merely on suspicion of their holding such views.

The "Dublin Journal" for July 6, 1799, incidentally states that Lords Clare and Castlereagh had obtained a verdict of one thousand pounds for libel against the "London Courier." For reasons not known the Government allowed this list of O'Connor's English friends to be published, and the list seems to have been put together by some one connected with the journal and for some special purpose.

At length, not being able to break Mr. Emmet's spirit by the donjon imprisonment on bread and water, nor exact from him any expression of regret, he was returned at the end of six weeks to his room and treated as the other prisoners as to his food and freedom to visit the yard and certain portions of the building. Shortly afterwards, as has been stated, his wife having been allowed to see him refused to leave his room, and to annoy Mr. Emmet it was ordered to keep her there in close confinement. On March 17, 1799, his sister learned that her brother was to be removed on the following day and that his wife would not be allowed to accompany him. His sister was not permitted to see him until late at night, and only after she had brought to bear all the outside influence which she was able to enlist. Information as to the destination of the prisoners was denied and when she and his wife bade him farewell it was feared they were never to meet again, and as far as his sister was concerned, this was true.

While Mr. Emmet was being held in solitary confinement the following was published by the "Dublin Journal," September 25th, 1798:

DATIS VADIBUS; OR

SIGNED, SEALED, AND DELIVERED

Long time had old Nick hovered over the gibbet,
And sharpen'd his claws with the patriot hope
That a day or two more would in public exhibit
The heroes of unity stretching the rope.

When thus to his Come-Rogues spoke Dr. McNeven:

"Sad symptoms I see that I tremble to tell;
Old Beelzebub's claw disunites us from heaven,
And th' Executive waits to transport us to hell.

"Behold him preparing to make his attack on

The few that have scap'd from the gallows and sword;
Poor Sampson and Emmet, O'Connor and Jackson,
The *Director* is waiting to take you on board."

Old Nick overheard; and—"Have done with your quaking;
Dear Doctor", the fiend grimly replied;
"I'm in no such vast hurry my cargo for taking,
So, my boy, you may sleep without fear of your hide.

"Come, cheer up, brave Tommy, be merry, O'Connor,
No cause have you yet to sink down and despond,
A while I will leave you, not doubting your honour;
Old Nick for your coming has taken a BOND".

On the arrival at Fort George Mr. Emmet was the only one of the eighteen State prisoners, as they were termed, who was put strictly in close confinement as directed by the Government. When, after a few days, Mr. Stuart, the governor of the Fortress, had become acquainted with Mr. Emmet, he was released on his honor from all restraint and admitted to all the privileges enjoyed by the other prisoners. Mrs. O'Connor had been allowed to accompany her husband, who was not subjected to the slightest restraint, but allowed to go abroad and visit any of his acquaintances in the neighboring country, and to return at his will.

Mrs. Emmet having been refused the privilege of accompanying her husband, with three of her eldest children, set out for London. Here she secured an interview with the Duke of Portland, who rudely refused her permission to visit her husband. Mrs. Emmet always described the Minister's manner to her as brutal. She, however, was not discouraged, and after several weeks spent in London, through the influence of the Temple family and some other friends, she finally obtained permission to see her husband.

It was well known that Mrs. Emmet was in full sympathy with her husband's views, and she had been a help-mate from the beginning. Colonel Stuart, however, was exceedingly indignant on receiving his instructions from the Government, and after he had become acquainted with Mr. Emmet's history, would not be a party to what he considered a persecution. Possibly as a Scotch Highlander, he was at heart somewhat in sympathy with the Irish movement.

He sent the children to his own house, and he proved a good friend to them, as he maintained as close a personal relation afterwards with Mr. Emmet as discipline and his official position would allow.

The British Government beyond doubt wished Mr. Emmet to be subjected to close imprisonment at Fort George, and it was anticipated that he would die in prison, this being the only means by which the Government could be relieved of the influence of a man whom they dared not release.

Finally, it has been shown, that when the warrant arrived for the immediate discharge of the prisoners, his name was omitted, and Colonel Stuart, without the authority of the Government, allowed him to depart with the others. In connection with Mr. Emmet's statement it is evident that, prompted by spite, the Government had decided, notwithstanding its pledge to the contrary, to keep him in prison all his life, since they could not convict him and they feared the influence he would wield if set at liberty.

One circumstance after another has been brought to light during the writer's investigation, showing Mr. Emmet was certainly a man of more importance than history has represented him and this has been a natural result, produced by the English Government and accepted by the public, which knew nothing to the contrary. In accord with the settled policy of that Government every official disparaged and concealed, as far as possible, Mr. Emmet's importance, and attributed to Mr. O'Connor and to others the special work it has been easy to show Mr. Emmet alone accomplished. Unfortunately, Mr. Emmet, himself, contributed much to ignorance of his work, for nothing gave him more satisfaction than to have attributed to others what he had done, and he thus avoided as far as possible that he himself should receive any credit. In proof of this statement the reader has but to read the opening pages of this volume, written by Mr. Emmet, which give an account of the United Irishmen during the period when he was most active, and at times the only person whose influence held the organization together, while at no time was his personal influence inoperative. Yet he does not make the slightest reference to himself and no one would judge that he was more than a close observer of passing events.

Long before Mr. Emmet's arrest the Government had begun to fear the influence exerted by him over the Irish people throughout the country, and in a measure it even exaggerated the extent to which it could be exercised. It was known that he alone kept the people from open rebellion for nearly eighteen months, and could not be bribed to throw the country into the disorder wished for by Pitt, so he and the other leaders, as already shown, were arrested to break up that influence. Finding afterwards that Mr. Emmet's influence with the people had been but little diminished, as his teaching was followed to a great extent after his imprisonment, the Government was obliged to keep Mr. Emmet in prison indefinitely, fearing to release him.

Writers of recent date, however, have been inevitably misled as to Mr. Emmet's work, since they relied on the so-called official records, published at the time for the purpose of misleading. For many years free access was given to the State papers in Dublin, but recently this privilege has been withdrawn

and copies of papers, well known to have been on deposit in the Dublin record offices but a few years ago, are no longer available. It is an open secret that since Mr. Balfour was in office every valuable State paper, especially those reflecting on the Government, have been taken to England and of their existence there the English official now knows nothing. The papers are secreted, if they are not destroyed, and centuries must elapse before the true history of Ireland can be written, unless these papers can be found.

Ireland—her destitution. . . . Her uncultivated fields, her unemployed, houseless, starving, uneducated peasantry, had long been the theme of sorrow to the patriot, and of contempt to the unthinking.

T. A. Emmet.

Necessity is called the tyrant's plea; it must be worse than tyranny that cannot plead even necessity.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XVIII

Mr. Emmet and his family land in Holland—The English Government having broken its agreement with him and the other prisoners, he now feels free to act in the interest of the Irish people and delay his departure to America—Mr. Emmet's letter to Archibald Hamilton Rowan—Letters to Dr. Macneven on their prospects and plans—Mrs. Emmet's health not satisfactory—His plans for settling in the United States—The advisability discussed as to publishing a true version of the terms agreed upon between England and the State prisoners, made necessary by Government's issuing a false statement—The close relation existing between Mr. Emmet and his brother Robert—Their full accord in all political matters.

OVERNOR STUART had earned the deep gratitude of the State prisoners, and their parting with this good man was a sad one indeed, for they realized that they were never to meet again. The Emmet children were heart-broken at the parting and throughout their long lives they bore a most affectionate remembrance of him, who seemed to have filled, for them, the place of their grandfather, Dr. Robert Emmet.

The prisoners were transported on the frigate "Ariadne", and landed in Holland on July 4th, 1802. Mr. Emmet had with him his wife and their three eldest children—Robert, Margaret, Elizabeth, and an infant, Jane Erin, who had been born in Fort George, April 18th, 1802. After a short visit to Hamburg, Mr. Emmet settled down in Brussels, and, uncertain of his future movements, occupied himself in educating his children. He had expected to emigrate to the United States, in case France did not offer assistance to Ireland, but as war at that time seemed probable between France and England, he was unable to decide upon his future. After gaining his freedom, and as England had not kept her obligation, Mr. Emmet felt that he was free to take any action against the English Government that might advance the interests of Ireland, so he delayed his departure for America.

In the appendix of Dr. Drummond's Memoir of Rowan appears the following:

When Archibald Hamilton Rowan in 1802 wrote to the State prisoners, offering his services, he received the following letter, in reply, from Thomas Addis Emmet, who of all the expatriated Irishmen was the most distinguished for his talents and virtues:

8TH JULY, 1802.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I received your kind letter yesterday, just as I was sitting down to dinner, which prevented my answering it directly. Since then I have shown it to Dowling, Chambers, and some others, with whom you were formerly connected in intimacy. They all desire me to assure you of their affection and esteem. We were in some measure apprised of your situation, and of the injury you might possibly sustain by holding intercourse with us; we therefore voluntarily deprived ourselves of the pleasure we should enjoy in your society, and declined calling on you directly on our arrival. For my part it would give me the utmost pain if your friendship towards me were to lead you into any embarrassment, or subject you to any misrepresentation on a point of such material importance to yourself and family. I am certain that if I really stood in need of any act of kindness from you it would be instantly done; but at present that is in no respect the case.

My health and spirits are extremely good; in consequence of relaxation from business, both are very much improved. As to my future destination you will, I dare say, condemn it, for I know your dislike to America. But with the views I take of Europe I have scarcely an alternative. I shall not go out big with expectation, and shall therefore perhaps escape disappointment; but America, with all its disadvantages, opens to me the fairest field of honourable employment. My stay here will probably be very short, as I wish to let Mrs. Emmet recruit after a two years' imprisonment and a very fatiguing journey, and if I can to receive some letters. From hence I shall probably go into Holland, and perhaps, if I find it advisable into France, to meet my three little boys, that are still in Ireland. This is in fact all I can say of my own intentions, which are far from settled.

Wishing you and yours every prosperity and happiness,

I remain, my dear friend, in all sincerity yours,

T. A. EMMET.

To A. H. Rowan, Esq.,
Altoona.

Among the Macneven papers were found the following letters from Mr. Emmet:

BRUSSELS, 8TH NOVEMBER, 1802.

MY DEAR MACNEVEN,

Under no circumstance must you infer from my want of punctuality a want of affection; and as on the last occasion, if you had done so, you would have been entirely mistaken, so you will be on any future one if you shall be tempted to draw that conclusion. The letter you wrote me from Munich to Amsterdam, I never received, and what makes that the more extraordinary is that I wrote long since to the director of the poste restante of that city, desiring all my letters to be forwarded here, and have actually received one from my sister that was lying there. Yours, however, is not the only one which I know to have miscarried; and at this very time I apprehend some such accident, as I have not heard from my family these six weeks.

What you mention of the manner in which the impartial on the continent are disposed to view our conduct, gives me great pleasure. That they should approve of our designs is sufficient; and it is natural that they should disapprove of our connection with France. Perhaps, when our cause shall have ultimately succeeded, we and our friends may obtain their more unqualified applause. I feel equally anxious with you that a true account should circulate, where a perverted one had been able to make so little of an injurious impression; but I do not look upon the postponement to which we have submitted as in any respect an abandonment of our original intention in that respect. And, although we may each of us engage in some other work with that view, I still think that the narrative should be published and the enemy assaulted in as many ways as possible. But in looking over my papers in consequence of your letter I was very much sur-

prised to find that the narrative was not among them. The account which I drew up in Kilmainham was there, but the one we all agreed upon in Fort George was not. You certainly imagined I had it when you gave me in Hamburgh a paragraph to be inserted in it, but as I am certain none of the papers I packed upon our departure from Fort George are missing, you must have the copy which did not go to Ireland; and I think I have a faint recollection of your getting it from me. My history has lately languished for want of materials; but if I get them in time I hope to publish the first part before I leave Europe. I should be very glad, like you, to make a little money by my pen, but I cannot say my expectations are very sanguine, because the booksellers in England (where it would sell best) may be afraid of meddling with it on account of the pillory. However, money or not, I rejoice that you persevere in the intention of our being neighbours, provided we leave Europe, of which the present rumours lead me to doubt. The uncertainty of peace or war, and the state of my little family here, keep me in great indecision what steps to take; but if I had any steps to the first, I would endeavour to arrange the other accordingly. Your application to Talleyrand, and your endeavour to see Buonaparte (although things under other circumstances I should be much inclined to disapprove) may perhaps give us some insight; as, if they look to war they will scarcely treat us with neglect. It is now above a month since I have seen R. [Robert, his brother], and if Lawless received a letter from him, containing many commissions, &c., he can give you many particulars of him you would wish to know. From what he has told me, and what I have heard from other quarters, I believe that besides ignorance and passion in the management of our affairs, if there was not treachery, there was at least great duplicity and bad faith. Some of those whom I considered as my friends before my imprisonment have grievously disappointed me; and if I go to Paris, I shall not do it without violence to my feelings.

Mrs. Emmet, Robert [his son], &c., desire their loves to you, as I do to Lawless and my other friends with you.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. A. Emmet.

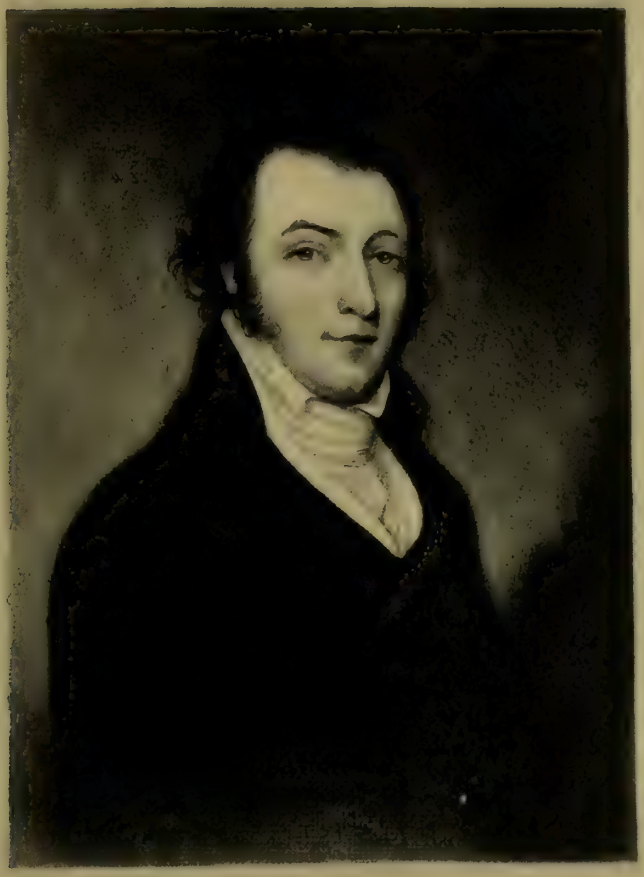
Direct to me, "Chez Lerme, Madame Tapissier, No. 995, Au petit Sablon." Beg of Lawless to send R.'s things as soon as he can, as they are to be forwarded to him from this, with some books, &c., that are waiting for them.

Au Citoyen Macneven.

No. 298, Demeurant dans la Rue de la Loi, vis-à-vis la porte de la Bibliothèque Nationale, à Paris.

[No date.]

My dear Macneven—I had yesterday the very great pleasure of receiving a few lines from you on your arrival at Paris. You are right in suspecting that I was as punctual as my promise, but Mrs. Emmet's health and my own unsettled state must form my apology. I was really incapacitated from writing to any one, until all hopes of a letter reaching you at Prague were over, and after that I did not know your address. My excuse turning upon her health, you will naturally be anxious to know its present state. She is undoubtedly much better than she was, but still liable to be overset by anxiety and uneasiness of mind; and deriving so little pleasure from her residence on the continent of Europe that she is lamenting every moment as lost that must elapse before her setting off for America; if it were possible she would gladly begin her voyage in midwinter. This in a good measure answers your questions about that country. My views are more fixed on it than they were because experience shows me how disagreeably, and I may say, degradingly, I should spend my time elsewhere; and I rejoice to think you entertain the same ideas, though I apprize you, Lawless will endeavour to change their current. However as your opinions of France and America appeared by your letter to be the same as



WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN M D.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

when we conversed at Hamburgh, I was a good deal surprised to find you proposing to publish our narrative immediately and in the former place. Perhaps you may have heard something in Germany that has made you change your opinions, but at present mine continues unaltered. Our first intention was to publish it as soon as we got our liberty; but when we saw the state of the press and the country at large, we both agreed to defer it till we got to America, and then assign our reasons for the delay. In the propriety of this resolution I was more convinced by conversing with Robert,* who was decided that it would be as safe to publish it in London as in France and quoted some expressions to me from high authority respecting the willingness of Government to deliver up the United Irishmen, tied neck and heels, to England. How then, should we stand if we published now, independent of any consideration of safety? Every one would naturally ask why we did not do it before, and could we point out any change that had made it safer or more advisable? It would look like a composition, the effect of after-thought, but if we delay it till we go to a new and more congenial place, that makes a new era, and we can obviate any such questions. If it could be published now, it could as well have been done three months ago; and if it could not with propriety have been done then, no one will expect it from us till our change of situation shall have done away the objection.

I state this independent of any real consideration of safety—but have you ascertained how that fact stands? Have you got any assurance or even reason to hope for security or protection? There is not much time now to elapse, I hope, before I shall be making my preparations for America; and I take it for granted you will not be above six months in Europe, unless some changes shall take place that would, in both cases, reverse all our calculations. Even supposing then that I preceded you and published before you came out, calculating for the time of a vessel's going and returning, you would be out of the power of your enemies before they could form a wish for your arrest; or if we gave it to the world on our quitting Europe, the same would follow, and you could take such measures as you thought fit for giving it circulation in Germany. These are the ideas which I have formed, and I thought they were yours till yesterday.

They have prevented me hitherto re-perusing the narrative, though I should wish to do that before it went to press. As to the addresses of our friends, I suppose you know them all before this. Matthew Dowling was by the last accounts in Rotterdam. Sweetman is gone to Lyons or its neighbourhood. Russell will be able to give you more particular information as to their addresses, as well as Sweeney's and Wilson's. I was very near going to Paris, but have laid that idea aside for the present. Perhaps, as you are an unincumbered traveller, you may take it into your head some holiday season to take a place in the *diligence* for here and back again. I need not say how many would be happy to see you, nor how many things we could talk over in a short time. Mrs. Emmet and all the family desire their affectionate love to you—and believe me for ever

Most sincerely yours,

T. A. Emmet.

TO W. J. MACNEVEN, ESQ., M.D.

Brussels, 25th October, 1802.

I know nothing of either your papers or my own; though I wrote about them, and lately sent a message, they have never been mentioned to me. I presume, however, they

*Mr. Emmet, in seeking the opinion of his brother and by basing many of his decisions upon it, showed the confidence he had in his judgment. Notwithstanding the difference of age between the two brothers, two individuals are seldom found more united, or maintaining unbroken a more reliant faith in each other's judgment. This was particularly so in political matters. The elder brother was as familiar with every feature in connection with Robert Emmet's so-called rebellion as the younger one had been with the plans and aspirations of the United Irishmen. With these two men the effort of 1798 and that of 1803 were essentially the same action, and were to attain the same end. While not germane to Mr. Emmet's letter it would be difficult to find a more appropriate place to point out, what is not generally known, how absolutely united, intellectually, these two men were, having views in common on the relations of life and yet each preserving unimpaired his own individuality.

will not be long delayed, and think it probable they may come to Antwerp. Have you any news in Paris? We have here strong rumours of war again. If they should turn out to be well-founded, our views would be indeed changed. Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately, and is he still in Ireland?

To William J. Macneven, Esq., No. 298, Rue de la Loi, vis-à-vis la porte de la Bibliothèque Nationale, à Paris.

Parliaments and charters are too often the trappings of the slave.
T. A. Emmet.

The Scottish Covenanters resembled the United Irishmen of the present day in their union and their perseverance; and they were, like them, decried, vilified and persecuted.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XIX

Residence of T. A. Emmet on the continent—His appointment by the Irish Directory, to represent, in Paris, the movement for establishing the Irish Republic—O'Connor's relations with Emmet at Fort George—An explanation of the difficulty between the prisoners—Duel between Emmet and O'Connor prevented by their friends, although O'Connor continues his course of intrigue—Pretended arrest of Samuel Turner—Sent to Fort George as a spy—Mr. Emmet's standing among the Irish leaders—O'Connor's work, "Monopoly, the Root of all Evil", in which a reflection is made on Mr. Emmet's courage, while at the head of the United Irishmen—Mr. O'Connor's ambition—Mr. Emmet's attitude towards a French alliance.

HOMAS ADDIS EMMET was living in Brussels and making his arrangements to emigrate with his family to the United States when he received a communication by a special messenger from the Directory of the United Irishmen, urging him to proceed to Paris and act there as the minister from the Irish Republic. At that time it was considered probable that the Republic would be established with the aid of France. This changed his plans, and he accepted the position of Minister, with the hope of eventually being able to return with his family to his native country.

During his residence in Paris Mr. Emmet kept a complete diary of all matters pertaining to Irish affairs, which gives a full insight into a part of Irish history which has hitherto been very obscure. This diary has been but recently discovered in a package of old family papers. After the failure of the Irish movement and Mr. Emmet's emigration to America, he evidently wished the whole matter to pass into oblivion. This is more than probable, for had his sons had any knowledge of this record, it would undoubtedly have been sent, as were all the other papers, to Dr. Madden, when he was preparing his memoir of their father. It will be seen from this journal that no man exercised a greater influence to the detriment of the national cause than Arthur O'Connor, through his intrigues and constant interference. Mr. Emmet had a profound feeling of mistrust for Mr. O'Connor's political honesty, and this was heightened by the unaccountable fact that Mr. O'Connor was never subjected to the close confinement imposed upon the other State prisoners on their first arrival at Fort George. Both Mr. O'Connor and his wife were allowed to come and

go without restraint, as if they were most loyal to the Government; and it has been an unexplained circumstance that his wife and children were allowed to join him immediately after he reached Fort George. In every other instance the Government refused permission for the wife of a prisoner even to reside in the neighborhood of the fortress, and no one was allowed to have a personal interview; the only communication permitted was a written one, limited in length, and the delivery was left entirely to the discretion of the commanding officer. In Dr. Madden's sketch of Samuel Neilson's life (one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, also confined at Fort George), is given a letter written to his wife March 30th, 1800, in which he writes: "Mrs. O'Connor and her children remain with Mr. O'Connor, and they have all the liberty of *ranging the Fort and neighborhood;** the other nineteen of us are closely confined as usual". In a letter of May 18th, 1800, Mr. Neilson again wrote to his wife: "Mrs. O'Connor and her family are still here, but Mrs. Emmet has hitherto failed in all her applications; there appears to be a MARKED difference". We may infer from another letter written to Mrs. Neilson on November 4th, 1801, that her husband did not trust Mr. O'Connor: *"A certain gentleman has ceased to have mischief in his power here.** Hudson, Chambers, Tennent, and Dowling alone are on speaking terms with him". That this statement refers to Mr. O'Connor cannot be doubted by anyone familiar with the circumstances. The utmost good-will and unbroken harmony existed among the other prisoners, and the only discordant element was associated with Arthur and Roger O'Connor. The latter, however, seems to have been on equally good terms with the Government, as a short time after the beginning of his stay at Fort George he was allowed to go to London, and was then released on the score of bad health—a degree of consideration which has never been shown to an Irish political prisoner who was not "friendly" to the Government. The then British Government was most desirous of obtaining some "legal" evidence against Mr. Emmet, and it is not improbable that he discovered some indication that Mr. O'Connor had been sent to Fort George for that purpose.

It is evident that Mr. Emmet had good reason to believe that Mr. Arthur O'Connor had "made his peace" with the Government after his arrest, and that he was sent to Fort George to act as a spy, and Dr. Macneven held the same opinion. Mr. Emmet and Mr. O'Connor were in the Irish Directory at the same time but O'Connor took no active part save in opposition, and became Mr. Emmet's enemy on account of Mr. Emmet's mistrust of Napoleon. All who knew Mr. Emmet as a friend agree that he was a cool, quiet, even-tempered man, who kept his feelings in full subjection by a very judicial and well-balanced mind. This feeling of mistrust regarding Mr. O'Connor impressed him so deeply that it could never have arisen entirely from any personal grievance against Mr. O'Connor. Moreover, Mr. Emmet would never have allowed any feeling of a personal nature to conflict with such service as

*The italics are Mr. Neilson's.

Mr. O'Connor could have rendered the Irish cause had he deemed him trustworthy. Mr. Emmet, furthermore, states in his diary that his complaint against Mr. O'Connor could not be disclosed until he could lay it before the Irish Government. Mr. St. John Mason, a cousin of Mr. T. A. Emmet, visited him at Fort George in 1800. He was not, however, allowed to see the prisoner and could only communicate with him by letter. Mr. Mason in one of his letters suggests rendering some service to Mr. Arthur O'Connor. Mr. Emmet answered, as Mr. Mason stated, that he had "public and private, personal and political reasons for not having anything to do with, or to put himself in the way of owing any personal obligation to either of the Messrs. O'Connor".

After their release from prison Mr. Emmet and Mr. O'Connor at once made arrangements to fight a duel, which had been for some time pending. Before their landing in Holland, however, their fellow-prisoners exerted sufficient influence on both to induce them to abandon the affair and to avoid a public scandal. Dr. Madden gives a full account of the whole matter, and states clearly that Mr. O'Connor at that time expressed approbation of Mr. Emmet's moral and political course. Under the circumstances Mr. O'Connor was not justified in his attack on Mr. Emmet's memory when, as late as 1848, in a work called "Monopoly, the Root of All Evil," he charges Mr. Emmet, when at the head of the United Irishmen, with being "a coward, and a man of bad faith", the reason being that he would not blindly accept aid from France. Every act of Mr. Emmet's public and private life goes to disprove both charges. Mr. O'Connor certainly never had the courage, during Mr. Emmet's lifetime, to make the charge, or even to hint at it; nor did he strengthen the possibility of its truthfulness by making a dastardly attack so many years after Mr. Emmet's death.

Dr. Madden, who investigated this matter thoroughly, and who based his account of the whole affair on the testimony of those personally known to him, who acted for both Mr. Emmet and Mr. O'Connor, which testimony he published, in his "Life of Mr. Emmet", concludes his consideration of the subject as follows:

> It is unnecessary for me to trouble the reader with any comments on the preceding statements. I will only observe that the several statements may be relied on as an exact account of the occurrences that came to the knowledge of the persons by whom they were made—men of high character, honour, and integrity; and that it is impossible to read these statements without feeling there is evidence in them of solid worth—of unswerving principles—of honour, truth, and sterling honesty—on the part of T. A. Emmet.

Fitzpatrick, in his work "Secret Service Under Pitt", has probably furnished the clue to the difficulty in understanding what the situation was among the State prisoners at Fort George. Until, in recent years, access could be had to the State papers, no one would have ever doubted that Samuel Turner, one of the prisoners, was not true to the Irish cause. It was never suspected that he was sent as a Government spy, with the object of obtaining, if possible, some evidence on which Thomas Addis Emmet could be brought to trial and convicted. Mr. Emmet always held, after his imprisonment, that Arthur

O'Connor had made his peace with the Government and accompanied the other prisoners as a Government spy. No one can deny that O'Connor was at one time a true patriot, and until his imprisonment no man connected with the cause had rendered greater service. This was only impaired later by his inordinate vanity and repugnance to giving credit to his associates or hearing it rendered to them by others.

Turner was a Dublin man of position whom Mr. Emmet had constantly met socially and who lacked no attribute pertaining to a gentleman of standing. As a consequence of their former acquaintance Turner and Mr. Emmet were intimate friends throughout the period of their confinement together in Dublin and at Fort George.

Mr. Fitzpatrick (Secret Service Under Pitt, p. 100) quotes from "The London Courier", of December 5, 1803:

"On Friday last Samuel Turner, Esq., barrister-at-law, was brought to the bar of the Court under the charge of attainder, passed in the Irish Parliament, as one concerned in the Rebellion of the year 1798; but having shown that he was no way concerned therein, that he had not been in the country for a year and seven months prior to the passing of that Act—i. e. for thirteen months prior to the rebellion—and therefore could not be the person alluded to, his Majesty's Attorney-General confessed the same and Mr. Turner was discharged accordingly".

Turner's committal to Kilmainham was only another act in the great drama, one scene of which Mr. Froude has so powerfully put before us: "Samuel Turner, Esquire", of imposing presence and indomitable mien, a veteran in "the cause", the man who had challenged the Commander-in-Chief, the envoy to France, the exile of Erin, the friend of Lord Edward and Pamela, the disinherited by his father, the victim of State persecution, now stood before his fellow-prisoners the "Ecce Homo" of martyrdom, commanding irresistibly their confidence.

Of his detention in Kilmainham Dr. Madden knows nothing; but he mentions that Turner accompanied the State prisoners—nineteen in number—to Fort George in Scotland, the final scene of their captivity. Here Turner's work was so adroitly performed that we find a man of incorruptible integrity suspected instead. Arthur O'Connor told John Patten that Thomas Addis Emmet gave important information of a letter which O'Connor was writing, through which means Government became acquainted with the circumstance. A long correspondence on the subject has been published by Madden. Emmet at last challenged O'Connor, Patten, the brother-in-law of Emmet, was told to bring a certain pair of duelling pistols* to Fort George; but thanks to the efforts of Robert Emmet to allay the dispute, the weapons were not used. It was Patten's impression that Turner's machinations had set the two friends by the ears. Although O'Connor apologised, and both parties shook hands, it is painful to add that half a century after, when the upright Emmet had been more than twenty years dead, O'Connor, in his book "Monopoly" stigmatised him as a man of bad faith. A suspicion more hopeless was never uttered. In this book the name of his fellow-prisoner, Turner, is not once mentioned. Indeed, the inference is that he thought well of Turner; for O'Connor, after criticising the Catholic members of the Directory, declares that he had much greater reliance on the Northern chiefs. O'Connor, Emmet, Neilson and others were detained at Fort George until the Peace of Amiens, and then enlarged on condition that they should expatriate themselves forever.

Turner, shortly after, was killed in a duel with John Boyce, who had probably been imprisoned on Turner's information. The Government seems to

*Which the writer now has in his possession.

have taken no action against Boyce, probably thankful that, as the informer could be of no further service, it was relieved of all obligations in his regard.

Whatever may have been the cause of difficulty, the fact is clear that after Mr. O'Connor's supposed arrest, for some reason now unknown, he lost the confidence of the prominent Irish leaders. Although he had a following and was respected for past services by most of the leaders in Paris, he was entirely ignored by them. Mr. O'Connor was not trusted with any information in regard to the movement for establishing the Irish republic. Mr. Emmet, on the contrary, as their agent in Paris, was in constant touch with the leaders in Ireland and the centers of the revolution.

Moreover, Mr. Emmet had the full confidence of Neilson, "Honest" John Sweetman, Dr. Macneven and all the other Irishmen in Paris who at that time could lay any claim to a prominent position. It is true that Napoleon and his ministers treated Mr. O'Connor with the greatest consideration, while Mr. Emmet received but scant courtesy. This is a matter which, at the time, was difficult to understand, but with our present knowledge it is now evident that Napoleon, having determined on a course of deception and treachery to the Irish people, made every effort to spread dissension among them and afterwards used Mr. O'Connor's vanity for that purpose. As Mr. O'Connor failed in being able to render England any service he received no further reward, and was only allowed to return to Ireland for a visit of a few weeks, towards the close of his life, when he had been forgotten.

There is no doubt that at one time Arthur O'Connor cherished the hope that with the aid of France, he might become King of Ireland, on the ground of an old family claim. To accomplish this he wished for no more than a separation from England and for Ireland to become a dependency of France.

Chiefly on his own representation he was supposed by Napoleon to be the most important man among the Irish leaders. He had the greatest faith in O'Connor's judgment and influence, and O'Connor's influence with the French Government, at the time regarded as a most unfortunate circumstance, subsequently proved to Ireland's advantage. For Mr. Emmet's opposition to O'Connor, his lack of confidence in Napoleon's honesty of purpose, and his determination to accept but a limited assistance from France doubtless checked a close and permanent alliance between his country and France. Ireland was thus saved from the many complications which would have resulted from a tangled alliance with France, which a majority of the Irish people themselves, without a thought for the future, desired, until the attitude of Thomas Addis Emmet and his brother Robert was fully understood by the more influential of the Irish leaders.

All friends of liberty, all lovers of their native country, have the same objects in view, and should endeavour to understand and communicate with each other, and to pursue these objects by united efforts and harmonized and according efforts.

T. A. Emmet.

Under the auspices of a military government the digging of potatoes has become treason, the reaping of corn a felony of death.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XX

Diary of Thos. Addis Emmet, begun on his arrival in Paris—Sketch of Col. Dalton—Mr. Emmet receives a message from the Minister of War seeking to learn the details of his purpose—Sketch of Lieut. Patrick Gallagher—Emmet's trouble due to O'Connor's interference—News of extended organization in Ireland—Sketch of Mich'l Dwyer—Ordered by the Directory to make a personal application to Napoleon for arms, etc.—Sketch of Gen'l Harty—Many difficulties advanced against a personal interview—It is insisted that O'Connor must be allowed to be fully associated with Mr. Emmet's work, as the Irish representative, in connection with the French Government—Sketch of Col. Jere. Fitzhenry—First Consul declines to meet Mr. Emmet—He shows his credentials to the messenger from the War Department—News received from Ireland—Sketch of Capt. Thos. Corbet—Sketch of W. P. MacCabe—Anxious to obtain from the Government a passport for sending a messenger to Ireland for instructions—Sketch of ———— Delaney—An intimate friend of both Mr. Emmet and Russell—Macneven and Emmet prepare an article to show the advantage of commercial relations between France and Ireland—Bonaparte has it published in the "Moniteur" and the "Argus".

VERY soon after Mr. Emmet's arrival in Paris he realized the necessity for keeping a diary in connection with his political duties and at length he began as follows:*

On Monday, 30th of May, 1803, Col. Dalton,† a French officer of Irish parentage, who had previously cultivated my acquaintance, as I plainly saw, from political motives, called on me at Cormeil, and after a little preliminary conversation, told me he came *officially* charged by the Minister at War‡ to inform me that the French Government were determined on sending an expedition to Ireland. That Gen. [André] Masséna was appointed to the command; that it would be more worthy of the French Nation, and such as would bear no room for contest, even if the Irish were not at first prepared to act in its support. At the same time the French were sensible of the impossibility of conquering Ireland, and their wishes, as well as their interests, only went to making it separate from England; that Ireland should be left at liberty to choose its own form of government.

He requested me to communicate this intelligence to my friends in Ireland, in such a way as I might think fit; at the same time to inform them that the expedition could not be ready before six months, and even if any hostile movements took place on the continent it would be necessary to end them first; but that the French Government by no

*The greater portion of the biographical material, given in the footnotes to Mr. Emmet's diary, is taken from the "Memoirs" of Miles Byrne.

†Dalton, Colonel, afterwards adjutant general in the French Army. Son of an Irishman, born in Paris and never learned to speak English. Received the title of Count, and was a lieutenant general in 1832.

‡General Alexander Berthier was the Minister of War at this time.

means wished the Irish to commit themselves by any previous movements, as the force would be sufficient to beat the English, even if the Irish did not stir. I asked what would be the force, and he answered he believed about twenty-five thousand men; at any rate the name of the General was sufficient assurance that he would not go with an insufficient force. I replied to all this, that as the communication he had made was undoubtedly of the first importance to my country I would communicate it, as I would have done if I had received the same information in any other way, and my future conduct with the French government should be guided by the instructions I should receive from home; that for the present, however, I should observe that the People of Ireland felt so much disgusted with the treatment they had received, in being buoyed up with false hopes and promises which had been broken, they had learned so entirely to distrust, in consequence of the repeated messages they had received, and their final abandonment at the peace, that they would probably withdraw their confidence from me and consider me an additional dupe to the schemes and intrigues of France, if I gave them assurances of a large force being sent, when the deficiency of means for performing such a promise presented itself to every mind; that besides, I ought not to dissemble. France had lost the confidence of Ireland, and the treatment which the Irish had received in France ever since the peace, almost proscribed, and those whose fortunes had been ruined by attachment to France suffered to languish in poverty; that such treatment had excited even an aversion, and would render a great many steps on the part of France necessary besides an expedition, if confidence was to be restored between the two countries; that it was not even clear to me how an expedition, unpreceded by such steps, would be received; that Ireland ever since the peace was forced to look only upon her own internal resources, and she had acquired a conviction that her independence was certain, tho' perhaps by slower degrees, from the progressive ruin of England and her own increasing strength; and that this mode of acquiring liberty would be unincumbered with treaties of alliance or commerce, and unattended by the introduction of foreign troops. As it might, however, be slow, I readily avowed my own opinion that if the event could be more speedily brought about by a French expedition, so conducted as not to interfere with the rights of the country, much would be gained. But in order to restore confidence on the part of the Irish to France, many measures should be adopted, into the details of which I hoped I should have an opportunity of entering at another time. Mr. Dalton answered me that I certainly should, and that Genl. Masséna and the Minister of War would be very happy to see me; that the French Government wished to conciliate the Irish, and succour such as might want it. That it therefore wished to know whether there were a sufficient number of Irish here to form a legion. I answered, I would inquire; that at present I believed not; such as were here might be easily placed; he answered, certainly. He said, as to the means of the French, they had vessels of the line and a number of frigates in or within reach of Brest; that others were shortly expected; that Spain and Holland would certainly be drawn into the war, and that for so short a time troops might be crowded; that he himself had sailed five times out of Brest, tho' watched by the English, and the same could at any time be easily done. As Col. D. staid all night with me, we often returned to the same subject, in the course of which I suggested the propriety and justice of paying the arrears of pensions to the Irish that had been discontinued since the peace, and I asked the means of sending a message to Ireland, which he assured me should be had. Knowing that he had been also cultivating Mr. A. O'Connor, I took the opportunity of asking him if he had communicated this message from the French Government to any one but me. He answered that he had, to Mr. O'Connor only; that the Government knew we were not friends, but it trusted we would both serve our country to the utmost. I answered, Government was free to choose to whom it would make known its secrets, and that I trusted we would each serve Ireland according to our ability and knowledge. I then asked if the office of Foreign Affairs had any knowledge of what he had mentioned; he assured me not, and would not; that in truth it did not lye within that department, and was only known to the Minister at War and Genl.

Masséna. At this I expressed my satisfaction and hoped I should have no intercourse with that office, as during the last war everything that was transacted with it by the Irish was quickly known to the English Government. The next morning, before his departure, he again spoke to me about Mr. O'Connor, as if the French Government wished to reconcile us, at least so far as that we might act together. To this I answered that I doubted not but we would both do our best for Ireland; that, however, whatever good we did must be by separate efforts. On which he dropt the subject, and he appointed next morning, Wednesday, June 1st, for me to call upon him, that he might fix a time for my seeing Masséna. On his return home he lamented to Mrs. Tone, O'C's difference & mine, and said he saw it would come to this, that Government would act with both as long as it could, and at last would be obliged to choose between us.

In the evening of Tuesday, May 31st, I went to Paris and there saw Gallagher,* who brought me accounts from Ireland, which he was charged to communicate to none but me, leaving me the discretion of mentioning them where I thought fit. The purport of these accounts was that an organization on a new and closer plan had been carried to a great extent among the U. I.; that a communication between North and South had been thoroughly established; that very proper and respectable men had come forward, particularly in the North, where it was least expected; that a communication had also been opened with Scotland, from which their co-operation was expected; that the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and some others near Dublin, as well as Dublin, were in a very forward state; that they had considerable depôts in Dublin; for instance, in one depôt twenty-five hundred pikes ready handled and one thousand with the handles ready; that finding their strength increasing they had not been forward to begin, but were determined in case an attack should be made on any of their depôts to commence, that these were so circumstanced as to be able to resist a battalion if it came to attack them, long enough to let the county of Wicklow come in; that Dwyer† had pledged himself to come in and to bring that county with him if any depôt was attacked. which was to be the signal for beginning; that independent of his party there were members from the neighbouring counties in town only waiting to defend the depôts if attacked; that delegates from the people had been spoken to, who wished to know when they would be called out. They were answered that no time would be fixed, that they would have timely notice, and when once called upon they should not be put back; with this they were content. That at present Government did not seem to have the slightest suspicion, but as things could not be kept long in that state, I was ordered to apply to the First Consul and to endeavour to procure money, arms, ammunition, and officers, to be landed in places that were designated to me; that if that was complied with a person would be sent to give previous notice of their coming, and that on their arrival the people should begin. If that could not be obtained I was desired to try and raise money from any rich countrymen or any Americans that might favour the cause, as [the want of] money was the principal difficulty, it being impossible to attempt subscriptions at home without discovery. I was further desired to send home McP., McD., and S., particularly McD., because the communication was worse established with his county than elsewhere. In the communication with Scotland one thing very deserving of notice had occurred. One delegate was admitted to meet five from the Scotch; he supposed [they were the] Execu-

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* "Gallagher, Patrick, lieutenant the 7th December 1803, captain 2nd March 1804. The expedition to Ireland not taking place, he went to reside at Bordeaux with his wife and children. 'Pat' Gallagher was one of the brave and faithful men who often, at the risk of their lives, guarded and escorted poor Lord Edward Fitzgerald through the streets of Dublin in 1798. He escaped to Paris the same year and there he met many of his former friends" (Byrne, Memoirs, II, 294). Gallagher was a personal friend of Mr. Emmet, and when Byrne visited the Emmet family to take his leave on entering the army he found Mrs. Gallagher there as a guest and stated (loc. cit., 324):—"Poor Gallagher's health was then delicate. He died at Bordeaux the following year, much regretted by his countrymen and friends."

†Michael Dwyer was a farmer and at one time in the employ of Mr. Mason, the father of Mrs. Dr. Robert Emmet. According to tradition he was settled on a farm in Co. Wicklow by Dr. Robert Emmet and he was an uncle of Anne Devlin, a servant of the Emmet family in 1803. Dwyer gave the English a great deal of trouble as a leader of a small band in the mountains of Wicklow.

tive Committee; they asked him precisely whether Ireland continued attached to France; he answered that Ireland was very much disgusted with France, and would not take her assistance if she could do without it; but that if it became necessary the Irish would take what was wanting for securing her independence and no more. The Scotch answered they were very glad Ireland was disgusted with France, as they were themselves, and would have nothing to do with her; that they would gladly assist Ireland provided she did not connect herself with France farther than was absolutely necessary, and that if on matters breaking out in Ireland they were not ready to rise they would at least keep up such an alarm in their own country as would prevent the withdrawing of troops.

After weighing this intelligence well and considering the communication which had been made the day before by Dalton—after considering the influence of that from home and the difficulty, if not the impossibility of fulfilling the promises made by France, that if Ireland was as represented it could scarcely hope to remain quiet for the protracted and probably uncertain period they marked out, and that if it was again subdued for want of foreign succour, Masséna and his army would probably arrive too late; that besides they were plunderers, disliked and detested not only by many of the United Irishmen, but also by the Scotch, and in such numbers would perhaps attempt to give the law, which was not what was asked for by the United Irishmen; after balancing all these things the whole night I determined to solicit an interview with the Chief Consul and after informing him of the information I had received, tell him I was going to make his offer known to those who were acting in Ireland, and to beg to know whether if they persisted in asking for a small and immediate force, after being made acquainted with his intentions, they might count upon its being given. To point out to him that whatever risque this might be to Ireland, it was a manifest gain to France, if she could separate Ireland without endangering the remnant of her marine, and before England had been enabled to prey on her commerce, and that when Ireland had made the same request before, if it had been granted, in May, 1798, success would have been infallible, and England at this day incapable of insulting or attempting to tyrannize over any other country. As I clearly saw that the interests of Masséna and the Minister of War were connected with a large expedition and a formidable army, and that the prejudices of most Frenchmen would tend the same way, I determined to hold no communication with them on the subject, but speak only to the Chief Consul himself, who had not the same personal interests, but who in fact had none but those of France, to subdue England as speedily and cheaply and with as little risque to the marine as possible; besides, I was determined to make him the only depository of my country's secret, because when that was done and known to be the case, I conceived I did the utmost to avoid the betraying of my secret to the enemy.

Accordingly, on Wednesday, June 1st, at the appointed hour, I waited on Col. Dalton, and after some general conversation I asked him whether the Chief Consul knew of the communication he had done me the honour of making to me. At this unexpected question he seemed staggered a good deal, and after some hesitation answered that he received his instructions from the Minister of War and Genl. Masséna. I then replied that my reason for asking the question was that since I had seen him I had received very important communications from Ireland, which I was charged to communicate only to the First Consul; that in consideration of the persons who had done me the honour of making known to me the intentions of the French Government, I might perhaps have relaxed from a strict obedience to those orders if I did not see that the nature and importance of what I had to say fully satisfied my asking such a favour and oblige me to declare that I could communicate them only to him, or some one expressly authorized by him to receive them; that before I obtained such an interview it was right to apprise Government who I was and by what right I acted. They probably knew that before my arrest in Ireland I had been of the Executive Committee of the United Irishmen, and they also knew of my confinement since; that in addition to that I was appointed by those at present acting in Ireland their agent to the French Republic, and as such exclusively

held the thread of communication with the existing organization. That what I wished to state to the First Consul was only known to myself and I was resolved it should be known only to him by my means. That I had credentials of my appointment, and could get them further verified if I called together my countrymen in Paris, but that such a means would cause so much publicity as would render secrecy impossible. That I therefore chose to dispense with it and content myself with pledging my word of honour and my future responsibility on the truth of my assertion. That under these circumstances I begged leave earnestly to solicit an interview with the First Consul as soon as possible.

Mr. Dalton said he was afraid there would be difficulties; that negotiations were still going on, and the preparations were even a little relaxed.

I asked was England to be the only nation that had permission at the same time to make war and carry on negotiations.—"She is taking your ships, and will not you make war on her?" He said we are making war. "Then, if so, what objection can there be to hearing from me the things that may assist you in carrying it on? At the same time, if I thought peace could issue from those negotiations, I would deny myself the honour I solicit; and if the Chief Consul thinks they can end in peace, I beg he may refuse me; but if his objections arise only from prudence, he is master of time and circumstances so as to secure perfect secrecy, and I shall conform myself to his wishes". In the course of this conversation one or two expressions escaped him worthy of note. Speaking of Mr. O'Connor and me, he said he hoped there would be no factions in Ireland, as if there were two factions the French army would be obliged to erect itself into a third to put them down; and on some other occasion connected with the same subject, he said,—"I told you on my honour, as I had been commissioned, that the People of Ireland would be at perfect liberty to choose its own form of government, but it is natural to suppose that it would be wished it might assume the form of the Protecting Government." These two last observations I received without comment,—but concluded with requesting the desired interview, and he appointed Friday, June 3rd, for my receiving an answer.

Before I called on Col. Dalton I had learned that Genl. Harty,* an Irishman by birth and a cousin to Dalton, wished to see me on the same subject. I mentioned his name to D., and my wish was to know him, but found rather a coldness to bringing us together; from which I conjectured there was some kind of jealousy which would take the lead. In the evening, however, I saw the general, and he held with me the same kind of conversation Dalton had done the Monday before. As I wished for secrecy, I said nothing for the present of my desire of seeing Bonaparte, but took the opportunity of informing him that I was the appointed agent for the United Irishmen. I also learned to-day that Mr. O'Connor is begining to assume the man of consequence; in conversing with Fitzhenry† he talked a good deal of the difficulty of being a diplomatic character. He also said he would not allow the French to go to Ireland unless bound by very strict conditions, which he afterwards explained, their being put under the absolute command of one person, which he gave to understand would be *himself*. I understood too that in Conversation with T. Corbet‡ he expressed his intention of acting as Ambassador from the United Irishmen, by virtue of an appointment which he alleges was made of him in the spring of 1798.

[N. B.—No such appointment was ever made, and is only a fabrication, but even if

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* "General Harty was a man of influence with the French government and his patriotism and services were greatly appreciated by his countrymen. In 1805 he held the position of Inspector General of the Army, and for a time he was in command of the Irish Legion. At the time of Mr. Emmet's arrival in Paris he was evidently serving on the staff of Genl. Berthier, the Minister of War".

†Col. Jeremiah Fitzhenry, for eight years an officer in the French army and at one time in Spain commanding the Irish Legion, was evidently a discredit to Ireland, his native country. Dr. Madden shows beyond question (The United Irishmen, &c, Fourth Series, 564) that he was "a man whose name is associated with treason in one country and perfidy in another."

‡Capt. Thomas Corbet escaped from Ireland in 1798 with his brother William to France. Shortly after his arrival he was appointed professor of English at the Prytanée. In 1803 he received a commission as captain in the Irish Legion of the French army, but the following year was killed in a duel.

it had, of the then existing committee, two are in France, one in America, one dead, and only two in Ireland, of whom neither acts now, one being retained by permission of government, and the other would trust any human being sooner than Mr. O'Connor, so that he has no existing communication with the body, and the termination of the war and of connection with France superceded all previous appointments.]

Friday, June 3rd, called by appointment on Dalton, when nearly the following conversation took place:—

D. Well, sir, Genl. Masséna will be happy to see you—

E. I shall be charmed to see Genl. Masséna, but that was not the favour I asked for. My wish is to see the First Consul.

D. Why, the negotiations are still going on, and affairs are not even so far advanced as when I spoke to you first.

E. Give me leave to ask you, sir, if Genl. Georges asked to see any part of the British Government, stating that he had matters of importance to communicate respecting France, would the state of the negotiations cause him to be refused?

D. No, but you must be sensible, sir, you are not in the situation of Genl. Georges.

E. I know, sir, I am not; I am acting for my country, he is acting against his; I am appointed by mine, he is only an individual; but in no other respect, sir, do I see any difference. Pray does the refusal come from the First Consul himself?

D. No; the Minister of War did not think it right to make the application.

E. In one point of view I am better pleased, because, on further reflection, I am obliged to limit more than I did in my last conversation. I then said I could only communicate with the First Consul, *or some one expressly authorized by him.* I now say I can only communicate with the First Consul himself. In every other respect I beg to renew my demand with more urgency, and to request that my wish may be made known to him and the answer come personally from himself. To prevent misunderstanding, I must repeat that my application is not in consequence of the communication I had the honour of holding with you, but solely of my information from Ireland, and that if I had never heard from Government I should have sought for the interview, tho' not with the same facilities I now enjoy; that those who have given me the refusal have done so with blinded eyes, and that the Chief Consul will thank me for pressing my demand. If it would be thought incorrect to hold these communications while negotiations are going on, it seems to me in point of probity the same thing whether government communicates with me directly or indirectly, and I presume, sir, I am to consider everything you tell me as coming from government.

D. Certainly, but is your communication of such a nature as to admit of delay?

E. I consider every delay as eminently injurious, and in this case I am the only competent judge.

D. Suppose the Chief Consul should refer you to the Minister at War, you know his confidence in him and their intimacy?

E. If he did I should be exceedingly grieved—I know nothing would grieve me more, because I am sensible of the respect due the Minister at War, and to the order of the First Consul, but I feel what is due to the interests of my country and the orders I have my self received.

D. I am glad I asked the question, to prevent mistakes. I did not feel the importance of your request as I do now. I shall endeavour to see the Minister to-day; will let you know on Sunday early.

He then endeavoured by some leading questions to come at the nature of my information and the sources from which I derived it, asking whether a large expedition would be necessary, but I took care to give no satisfactory answer. In the course of the conversation he mentioned one object of the French government would probably be, after having succeeded in Ireland, to make a descent from there on the west coast of England, in which I assured him the Irish would be glad to co-operate.

Saturday, 4th. I find that considerable inconvenience and some mischief may result

from O'Connor's acting and mine. He has spoken to McCabe* to go to Ireland, to the North, to carry a message saying emphatically and falsely,—"I got one expedition, and I don't see why I may not get another." His object is to advise them to make no stir 'till the French come, to which they will probably agree. As they are not in the existing organization, and do not know the actual state of things, they will also gladly give him every authority they can, and thus very unpleasant consequences may arise. This must be remedied.

Sunday, 5th. Saw Dalton; he told me he had not been able to see the Minister, who had been called to St. Cloud; that he could not hope to see him 'till next day, nor the Minister to see the Consul 'till Wednesday; on Wednesday evening or Thursday morning I should have my answer. I told him I would not waste my time in Paris, but would go to the country 'till then, and requested I might not be again disappointed. I clearly see they want to keep me in leading strings, and that everything shall go thro' themselves. I have, however, requested Delaney* to apply to Defermat to procure the interview for me, if I shall have occasion to solicit it, and hope for the answer when I go to town.

More airs on the part of O'Connor. Dalton, it seems, spoke before him in praise of Mrs. G., by which he showed he had been with me at Cormeil. O'Connor took no notice of this while he was by, but when he was gone O'C. got into a violent passion and said "if Mr. Dalton was running after Mrs. G., *and such little people,* he would have nothing to do with him, and that the first interview he had he would complain of his conduct". I wish his arrogance may break out in time to prevent his being injurious.

[N. B.—I forgot to remark that in all my conversations with Dalton and Harty I requested the means of sending some one to Ireland, which is always promised, but it appears to me they are in no hurry.]

Thursday, 9th. I am again disappointed. Mr. Dalton tells me he dined last Sunday with the First Consul, with the company of the Minister at War and Genl. Masséna, and there pressed my request on the Minister at War. They consulted together, and he was informed the Chief Consul could as yet see no one, he said, as formerly; negotiations were still going on, and the mediation of Austria and Russia had been offered and

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*W. Putnam MacCabe, who kept a public house in Dublin and was much employed in organizing new branches of the United Irishmen, was frequently entrusted to convey secret intelligence and confidential messages. No one seems at that time to have doubted his patriotism, and he was fully trusted. Myles Byrne in his recently published Memoirs (Vol. I-96) states:—"I met MacCabe in Paris in 1803. I never could rightly understand his patriotism . . . yet he ran great risks going frequently to England and Ireland, and returning to France during the war." Again (p. 275):—"For my own part I had every confidence in him, and if he had not had the misfortune to be arrested at his own door, with a blunderbuss endeavoring to get into his own house at the dawn of the day, the morning after the sad failure in Thomas Street, the Government never would have had his services as a vile informer at the Castle." No man had a better knowledge of those connected with the movement in 1803 than Myles Byrne, as his memoir will show, as well as how thoroughly the Irish leaders were beset by informers. MacCabe was always a warm partisan of Arthur O'Connor.

†Byrne in his "Memoirs" (II, 284) states:—"I frequently met at Mr. Emmet's a very worthy Irishman, Mr. Delany; he was a great friend of poor Thomas Russell and his nephew William Hamilton. He studied at the Irish College and was considered a young man of talent and an accomplished scholar. Delany's ambition was to accompany Thomas Addis Emmet to Ireland, and there be employed under him in a civil capacity, in the event of his country obtaining her independence. He has a very honourable situation as private secretary to M. Defermont, a councillor of State, and they were living together on the most friendly terms. Young Delany came from the Kerry mountains, where he had learned the first rudiments of grammar, and finished his studies in France. I cannot forget how he would lament in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Emmet the cruel privations suffered by the Catholic population of Munster, particularly as regarded education. No schoolmasters to teach the children of the unfortunate farmers, but no lack of tithe proctors, land and law agents, to extort the last shilling from the people for the support of the Protestant ascendancy and the dignity of the English Lords, the scourge of poor Ireland.

"Mr. Emmet and Dr. Macneven wished to publish an elaborate article on the advantages the French commerce was likely to obtain by adhering to certain rules, and as this article should appear in French as well as English, the same day, and though these gentlemen wrote good French they thought fit to get Mr. Delany to translate it. When it was laid before the First Consul, he seemed to take no heed of it, till he was visiting the coast in November, 1803. Then he saw the purport of it, and he wrote to Paris to have Mr. Emmet and Dr. Macneven's article published in the 'Moniteur' and the 'Argus', newspapers, edited in English by Goldsmith. Mr. Lesage, the French gentleman from whom I was taking lessons, and who had passed fourteen years in London and consequently was a good English as well as French scholar, called on me when he had read Macneven and Emmet's article, and said he had seldom read such beautiful French as these gentlemen had written, and asked me to get him a copy of the one in English that he might compare them; he was indeed much delighted with the composition of both, but he gave the preference to the French version". It will be seen by the will of Mrs. Grace Emmet, the widow of Dr. Robert Emmet's brother, that the Delanys, Russells and Hamiltons were distant connections of the Emmet family.

appeared to be accepted. I answered, "I have done my utmost to see the Consul, I cannot succeed, I hold myself acquitted for the consequences; nevertheless I am vexed, and I believe the refusal a loss for France, what it is for Ireland I suppose is of little consequence to those who have given me the refusal". He appeared struck with my manner of saying this, and after a little pause offered to give me a written note to the Minister more strongly pressing my demand.

I then showed him my credentials as they are; he read them attentively, and said he would state them also. I expressed my wish to see the Minister that I might enforce my demand, but added "for no other purpose". He assured me he would press it as strongly as he could. Genl. Harty then came in, and I clearly saw Dalton wished to keep him ignorant of my request, so the conversation dropped. If Harty was a man of business I would apply to him, but besides that defect, I believe he has scarcely access to the great.

O'Connor has been before me with the Great; he has seen Masséna. There is time enough for me to see him when I have anything to do with him. I mentioned to Dalton and Harty Capt. Murphy, and suggested the propriety of putting a swift sailing ship under his command. D. took down his name to make the proposal, if it be done I will try and send some by him.

It has been a grand error of the people of Ireland during a series of years, that they have trusted too much to parliamentary leaders of opposition, too little to themselves.

T. A. Emmet.

In the scales of a British Minister the little finger of Britain outweighs the whole body of Ireland.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXI

Continuation of Mr. Emmet's diary—Calls to see the Minister of War for answer to application for a messenger to Ireland—Suggests troops for the San Domingo expedition might be sent to Ireland—Informed application with copy of credentials had been delivered, but the First Consul considered the time had not yet arrived for a personal interview—Sketch of Capt. John Murphy—Believes the French government trifling with him—Sketch of Capt. ——— Maguire—Asks for a passport to send out a messenger by way of Germany—O'Connor constantly making trouble—Asks to see the Minister of War—Sketch of John Sweeny, a friend of Mr. Emmet—Government refuses passports to James Monroe and Robt. R. Livingston, the Minister from the United States—Interview with the Minister of War—Explains his past and present position in Ireland—Also explains O'Connor's position—Sketch of Capt. John Aherne—Obtains the passport—Sketch of Col. Hugh Ware, and his view as to the disagreement between Emmet and O'Connor—Robert Fulton may accompany an expedition to Ireland, with his torpedoes—Comments on Humbert's expedition to Ireland—O'Connor suggests to the Government a large force will be necessary to keep down the people in Ireland and prevent the horrors of a revolution—Sketch of Lieut. Austen Gibbons—Sketch of Adj. Genl. Sheehy—Is it proposed O'Connor be Prefect of Ireland?—Question as to the size of the force to be sent to Ireland—Suggested that Emmet should remain in Paris as Minister and O'Connor go to Ireland—O'Connor wishes the French government to send over with the troops "a constitution and regulations of government"—*Violà un traitre!*—The French Government making every excuse for delay—Bonaparte fears the Irish are "too democratic"—Prepares a memoir for Bonaparte, but has great difficulty in having it presented—Refuses absolutely to have any connection with O'Connor, as suggested by the government to forward the public service!—Favourable reports from Ireland, but doubted by Mr. Emmet.

RIDAY, 10*th.* As we were interrupted yesterday in our conversation, I called this morning to fix a time when I might get my answer. T. Corbet was there, which again prevented a particular explanation. D. however took the opportunity of mentioning that the Minister had been called at eleven yesterday to St. Cloud by the accounts from Hanover, and did not return that day. In the same way I took the opportunity of informing him that I would go to the country and expected to hear from him when he had any answer. In the course of conversation D. mentioned it was believed that French troops from St. Domingo would take refuge in the United States. I asked how many they were: he said, making every allowance for mortality there ought to be ten or twelve thousand. I then suggested that if they waited for a leading west wind they might, in their way home fall unexpectedly on Ireland, and so much more than an armament from Brest, which will be always watched. The thought seemed to strike him a good deal.

Wednesday, 15th. Having come to town yesterday evening, I saw Col. Dalton, who referred me to this morning; called on him this morning, when he informed me that he had given a written note to the Minister at War, stating my demands in the most urgent terms, and setting forth my situation, with a literal translation of my credentials. That the whole had been laid before the First Consul, and that he was directed to inform me that affairs were not yet sufficiently advanced to permit of his seeing any person on that subject; that he certainly would invade Ireland if the war went on, and a wish was expressed, as if from him, that the people there might remain quiet 'till his arrangements could be made for the expedition. Col. Dalton also added, that I should be informed as soon as the Consul could see any one. I asked was I to consider this answer as coming personally from him, and Dalton replied it certainly did. In that case I see no use of trying another channel, to experience the mortification of another refusal. I then repeated that it would probably be a severe loss to France, and I hoped not such as she would have lasting cause to regret. I then expressed my anxiety to be as speedily furnished as possible with the means, pecuniary and otherwise, of sending intelligence to Ireland. He took a note of it, and promised to *see* about it; he mentioned that he had communicated what I suggested about Capt. Murphy,* and that he would be sought for and probably employed in that way. I asked about the St. Domingo troops said to have taken refuge in the United States. He said my scheme was impossible, for he had seen a person only yesterday forty-two days from St. Domingo, that the troops had not then quit, and had no thought of quitting it, not having heard of the war. That, therefore, they would have no choice of their place of refuge, and would probably be obliged to sail out expressly to let themselves be taken by the English as the least evil. He mentioned the negotiation was still going on, and I believe they expect peace; at least some persons in the government think so; and Mangot, I believe, the commandant at Bologne, told the owners of the packet boats not to sell their boats, which they were going to do, as the communication would be open.

Tuesday, 27th. Not having heard anything since from Capt. Dalton, I called on him again to-day, and urged the necessity of being furnished with the means of sending one over to Ireland. He showed me a written note on the subject; from which I collected as if O'Connor had been making a similar application. The demand was certainly strongly urged, and he has promised me to write to me as soon as he gets his answer. I think, however, the French government is only trifling with me, and wont give money or means 'till it sees fit for its own purpose.

Thursday, 30th. Having learned from McDowell† that some of our countrymen are already in great distress from the stoppage of the communication, and that others were likely to become so, I resolved to speak to Gen. Harty on the subject of providing for them in a military line. Accordingly we both waited on him and urged the subject as strongly as we could. We said we applied to him as a countryman to expedite that for which we did not wish to let down the National character by making a formal application to government. We stated the actual and probable distresses of our countrymen, if not succoured, and also if it was intended to profit by their enemies in Ireland to discipline the natives, that they must themselves learn their business by previous practice, for which the time was scarcely sufficient. He agreed to all this, but said that without knowing the French politics he could easily see the First Consul did not wish to give England an opportunity of saying he had excited her subjects to revolt. To that we answered by urging the example of England in employing the French Emigrants and the former Irish Brigade, which even existed in time of peace. He endeavoured to make some distinction between those and United Irishmen, which I confess surprised me from

*Capt. John Murphy commanded a trading vessel on the west coast of Ireland at the time that General Humbert landed with his French troops, and was employed as a bearer of despatches from the General to the French Government, a difficult commission to execute and one attended with certain death if captured by the English fleet. Murphy succeeded so well that he was rewarded with a position as fleet pilot by the French Government until after the fall of Napoleon, and equally trusted by the Irish leaders. He continued to reside in France until his death in 1835 at a very advanced age.

†Possibly a mistake in copying. Supposed to reter to General Jos. MacDonald.

him. Tho' I believe it is the real motive why the French Government is so reluctant to use the United Irishmen, because they are considered as bona fide republicans and Jacobins. He confessed that he plainly saw a stagnation in the French Government since he was first commissioned to speak to the Irish. He then advised the French to be cautious how they allowed the Irish to slip out of their hands, and taking advantage of an expression of Mr. Wickham's in the English House of Commons, "that the government had it in contemplation to ameliorate the condition of the Irish poor". I warned him that Ireland had learned by experience that she was to receive nothing from ANY country but what its own interest suggested, and that if England did anything substantial she might conciliate the Irish. I pointed out that the present Administration were inclined to be mild; it had allowed Rowan, Fitzgerald, and Byrne* to reside in England, and I was convinced that if I myself or any other person, however obnoxious, made the same request and promised not to intermeddle again it would be granted; that want and necessity might force many to such a step, whose loss France would afterwards very severely feel; that I spoke with more frankness as I never would take anything from the French Government, but it might push its prudence or negligence much too far. This last argument seemed to alarm him, and he promised to speak to the Minister at War on the subject, and urge it as from himself. We also spoke of the unpaid arrears of discontinued pensions, which he likewise promised to mention, and all without delay.

Monday, July 4th. Called this morning again on Genl. Harty, but he had not seen the Minister at War, and apprehended he could not until the Consul's return, as the Minister was ordered to join the Consul. I went to Dalton, to urge him also, but he was not at his bureau or lodgings. I learned, however, that he also was going on a mission, but they could not tell me where, or for how long. I wrote him a letter on the different subjects he had promised to have performed, and which I was apprehensive his departure might derange, and requested to hear from him.

I see clearly that the French government are not in a hurry to do anything I have asked, and that the stagnation which Genl. Hartey spoke of has nearly taken place, but how can I help myself?

Saturday, July 9th. This morning, as I was setting off for town, received a letter from Dalton dated last Thursday, and which, speaking of the different matters in my letter says: "il n'y a encore aucune solution définitive sur les objets des diverses notes, que j'ai remises, et dont vous avez connaissance; j'attends presque certain que le retour du 1re Consul achèvera notre affaire." This did not prevent my proceeding to Paris to ask a passport for a person from General Hartey. When I went there I found that he had, in consequence of McDowell, and my conversation with him, written a letter to McGuire† requesting him to communicate to his countrymen his wish of being useful to them, and that in consequence of some communications with the Minister at War he requested each of them to inform him of his christian and surname, of his situation in the Irish Union and his sufferings, and also whether he would wish to serve in a civil or military capacity in the event of an expedition going to Ireland, and further desiring to know who there were to whom pensions had been formerly given and when they were discontinued. This letter was enclosed in another to McGuire desiring him to get answers as far as he could from any Irishman in France, except *O'Connor or me,* whose opinions he already had.

This express exclusion of us two has probably arisen from an unwillingness to decide between us which has the most legitimate claim to be acted with and considered as the representative of the United Irishmen. I think too that the Genl. was actuated by a personal motive to increase his own importance to the Government, by having the communication with the different individuals himself, which probably could not be the case

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*Archibald Hamilton Rowan; Edward Fitzgerald, of New Park; and Garrett Byrne.

†McGuire—Capt. ——— Byrne states that McGuire escaped from Ireland in the uniform of a French soldier and in 1803 received a commission as captain in the Irish legion of the French Army. "After the Hundred Days in 1815 he retired on a pension, which he did not enjoy long, as he died in his lodgings in the Arsenal, Rue Saint-Antoine, in the year 1822".

if he had allowed either of us to interfere, and that I look upon it to be the real object of the exclusion. However, he considered it to proceed in reality from the Minister at War, and therefore pressed most strongly on me, that my claims should now be brought decidedly forward, that O'Connor's future interference as agent should if possible be prevented by every Irishman putting his signature to my credentials, and by their answering Genl. Hartey that they would wish any communications respecting them to be made thro' me.—Whether his suspicions be well founded or not, I think his idea good, and have given him the credentials to proceed if he can. I went to Genl. Harty without appearing to know anything of the matter; he, however, mentioned it, and I saw on his part an anxiety that I should take nothing amiss. I did not, but I neither expressed approbation nor disapprobation of his step. I turned the conversation on the object of my visit. I mentioned that it was now about six weeks since Government had made a communication to me for the purpose of being made known to Ireland, and since I had asked for the means of so doing. That I had often repeated my request since, but without being at all advanced, and that if this was to continue there was no use in doing me the honour of making me a communication. It was true, my situation and that of my country, did not give me very ample means of meeting certain very heavy expenses, but I could not suffer improper delays to take place by a tardiness on the part of the French Government to assist us; that therefore I now asked only a passport for a person to go to Germany, and requested it might be given without delay. That I asked for nothing more, because I did not choose to humiliate myself or my country by continuing to press applications that I thought delicacy should have anticipated, and that made us appear in the light of beggars, while they probably also retarded the progress of business. The General promised to lose no time in the application, but said he could not see the Minister before Tuesday; he asked me should he mention the reason why I only asked for a passport. I told him he might do in that as he thought right.

He then spoke to me about my appointment, and mentioned Mr. O'Connor's claim. I told him I should permit myself to say nothing about Mr. O'Connor, because I wished to submit those things only to the tribunal of our common country, which as yet had no existence; that as to the appointment I should refrain from saying whether any such actually took place, but supposing it did, as he said in 1797, the Executive from whom he claimed the appointment were all either dead or exiled, except two who at present certainly did not act; how then could he carry on the necessary correspondence? I was appointed Feb. last, and sent for expressly to Brussels; in consequence I relinquished my design of going to America last spring, and I must peremptorily say I was the only person in France authorized to communicate with the existing Executive. He asked me was that committee known to all the United Irishmen; I answered, the individual members certainly were not, and never could be, but that its existence was to all those who were at present acting and risking their lives and fortunes. That many who had previously acted did not now, and of course as they were out of the organization they were ignorant of its secrets. Perhaps Mr. O'Connor might tell him and really believe there was no Executive, but that was only a proof that he did not know the real state of the country, and that the Committee had no connection with him. I assured him there was one, and if the French Government wished to communicate with it, and with those who were preparing to act, it must be done thro' me. He asked me would I allow him to say to the Minister at War that I would be ready to produce proofs of my appointment when necessary. I answered I certainly would. It is become, therefore, absolutely necessary to ascertain my appointment and silence O'Connor's pretensions, tho' I am convinced doing so will make the matter so public as to reach the English government, and then independent of National inconvenience, probably every farthing of mine in Ireland will be confiscated.

Thursday, July 14th. This morning received a letter from Genl. Hartey informing me that the Minister had refused the passport, for reasons he hoped I would approve of, and which he would communicate when he saw me, which shall be to-morrow.

Friday, 15*th.* Saw Genl. Harty, and was very much surprised to find the refusal was accompanied with no reason at all, for surely this is not one:—"What is the use of sending a courier, that is but a half measure; we must send a proper force", &c. Vexed as I was, and probably shall have often occasion to be, I told the Genl. that so far from being satisfied with the answer, I did not think it was common sense. I had said nothing about an expedition, whether it should be large or small, nor did I intend to do so until the proper time, and then only to the highest authority. That besides I never intended to beg one, because I well knew nothing would procure it but the absolute interest France had in the measure, and then begging was not only degrading but unnecessary. I asked for nothing but a passport for a courier to communicate what the French government bid me and voluntarily sought me for the purpose. That if it believed me acting for England it was unquestionably right to refuse my request, but if it thought me faithful to my cause I could scarcely conceive a reason for refusing me a passport, even if it did not know my motive for asking one. I was very sure the reason assigned was not the real one that actuated the Minister in his refusal, and as I was left to conjecture, I could only say that if there was not an entire confidence in me I should be glad to know it, as I would try to get myself replaced by some one who might gain that confidence.

Genl. Hartey assured me he was perfectly certain that was not the reason, but confessed he had been himself surprised and was lost in conjecture. Negotiations he said were still talked of, and perhaps an Irish expedition was not seriously intended, or that the plan of operation was not fixed on. I asked him had he any reason to suppose an Irish expedition was not intended. He assured me solemnly not the least, but that he was bewildered in conjecture, and in this I implicitly believe him. After some conversation I determined to ask an audience of the Minister at War, and have written a letter on that subject and given it to the General at dinner to-day, who has undertaken to remit it to the Minister. Hartey before I left him turned the conversation on the steps the Irish here are taking in consequence of his letter to McGuire. He tells me they talk of a meeting, which he deprecates for fear of offending the Government, which is suspicious of such things. I assured him I had not heard a word of it, that some of my countrymen wished to transmit their claims thro' me, that I told them if that was a general wish I was ready to understand it, but that I would not do it for four or five individuals, and that I thought they might as well do it themselves. This he requested might be the case, and rather begged me not to interfere. I communicated his wishes to some of my friends, but this evening I believe I have discovered a clue to his apprehensions. Mr. O'Connor, when he heard of Hartey's letter, got into a great passion and said that faith had been broken with him, as the Minister at War had promised that he alone should be communicated with on the subject; that Genl. Hartey was raising factions and sedition among the Irish, and that "Tho' he believed him a worthy man he saw he was a fool and would be obliged not to speak to him". He spoke a heap of other impertinence and nonsense. I wish he would go on that way and blow himself up, as he is very troublesome and I think will be very injurious. I fancy his anger arose from the fear of my being appointed by my countrymen, but I am pretty sure it is he that has frightened Hartey lest he should be compromised and censured. The signatures to my appointment have not been very much increased by Swiney's* exertions. He met a couple of refusals, one of which I could never have expected, and others he did not ask from motives of prudence. The matter, however, is becoming perfectly public, which is what I would willingly have avoided, and my own consolation is that all of my countrymen, as far as I have heard, say they approve the choice, but where are the signatures? I was informed to-day at the proper office that a measure will be taken to exempt all the United Irishmen from being prisoners of war. I hear too that neither Monroe or Livingston,†

*Miles Byrne writes in his *Memoirs*—"John Sweeny was a great friend of Thomas Addis Emmet. They were fellow prisoners at Dublin and at Fort George in Scotland. He was one of those Irish patriots who had to exile themselves for ever from the land of their birth in order to get out of confinement, at the peace of Amiens".

†James Monroe, special envoy from the United States with Robert R. Livingston.

the American Minister, have been able to get passports, owing to some apparent mistake. Can that delay be connected with the cause that produced the refusal to me?

I forgot to remark that Harty, when he took my letter, said, "If the Minister refuses or postpones the audience, he certainly will have some reason, and we must wait with patience. If he grants it, take the opportunity of speaking your mind frankly and boldly. I am sure you will do it so as not to displease, and it may be useful."

Saturday, July 16th. General Hartey received a letter this morning from the Minister of War, desiring him to conduct me to his Hotel on Monday morning at nine. He also received another in the course of the day from the same, informing him that he was appointed one of a commission of three United Irishmen to decide upon the reclamations of United Irishmen against being made prisoners of war, and desiring him to attend on Monday at the Bureau de la Guerre; he does not know his fellow-commissioners.

I find Monroe has got a passport, and is by this time at Calais, but it was with difficulty, and only good for eight days. Livingston has not been able to get one.

I understand O'Connor also says a party is forming against him here in Paris; that alludes to my countrymen preferring me as their agent to him. Poor man, he has held the same language,—"that a party was forming against him" in prison and out of prison, ever since he became a political character.

Monday, July 18th. Hartey and I went to the Minister's this morning at nine, and he was out. This I saw vexed the general, and I let him see that I was displeased at such conduct. I told him my business called me into the country, and that I should stay in town no longer. He said he was sure the Minister had forgotten, and that such was his character. I answered that if it was only forgetfulness it could be easily repaired; that I should request him to write to know whether the Minister's intentions respecting me were changed, and required an answer, as I would make my arrangements to leave Paris at four o'clock. He wrote it, and sent it by his servant, who left the letter at the War Office without waiting for an answer, or asking if the Minister was there. I then told Harty I should do myself the pleasure of calling on him at half-past three, which would give him an opportunity of seeing the Minister on the other subject—the Commission for examining the reclamation of the United Irishmen, that if there was any satisfactory reason I could then stay in town; if not it was impossible for me to mistake the object of his not being at home this morning. That if I was not allowed to communicate with the French government, or my own country, I was absolutely useless and would employ myself solely about my own private affairs. That when the French Government knew its own mind and was decided what line of conduct it ought to pursue toward me and my country, it would I presume know where to find me. At half-past three I called again and waited 'till four, when he came in. He said the Minister had forgot, and begged him to bring me any morning between ten and eleven, to the Bureau de la Guerre. He had been asked what I wanted to say, which Hartey said he did not know. I then appointed to-morrow. I asked about the commission of three, and learnt for the first time that all about it was a secret not to be talked of, from which and some other expressions of his I am fully sure the idea is changed,—an attendant to give him any reclamation—he is piqued that more of the Irish have not written to him on the subject of being employed, and seems to think they distrust him. O'Connor too is busy, wanting a list of the United Irishmen prisoners of war, and says that Government have desired him to make it out; Can this be true? By Harty's conversation this morning I find O'Connor had been saying he has had the latest intelligence from Ireland, and that there is no Executive, meaning thereby I am no agent. I found it necessary to show Hartey how he had been deceived. O'Connor still continues his talk about the faction against him, but is so good as to say I am not of it,—who is?

Tuesday, July 19th. I have at length seen the Minister. Whether it was affectation or forgetfulness, or cunning to feel his way, I know not—but at first he did not seem to recollect anything. When I mentioned that I had solicited a passport to send some one to Ireland which he had thought fit to refuse—"What passport?" said he; "I don't

recollect it." Harty then came forward and reminded him he had asked it. "But for what object?" says he. I told him it was now about six weeks since Government had communicated to me its intention respecting Ireland, with the desire that I might transmit it to them, and to do so I asked for the passport. "What communication, and by whom?" "By Col. Dalton, who said he came officially, and by Gen. Harty, and the communication was as follows:" I then detailed to him what is already set forth on that subject. When I came to that part that said Ireland should be at liberty to choose her own form of government, "Undoubtedly", said he, "c'est tout simple; we wish to do England all the harm we can, and we know nothing can do her so much as separating Ireland, but we have no wish to meddle with the internal affairs of that country"; "but", says he, "nothing is yet decided on, and why send a message"? I answered that as the agent of the United Irishmen with the French Government, I had received intelligence from thence, with orders to communicate it only to the First Consul; for that purpose I solicited the honour of an interview three or four times, and have been refused.

Minister—"Who refused you"?

Emmet—"It came to me delivered by Mr. Dalton".

M.—"But Mr. Dalton could do nothing except from me".

E.—"I desired my application, Citizen Minister, to be addressed to you, and was told the first answers came from you. I even desired, as I knew the importance of my demand, that an answer might come personally from the First Consul, and was informed the last did."

M.—"Yes, I spoke to him, and he said he could see nobody on the subject until his plans were made."

E.—"Having received my answer, Citizen Minister, I said no more on that subject, but from what I know of the state of my country I can say it is of the utmost importance that it may be informed to what point it is an object with the French Government, that it may decide as to its own line of conduct".

M.—"Yes, a communication of that kind may be useful, but how will you send the Message"?

I then told him my ideas, and said when I first applied on this subject I asked for the facilities of sending one, an expression very easily understood, but as that demand might cause delay I do not make it now. I was only a private man in my fortune, and that not large. I would however find funds.

We then entered into something of a more general conversation, in which I said when the Chief Consul was returned I should be happy in the opportunity of laying before him what had been transmitted to me on the state of Ireland. "Why", says he, "his plans are not yet formed". I said I supposed not, and I hope they will not be formed until I have the opportunity of making him acquainted with what may change them in some measure. "Oh, as to that", says he, "nothing of that kind can make a change in a great plan. Ireland is but an accessory consideration; if it be possible for us to land one hundred and fifty thousand men in England, then we shall make them feel, but as for Ireland there could be no thought of above twenty-five or thirty thousand at the most". I answered that would be full enough. On some occasion I mentioned "mes functions auprès du gouvernement", on which he said, "you are then appointed to discharge some"? —"I am, Citizen Minister; otherwise I should never have solicited the honour of being here, and perhaps it is right I should take this opportunity of stating to your Excellency who I am. I was of the Executive Committee, and arrested in 1798 with many others; I was detained a prisoner in Ireland for a year, and then deported to Fort George in Scotland, where I was kept also a prisoner 'till this time twelvemonths, and then conducted in an English frigate to Hamburgh. I was going with my family to America, where I was promised the friendship of the leading men in the State, and would have sailed last Spring but that shortly before I received the orders of the acting committee of the United Irishmen and their authorization to proceed to Paris and be their agent with this government. I obeyed them. I renounced my private projects, and it is only as the repre-

sentative of my country that I shall ever claim any attention or consideration for what I may offer". "Do you know Mr. O'Connor"? "I knew him very well formerly". "But you don't see one another now"? "No, but I hope that can do no mischief to our cause, as there can be no contestation between him and me. I solicit no marks of confidence from the French government on personal grounds. If, when it did me the honour of distinguishing me, in that point of view, I had not had such delegated powers, I should have said that there were many men in Paris who had sacrificed as much, who had suffered as much, whose importance with the people was as great, whose devotion to their cause was as entire, and who in every point of view merited as much the confidence of the French government as I could and I should have requested that they should receive the same marks of confidence as myself. In that point of view I shall not enter into contest with Mr. O'Connor, or any one, and in a delegated capacity neither he nor any one can enter into contest with me. "Mr. O'Connor, then, has no such power"? "None". "But he was in France before"? "He was long since, for one particular purpose".—"And he was coming over again when he was arrested"? "He was, and I understand he founds some claim upon it, but the fact is this: In the latter end of 1797, the English government persecuted him a good deal, and he did not choose to stand it any longer; he determined to fly to France, and wished to be authorized to act there. The Committee answered that if he was determined to go he might be useful by co-operating with the established agent for the good of the country, and that agent was written to to co-operate with Mr. O'Connor to that point, and there is the whole of his appointment.—Since that time, however, great changes have taken place, the former organization was destroyed and everything unhinged, a new one has been established, and of those who were of the Committee, when Mr. O'Connor wished to go to France, all are either dead or in exile except two, who are in no respect concerned in the new organization. So that he has no kind of connection with any body whatsoever now in activity, and if the French Government chooses to learn the state of those who are preparing to take advantage of the present crisis of Europe, who are risking everything and have the means of raising the whole country, I say most pointedly and positively they can only hear from and communicate with that body thro' me, as I alone hold the thread of communication, and I am ready to prove this when called on".

"What do you think of Mr. O'Connor"?

I made no reply.

"Frankly now, among ourselves, answer me".

"Citizen Minister, I cannot permit myself to answer you, with the avowed feelings I have towards him, if I were to give an opinion I should almost suspect myself, I am sure you would".

General Harty interposed and said there was some quarrel between us at Fort George, with the cause of which he was unacquainted.

I replied, "Whatever is between Mr. O'Connor and me, I wish to submit only to one tribunal, that of my own country, and until I can do that I do not wish to speak of it".

Berthier—"Can he be of service to us"?

E.—"Every Irishman can be of service to you".

B.—"But is he popular in Ireland"?

E.—"Citizen Minister, it is painful to me to speak of Mr. O'Connor, but you press me so much I can't avoid it. On my word of honour I believe his popularity is lost; he certainly enjoyed a considerable share once, but I am convinced he has none now; in civil convulsions popularity is sometimes very undeservedly acquired and sometimes very undeservedly lost. Which of these has been Mr. O'Connor's case, considering the terms on which we are, I shall not permit myself to say, but you may yourself judge how far his popularity is lost from this,—there is, as I have already had the honour of telling you a committee in Ireland which has the means of raising the whole country, and Mr. O'Connor does not even know of its existence. Put it to the trial, ask him, and he will tell you that we all know, that the People are ready, but he will say there is no Executive. And in this

he will say what he thinks; they have been able to take their measures in such secrecy that the English Government does not know them, nor Mr. O'Connor either, and why? Because they do not wish it to be known to either one or the other, a proof he has not their confidence, and as they do not wish him to know it, so neither do I".

Berthier—"You may be assured, Sir, he shall not know it from me. I am happy to have become acquainted with you. Send to Genl. Harty the description of the person, you shall have the passport and the funds, and when you have anything to say I shall be happy to see you".

I assured him I did not intend to be importunate, but when I had matter of sufficient consequence I hoped to enjoy the honour I had done to-day.

Harty then mentioned something of the United Irishmen that were prisoners of war. Berthier said to me—"Any that you can vouch for, give their names to Genl. Harty, and they shall be discharged".

On our return home I gave him a list. I saw he was pleased with the interview, and particularly that I had spoken of O'Connor. "I wished", he said, "to force it, so that you were right to be explicit as to yourself and your powers, and not let any doubts arise".

Before the interview, during our long attendance, I took the opportunity of pointing out to him that he should not attribute the backwardness of the Irish in giving him their names to any diffidence of him, but only to a diffidence of France, which had abandoned Ireland. During the time of the Directory they would have rejoiced at such an offer, and have offered to fight for the cause of liberty anywhere. But now they are so disgusted with the treatment of individuals and the Nation, that while they can hope to live on their own means they cannot prevail on themselves to accept a French commission, and are rather reserving themselves to fight with an Irish one. He endeavoured to defend the French government, but I could see in his heart he thought his countrymen right.

I saw Aherne* to-day and broached to him a scheme from which I hope a good deal, but he has damped my hopes. If Daendels† was in confidence in Holland, I should not despair of doing a great deal without France; but he is as low as can be. He has, however, in a letter lately written expressed his wishes to aid in liberating Ireland and his determination to engage in nothing else, and desired Aherne to make this known to his countrymen here, as Aherne supposes that they may suggest his appointment, which in former times would have succeeded, but who would think of suggesting the appointment of a general to the First Consul, above all of a Republican and a foreigner?

Thursday, July 28th. From the last date to this I wrote three letters to General Hartey. The first dated 21st was about the description of the person for the passport and the expenses of his journey, for which I declined naming any sum, nothing only what he would have to do. The remainder of that letter and the other two were about the state of the United Irishmen prisoners of war, and urging the necessity of some general regulation in their behalf. This I was particularly induced to do by different letters from individuals stating the hardship of their situation from their removals, etc. In a letter written last night I called for such a measure as their Agent and Deputy, and insisted on it not only as their right, but also as the first proof the French government could give of its good-will towards Ireland. This morning I received a letter from him enclosing the passport and stating his conversation with the Minister on the subject of the funds, on which neither could name any sum and advising me to do it. I have in consequence stated fifty pounds as the least sum with which I would let him set out, and that as much more

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*Captain John Aherne, according to the Memoirs of Byrne, came to France to finish his studies and when war broke out with England he was one of the Irish patriots who offered their services to the French Government. He twice embarked for Ireland and after the failure of these expeditions he had the good fortune to escape back to France. The Irish Legion being on march to Mayence in 1806 poor Captain Aherne died suddenly at Metz. He received his commission in the Legion from the French Government.

It is quite possible that this refers to Aherne, a physician of Cork and mentioned by Madden as a member of the Society of United Irishmen, who was in Paris during Tone's mission there, and was sent by Tone on a secret mission to Ireland. Among the persons he was instructed to consult was T. A. Emmet.

†General Herman W. Daendels.

will be necessary for his return. That whatever is given shall be applied to that purpose only, and that if it be not enough I will endeavour to supply the deficiency. Perhaps I am wrong, but as the sum may appear large I am afraid it might be thought I was wishing to turn a penny, and I have been more delicate than I otherwise would be. As Harty's letter said nothing of the United Irishmen prisoners of war, I again urged their liberation in my note of this morning.

From the beginning I pressed that matter, from time to time gave in the names of individuals who applied to me and were entitled to exemption from the *arrête*. It was always promised without any difficulty, and as I thought it would be a matter of course I neglected mentioning my having applied in the proper part of this journal. The delay, however, has been so great and so injurious to individuals that the matter has become of considerable consequence, and my latter applications have been very urgent.

August 2nd. This morning came again to town to solicit the money and other things. Called on Genl. Hartey and found that Dalton had returned and that Hartey had handed all over to him. I had learned before I went there that Genl. Hartey had told Ware* that O'Connor and he were busy about the military arrangements. When I went to Harty and carelessly asked about them, he said he had given in the names but did not say anything of O'Connor. He also told me Dalton and he were of the committee for examining the reclamations of the United Irishmen. "O'Connor", says I, "is, I suppose, the third"? He said he believed not, but in such a way as to convince me otherwise. He then took great occasion to convince me that O'Connor was not in more confidence and had not done more than I had. But I am sure he has made good his ground with Hartey and Dalton, and they are both very anxious to keep me in ignorance of the communications they have with him.

Wednesday, August 3rd. Could not see Dalton yesterday, but did this morning. He apologized for the delays that had taken place about the Irish prisoners, and assured me it would be instantly rectified; which it has been. He also told me he was sure I should get the money, and he would see the Minister the next day. As he was made acquainted with all that had passed in his absence, I took the opportunity of requesting my having solicited a passport might not be communicated to O'Connor; he assured me it should not, and added what I thought was very fair, if there was not a wish to keep me ignorant of the communication with him. "The French government", says he, "wishes to avail itself of the services of both; as for myself, my object is the good of France my country, and of Ireland my country. Whatever my private opinions are respecting you both are known to the Government, but I could not permit myself to appear a partisan of either one or the other". I wish he may always pursue that conduct.

Friday, August 5th. Came to town on the rumours of an insurrection in Ireland. Find that the fact is true, tho' to what an extent is uncertain. Most of my countrymen are extremely impatient to give their own and procure French assistance. After a great deal of hunting saw Dalton and asked an immediate interview with Berthier, he is unfortunately out of town, but I am to have it to-morrow. Dalton says he will go over with five hundred men. Saw Fulton [Robert], who promised if the affair should become so serious as to leave him room to work, he would go over and commence his plan of operations [with his torpedoes].

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*In Byrne's Memoirs (Vol. I, p. 307) the statement is made: "When I arrived at Paris, I should immediately have waited on Mr. Arthur O'Connor had I not heard that he and Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet were on the worst terms; circumstanced as I was with the latter [Mr. Emmet] I could not think of becoming acquainted with his enemy.

"No one, however, regretted more than I did to learn that two such men should not be on speaking terms with each other,—they, whom my countrymen at home looked upon as their most strenuous agents with the French government, and as consulting with one another at every moment to see what was best to be done. I enquired of my friend, Hugh Ware, who had spent a long time in prison with Messrs. O'Connor and Emmet, to know the cause of their dispute. He told me he could never ascertain it, but that he believed it was nothing political; that he himself had endeavoured to reconcile these gentlemen, but found it impossible. Their misunderstandings must, indeed, have been of a very serious nature, for Hugh was a real peacemaker, and no officer I ever knew prevented more duels than he did." Col. Ware rendered a long service in the French army as an officer of the Irish Legion and died in France greatly respected by all who knew him. It is shown elsewhere that both Mr. Emmet and Dr. Macneven thought for a long time that O'Connor was false to the Irish cause.

Saturday, 6th. Saw Berthier. I asked in the name of my country for the means of going immediately and whether the French Government intended to succour Ireland or not, but that if arms and ammunition, with some light artillery and cannoniers and a sufficient number of men, to protect the debarkation, could be sent without causing any material delay, they would wait. I ought to state that I began with communicating to the Minister the intelligence I had formerly received from Ireland and had wished to make known to Buonaparte. After having asked for the vessel, &c., for my countrymen, he said it might be a very great injury to let them go, as they would be so useful with a large force. I assured him he would meet many such wherever he landed, but he persisted in wishing to retain them. I pressed with my utmost zeal for immediate supplies, however small, and pointed out that the Directory had before lost Ireland by not sending over one hundred men in the time of the Wexford insurrection. He answered, we do not yet know of what extent it is; if it be of consequence it will not be so easily put down; if it be not, it ought not to damage our general plans. I assured him the French Government would make it of consequence if it chose, for from what I had stated he saw the United Irishmen would have acted on sending a supply of arms, &c., and of course the same thing would make the rising now of consequence, even if it were not so before.

"The government", says he, "will not commit such a piece of folly as the Directory did".

"Citizen Minister", answered I, "the Directory committed a piece of folly, not in sending Humbert with so small a force, but in sending him so late; and it is exactly that piece of folly against which I wish to guard the present government. I warn you that everything will be decided by promptitude, and if England acts with more rapidity than France, she may suppress the present insurrection. In which case France will vainly endeavour to rekindle it with her large force".

"No", said he, "the minds of the people would be so aroused and enraged".

"That", says I, "would be no equivalent for the discouragement of defeat and the loss of the bravest and most devoted chiefs. Time is in this case of more value than strength, and a very little delay may let the opportunity slip away".

"Fifteen days", said he, "would be no great loss of time for a considerable force".

I answered, "Fifteen days certainly would not for a considerable force, but I think no accession of strength could compensate for the difference between fifteen and twenty days".

At any rate", said he, "nothing can be done until the First Consul arrives, which will be in three days, and the courier must not go before that, and his dispatch may be very different".

I lamented the absence of the First Consul as a great loss, but he assured me it was not, as he was very prompt to decide, and his decisions were very quickly executed, and repeated, if the insurrection was serious succour could easily come in time. "With two hundred men", said he, "ready to be landed in Ireland, we can't be at a loss to collect the men or arms on any part of the coast, and could almost embark them in a day". I impressed the necessity of promptitude as strongly as I could find words, and again adverted to the impatience of my countrymen, saying I should be afraid to meet them with an answer that they must wait three days before any decision would be taken respecting them; on which he said, "your zeal and theirs is very natural and honourable, but the zeal of individuals must sometimes be made to yield to superior arrangements". On the whole I think he feels the necessity of despatch, but no small force will be given.

After we had taken leave, Dalton told me he certainly knew that Berthier had written yesterday to the First Consul, and that if succours were decided on, the orders would be very promptly carried into execution. "In eighteen days after the measure was determined on", said he, "we had three thousand men and everything necessary for the St. Domingo Expedition embarked". He said his duty was to take a minute of my conversation with Berthier for the Consul's use, and that he would put my arguments as strong as possible. He said also he would try himself to be appointed to superintend the execution of the

order, and would do it with the utmost zeal. We talked over some plans for the expedition, and I gave him my thoughts. Dalton in the conversation mentioned what I suspect may have been O'Connor's suggestion—"A large French force will be absolutely necessary to keep down the people and prevent the horrors of a revolution, such as took place in France". I perfectly understood the meaning of such language, but wished to avoid seeming to see it, and answered—However great that necessity may be, it is not the present question. Expedition is everything, and for that purpose the force ought not to be great, but a small one should be instantly sent, and send your large force afterwards at your leisure. If we get a small one I hope it will put us into such a situation as not to be dictated to by a large one. I mentioned to Berthier the wish of the Irish to be sent in a vessel under the command of Capt. Murphy, as they knew he would never strike his flag, being as deeply embarked as themselves. His name and Gibbon's* was also taken down by Dalton to be sent for as soon as they could be had.

Wednesday, August 10th. Called on Dalton to know if the First Consul was arrived, he was not expected at St. Cloud 'till night.—He was preparing a memoir to be laid before him, PARTS of which he read to me, strongly pressing the necessity of promptness. While we were talking Corbet rapt at the door, and Dalton broke up the conversation by assuring me he was certain the First Consul would see the necessity of speedy succours and give them. I shortly went away, and Corbet followed me. He began by lamenting the insurrection as blasting all our chances. I answered him, but he almost put me in a passion by dealing out what I clearly saw were O'Connor's rodomontades. He then told me it was on another subject he wished to speak to me,—that as the business was begun it was the duty of every Irishman to give it support. For that purpose many of them wished O'Connor and me to forget our animosities and concert and act together, and that O'Connor was perfectly willing. In fact it seemed to me, and I believe was an offer from O'Connor to pull up what he might have lost of credit with the French Government, by saying there was no Executive, or organization, and to replace himself by my means. I instantly answered that if my objections to Mr. O'Connor were only personal, I should be ashamed to refuse an offer of reconciliation at such a time; that such, however, was not the case, as all personal matters between him and me were settled at Hamburg; that my objections to him were *moral and political.* That I conceived him a bad man and a very dangerous character for my country, and should ever reproach myself if on any occasion I lent him the credit of my name with those, be they few or many, who thought well of me, and thus increase his means of doing mischief. That, however, as he, Corbet, would not probably like to carry back such a message, he might say what was further the truth, that I saw no necessity for any such communication. I acted only as the agent for the Provisional Government of Ireland, and that situation I could not divide with any one. That I was pressing the French Government for the most speedy succours, and as he said Mr. O'Connor was doing the same, the two applications would perhaps have more weight separately. Corbet tried to persuade me that O'Connor was not a dangerous man, and had no bad intentions respecting Ireland; at any rate that it would be prudent to co-operate with him to a certain point, but I answered I had already sufficiently acted with and knew him to form my opinion of his ambition, his principles, and his morality, and that I was convinced of the folly and wickedness of such a half measure. If none such had been adopted with Robespierre, he would never have been able to load France with the crimes and calamities of his time. I said a great deal more to the same purpose. Swiney met us, and I took him aside to ask him to sign my credentials, which he declined, taking it *ad referendum.* In the course of the day McDonnel,† Macneven, and Swiney called on O'Connor formally acquainting him with my appointment and giving him the opportunity of signing it. He read it over three or four times, and seemed vexed and confused, but

*According to Byrne's diary:—"Austen Gibbons, Lieutenant, at the formation of the Irish Legion, December, 1803. He retired on reform pay in 1806. Gibbons left Ireland after General Humbert capitulated in 1798. He was bred to the sea, and had commanded merchant vessels.

†Supposed to be James J. MacDonald, a man of influence in Ireland, who was one of the first to join Humbert at Killala in 1798, and appointed by him to command the Irish. He was a man of influence at this time with the French Government.

evaded on the grounds that he was applied to by the French Government to negotiate with them for Ireland, and that he had no knowledge of the Executive Committee that appointed me; for the particulars of this I refer to their statement; he also said if I chose to co-operate with him he was ready. It seems Humbert called on him and is by no means satisfied with his reception. O'Connor, however, told him it was not yet decided whether Masséna or he was to have the command, but that he would employ Humbert! McSheehy* was at the same time with O'Connor in private conference.

I am perfectly convinced that it is in agitation to take up O'Connor for a bad purpose. Query, is he to be the Prefect of Ireland? I have no doubt that he has let the Government into the secret that I and my friends are Republicans and that he is not; it must be confessed he is fitter than we are for their views.

Thursday, August 11th. McSheehy called on Macneven and had some conversation with him about the necessity of my resigning my situation and claims to O'Connor, as he had already treated with the French Government, was known and confided in by those who were entrusted with the Marine and War Departments, I believe Bernadotte and Truguet. Macneven answered as I should, denied the fact of his having before treated, and I said I could not resign my situation to any one, but that I would entirely withdraw myself if any hint was authentically given me by the French Government that my interference was not agreeable. In which case it would be observed that Government was treating only with an individual and not with the Irish people. That, however, I had every reason to be convinced I possessed the confidence of the French Government as much as Mr. O'Connor. After a little while McSheehy took his leave.

Saturday, 13th. Saw Dalton this morning; he had not yet his answer, but told me it had come to their ears from the Police that the Irishmen were talking and committing indiscretions in the coffee-houses, and that a paper was handed about among them for signatures. I interrupted him to ask him had they said anything against the French Government; he said not, but that in consequence of his name having been mentioned, the Gd. Juge, with whom he is acquainted, sent for him. I then told him the paper for signatures was the authentication of my appointment, which I had already shown him, and had not gotten signed before from motives of secrecy, but that now no such caution was necessary. That the Irish in signing it were only obeying the orders of their Government, and I was convinced the French Government would not interfere to prevent their obeying their own. That as to indiscretions, if any were committed, they were faults, but I must doubt it. Many of these men who are perhaps so accused knew of the proceedings in Ireland some months back, but they were all able to keep their own secrets so as that neither the English Government, the French Government, nor the Irish who had not the confidence of the Irish Government discovered anything, and rely on it if anything should occur that it would be proper to conceal in the same manner you will hear nothing of it. But now that there is no mystery they may surely indulge in expressions of zeal and satisfaction. The paper for signatures can be of no importance to the French Government, but it is very natural to Mr. O'Connor; and your conversation reminds me of one Genl. Harty had with me some time since. I then told him Harty's conversation about the danger of clubs and meetings, &c., and went on, tho' thro' delicacy I did not say so, I was well convinced all those fears were put into his head by Mr. O'Connor, who dreaded its being seen how entirely he was destitute of the confidence of his countrymen. And I have now the same belief that this is, and from the same motive, the suggestion of Mr. O'Connor. Dalton said he did not know if Mr. O'Connor was acquainted with the Gd. Juge. "Nor do I, but if I were to indulge a suspicion, after what you have told me, I should say it came entirely from Mr. O'Connor". But says Dalton, "Comme vous êtes chef reconnu vous devriez être un peu despotique avec les Irlandais". On which I smiled and told him I hoped I should never be despotic over any one, but that even if I were

*McSheehy, Adj. Genl., was in the regular French army when charged by the government to organize the Irish Legion and take command. He proved unfit for the position. The command was taken from him and he was returned to the French army itself. In 1807 he was killed in battle.

inclined to exercise an act of power I really saw no room, as I was convinced there had been no fault. We had some further trifling conversation, in which talking of the necessity of a large French force in Ireland, he said it would be necessary for a time that the French should assume the management on themselves and settle everything. That is, said I, provided you don't find a Government ready formed on your arrival. "Oh," says he, "the French are so well acquainted with the mode of making revolutions, a French general wittily said to an Austrian general who wanted to revolutionize a country against the French,—General, you had better not try that game against us or we may give you enough of revolution". I laughed, as became me, at the French general's wit, but said nothing of the application, nor shall I 'till the fulness of time and 'till I see how the affairs of my country stand. Perhaps we too may show them that we know a little of making revolutions, and that the best way is to stop knaves at the outset. While I was speaking to him a messenger came to him from the Minister to go there directly. On my return home I met Bonneville who has long been eager to introduce me to Garat, and thro' him to Truguet. He had been speaking to Garat on the subject, and stated my situation. I am to see him to-morrow morning. But in the outset Bonneville made a great fault. Garat is personally acquainted with O'Connor, and has been speaking to him, and he mentioned the absolute necessity of my acting with O'Connor on which B. promised that we should be reconciled. On my saying "never", he got into a great passion, but I persevered and told him before he promised for me he should have consulted me and insisted on his undeceiving Garat before I went there, which he will do.

Have just seen Dalton again in consequence of a note from him. The Minister sent for him to communicate the First Consul's answer to me. Which is that he cannot personally see me, because he could not do so without recognizing me and the Provisional Government, which he cannot do until there are twenty-five thousand Irish troops joined to his in Ireland. That he will not send less than twenty-five thousand men, and of this resolution I may be sure, but that he will accelerate all his preparations with the utmost speed, and that these twenty-five thousand men are not intended to stay in Ireland, but to annoy the western coast of England, that in the meanwhile we shall have arms and ammunition as much as we can want from the English arms in Hanover thro' the Elbe, which is not so strictly blocked. That they may be smuggled out, and north about, to Ireland; that he wishes as most important that the Irish should contrive means of opening a communication with France; and further that he assured us he would never make peace with England except on the condition of the independence of Ireland being recognized. We had then some conversation about the means of getting the arms from the Elbe, and requested that Murphy should be sent for and a vessel instantly given him, which will I hope be the case. I asked him when he thought such a force could be got ready, and he said scarcely before two months, and that he was sure it would not be delayed longer, and that about the Equinox I would see a very general move. I wished for some arms from the western ports of France. He said if it was absolutely necessary he believed they would be given, but that it would be a great inconvenience, as they would want arms for the grand expedition and must collect all they could and even bring some to that quarter for that purpose. I spoke about the eagerness of my countrymen to be gone and he said I am not officially desired to tell you, but I know the government attaches great importance to having as many Irishmen as possible with the grand expedition.

He further added that if I desired it the Minister would repeat the message he had delivered, I said that tho' it was perfectly unnecessary for myself I should wish it for the sake of the others. He will see the Minister on the subject.

Sunday, August 14th. Saw Garat and had a very long conversation with him. He first mentioned about O'Connor, of whom he spoke very highly, and assured me his views were the most simple and candid, that he claimed no authorisation and said he was nothing but O'Connor, an individual whose name was known thro' Europe and whose suffering might entitle him to some credit. And that all he asked was an immediate force, with which he was ready to go. I told him Mr. O'Connor's claims had not been always so

confined, and that as he, Garat, was only three days in town he was probably ignorant of what had been previously claimed, that however now, as he claimed nothing except as O'Connor, and that I claim nothing as Emmet, there could be no contestation between us. We both, it seemed, gave the same advice and solicited the same things for Ireland, therefore we could not counteract each other. He seemed convinced, and said it only came to this that I should remain here as Minister and O'Connor go with the Expedition. I answered precisely, provided the French Government in sending him did not interefere with the prerogative of the Irish Government. We then went into what was necessary to be done. Garat seemed to hint something as if he was appointed to speak on those things. But I believe he has no authority except his friendship with Truguet.

However, I stated what I thought would be the advantages of an immediate recognition of me and my country by France, stating that I had reason to apprehend it would not be immediately done and would not press it, but that if the French Government thought fit to offer it, I would accept it. He knew from Bonneville that I had desired to see Bonaparte and wished I could. I said nearly the same thing, that I did not think it would be granted, and would not let myself down by subjecting myself to repeated refusals; but that if he or his friends could procure me the offer of that honour I would gladly use it. That, however, the material thing was to get succours and to get them instantly. I pressed promptitude and velocity with my utmost strength, and he appeared to enter perfectly into my views. In the conversation he mentioned as a fact that at the time of Humbert's and Hardy's expedition the command had been offered to Cherin, the friend of Hoche, who he said would have done it well, that he demanded twelve thousand men and sunk down to eight thousand, but would never go lower, that it was then offered to Bernadotte who asked fifteen thousand and would not go lower than twelve. I however endeavoured to convince him that less force would have done, and said I was afraid the rock on which the French would split was the desire to do things "en grand". He talked of being ready in six months, but I deprecated the delay of half that time. He said the Marie was not ready, there was no more than five sail of the line in Brest and their crews not complete. However, he was very sensible of the importance of Ireland and the necessity of instant action in her defence. On the whole I was pleased with him and he gave me room to think he was so with me, but did not talk of presenting me to Truguet, that however I hope will come in time and soon.

Bonneville has told me this evening that after I was gone Garat said he saw the proper person to be taken up and that he would see some one tomorrow.

Monday, August 15*th.* Called on Dalton this morning to fix about seeing the Minister, he has not met him since, but gave me a rendezvous for tomorrow. As Garat's talk of six months has frightened me, I asked him if he seriously thought the expedition could be ready in two months,—he seemed to laugh at any further delay and assured me that before Vendémiaire I should see it so, "Marine et tout"? "tout, tout". I told him one reason for my wishing to see the Minister was because I annexed considerable importance to an expression he had mentioned to me from the Consul, and that I wished neither to deceive myself nor my countrymen, I alluded to his assurance that he would never make peace with England 'till the independence of Ireland was recognized. Dalton said it came expressly and personally from the first consul. "Vous pouvez leur assurer de ma part" were his words. I then said the Directory had given the same assurance, and peace was made without that condition. He then remarked the difference between one man and five, but said your best assurance is your interest; promises and even treaties are every day broken and writing is scarcely more solemn with Nations than words, but their interest is the certain hold.—It is the interest of France, recognized for ages but now more strongly felt than ever, to separate Ireland from England. I said—"it was her interest in the last war but it was not done". Dalton said, "but it is now more strongly felt than ever, *and has penetrated those it did not before.* England has forced it to be felt. We hoped that the treaty of peace would have been kept and that we could have arranged ourselves with her, but she has made us feel that she will war against our prosperity while she has the

means. The separation of Ireland is the only way of destroying those means, and its advantages are so strongly felt that no one thinks of discussing them. I can assure you that sentiment has penetrated into *every quarter* and that conviction is your best security. Government is convinced that France can not have solid peace with England 'till Ireland is her ally and her friend".

Tuesday, 16th. In consequence of a message from Bonneville last night, I called upon him early this morning. He then told me that Garat had seen La Place, who had consented to wait on Bonaparte on Irish affairs. If Garat would be present at the interview, to which Garat has consented, perhaps it may produce good. I expressed my wish to know Truguet, which he said he would try to bring about. Macneven mentioned to me on my return home that he had from authority, on which he could rely, that O'Connor alleges that the Provisional Government is only a faction to exclude him, and that all who support it are in the same faction. I hope it may be immense and irresistible. The same authority also assured Macneven that O'Connor is urging the French Government to send over with the troops a constitution and regulations of Government to impose on the Irish, and that he is urging this against their wish, as they think it would be very impolitic and dangerous! If that be true—voilà un traitre! Macneven assigned very strong reasons against such an act. Dalton and I saw the Minister while we were waiting. *D.* said he knew with certainty, and repeated the expression, that Government is directing the utmost attention to the Marne, and that in a short time I should see a "belle réunion de vaisseaux". I said that was the point where I dreaded a deficiency, he said I need not have the least apprehension, that they would collect more than enough of ships of the line and the force would depart from one port. I talked of the necessity of quickening the preparation against England, he said the activity was immense, that he believed they would be ready in four months; but that they would begin to menace long before so as to prevent sending troops to Ireland. When the Minister entered he repeated the conversation as Dalton had done, and asked did I know the best places for sending the arms. I told him four places had been indicated to me before the insurrection that I could not however say what their actual situation might now be. He seemed to wish to put off the sending of arms 'till the arrival of accounts from Ireland. But I tried to dissuade him from that delay and he said I must give him a note of what I thought the most proper places and why. However on further explanation he seemed to come off of that and consented that Murphy should be sent for and no time lost. I pointed out we had already let twelve days lapse since the arrival of the last accounts. We had some further conversation on the subject and he wished some vessels to come express from Ireland to receive arms, over to Bordeaux, or the western coast, and to establish the most speedy communication. I then reverted to the remainder of the Consul's answer and said that as to acknowledging me if I were to advise I might perhaps give it contrary to the opinion entertained by the Consul, but no matter for the present the most essential thing was succour and not acknowledgement. I then said there was part of the answer to which I attached very great importance, and wished to know whether I over-rated it. I meant the assurance that he would never make peace with England, 'till the independence of Ireland was recognised. I requested to know whether that was intended as a formal assurance on the part of the French Government to my countrymen, and whether I should formally communicate it as such. He answered "Yes, certainly", and that it was the Consul's intention I should do so. I then asked him when he thought the expedition would be ready, he said it was hard to say, and seemed to wish to parry the question, but I said I did not mean by asking it to BIND the Government to the time mentioned, but that it would be a great object to those in Ireland to know when, as they would accordingly make their own arrangements. He then said he was pretty sure in about two months, but that with twenty-five thousand men it was hard to be precise and that besides "on les préviendra". He bid me try and make them if possible be quiet 'till the French came, which proves two things,—1st that this government does not wish them to be up on its arrival, and 2nd that on the idea of their being put down it intends to continue its activity, and give them speedy

help. The rising therefore had had even this effect, even if it shall have failed, that it has quickened the French and determined them to do in two months what they had no notion of doing before six months. I then asked the proper passport and the money for the messenger, which he has promised me by one o'clock today. I have received the money and more, for instead of one hundred pounds he has sent me one hundred and twenty-five and the passport and the messenger will be off to night.

From Thursday, 25th August, to Wednesday, September 7th. I was all this time in Paris, but having forgotten my journal I could not take a correct diary.

On Wednesday the 24th of August, Capt. Murphy called on me after his arrival from Ostend, and we went into town together that evening. Next day I called on Dalton and informed him of Murphy's arrival, requesting that a proper nautical person might be appointed to confer with us on the best mode of sending arms. This I did in consequence of my previous conversation with Murphy, who convinced me that the idea of sending arms from the Elbe in Merchant vessels was absurd, and that they should go from the Western Coasts in armed vessels. I also made Murphy write to the Minister of Marine, mentioning his arrival as he was coming upon an invitation from him before he received mine.

He has never heard anything from the Minister of Marine, and as for myself I was promised an answer in a couple of days, and afterwards put off on one pretext and another from day to day, and finally promised it definitely on Saturday night, Sept. 3d. During all this time rumours were circulating of some negotiation with England and an armistice talked of. I mentioned it to Dalton, his answer was, that peace was impossible, but that an armistice might be, as it was for the interest of France. Having received no answer on Saturday night, I did not ask him to see the Minister at War because I knew he was perfectly acquainted with my request and had conversed on it to Dalton. But I prepared a memorial to Bonaparte, calculated also to meet the possibility of negotiation and urging the utmost possible speed on the score of the interests of the Republic, and concluding with the same request I had made thro' Dalton, as a preliminary to sending the promised arms. Having finished this I determined, if possible, not to send it thro' Berthier, that in case he heard of it, he might see I felt the impropriety of not giving me some answer and I requested Garat to deliver it, which he understood to do in the handsomest manner. He further told me he had a reason to know that Government was very anxiously occupied about our affairs. He had on a former occasion told Bonneville that Bonaparte was afraid to separate Ireland lest it should be too democratic and give a bad example, but that he was strongly urged to it by the Senate and the members of the Government. He further told me our marine affairs were in the hands of Truguet, who was devoted to our cause. Having secured the delivery of my memoir on Friday I wrote a note to Dalton, rather drily informing him that as I had received no answer and now expected none I was returning to the country. War has been these several days past talked, and movement made against Portugal. Is it possible that could be only a pretext for marching the troops from Bayonne to Ferril to embark them for Ireland?

Sunday, Sept. 11th. Came to town again today to be in the way and hoping to hear about my memorial. To my mortification Bonneville has given McDonnell a message for me, stating that it had been impossible to deliver it on Friday, from some etiquette, but that he would do it today. I must therefore wait some days more even if it is to be honoured with any notice.

Tuesday, 13th. In consequence of a message from Dalton and some minor circumstances, about prisoners at War &c., I called on him. The only thing remarkable in the interview is that he apologised for not giving me an answer to my demand, by stating that he had none to give, that he had often pressed the Minister on the subject but could obtain no answer, and that he presumed Government had changed its intentions on that subject. This last I am sure is also true by their conduct respecting Murphy, to whom, unknown to me, Dalton made an offer to restore him to his former rank of Captain of a frigate, if he would put himself at the disposition of the Government. Murphy accepted it as he

said in everything for the good of his country, but insisted on having a regular brevet, which he was promised. This was all done unknown to me, but no brevet or written promise coming, Murphy mentioned to me last night that he would go to the country if he heard nothing more about his arrears of pay, giving me to understand that there was no other subject of conversation between him and Dalton in the interview, which after a good deal of hesitation he told me had taken place. This morning I told Dalton, in a general way, that if he was not quick in his movements he would lose Murphy, who mentioned to me his fixed resolution of going back to Dunkirk on Saturday if he had nothing satisfactory before. On this Dalton, supposing Murphy had told me all, said he would go to the Minister of Marine directly and have his brevet made out, that he had been so expressly authorised to make him the offer by the Minister of Marine, and that he need not be uneasy. By Murphy's agreeing to put himself at the general disposal of the French Government, and by his wish to keep the treaty concealed from me, I see that he has changed his mind as well as the French Government. God knows how I could get the arms over, even if a favourable answer should be given to my memorial. Dalton sets off tonight to Strassbourg on a mission to conduct the Turkish Ambassador to Paris and in his absence everything referred again to Harty.

Wednesday, Sept. 14th. Saw Bonneville this morning. Garat had not been able to deliver the memoir on Sunday, for when he went to St. Cloud, he found that the Consul had no audience and was gone to Malmaison. He has requested a special audience for to day to give it. On my way home met Corbet, who began, as on a former occasion, by condemning the measures in Ireland, as if to conciliate my temper, and then proposed an accommodation with O'Connor that we might co-operate, saying "that as matters were going on it were to be wished that they could be succoured". I rejected every accomodation on the same grounds as before, political and not personal. He urged that if we were reconciled O'Connor would sacrifice a great deal of his opinions to meet mine and give a joint advice to Government. I answered that I knew Mr. O'Connor too well not to be convinced that if we did appear to co-operate and give a joint advice, which did not meet his views, he would nevertheless find means to suggest and enforce his own, so that nothing would be gained on that head. That besides I only acted in a delegated capacity, which I could not divide with anyone, and would not willingly share with Mr. O'Connor, that I wished for nothing but what I knew my countrymen required, and gave no advice but what flowed from their wishes. That I could never consent to modify these solicitations, or that advice, to meet any ideas of Mr. O'Connor, and that in seeking for a counsellor to assist me with his opinions and judgments I should only choose one on whose integrity and talents I had reliance. That as to co-operation, if we did not really agree in opinion, Mr. O'Connor would, I was persuaded, in every situation, openly or secretly urge his own; if we did agree, there was a virtual co-operation without our coming together. The advice I gave to Government, and urged with all my strength was this, to lose no time, to give the utmost they could instantly and as much as possible at their leisure, but to succour as soon and as powerfully as possible those who were now acting. I hoped Mr. O'Connor did not give different advice. I hoped he did not tell them that the present insurrection was trifling and insignificant and the work of some obscure men, that he did not advise them to let it die away, and not to go but with a large force, that might enable them to take things up "de novo", to come with a ready made constitution for the Irish people, and to interfere with the civil authority of the country, under specious and hackneyed pretext of *keeping down factions*. I said all this, it being ascertained from the information Macneven had received, from I know excellent authority, that such is his language. When I mentioned the words "keeping down factions" Corbet, conscious he had often sung second to O'Connor, said he himself was very apprehensive they would be wanting at first for that purpose, that the spirit of individual revenge would be let loose and that they alone could not curb the overflowing of popular fury. I answered that they showed no disposition to go in time to stop those outrages, which, I lamented as much as anyone, were likely to disgrace the first beginning

of our revolution. That besides if they were there, they would not care whether this or that private individual was cruelly massacred, it was too petty an object for their attention. They would interfere en grand, espouse some party and then oppose its rival under the name of keeping down faction, that I was for no such mediation of foreigners and would submit to none in Ireland but that of the Irish people. That if the French came, they must prepare themselves to act only as allies, and as such indeed not to let the laws of the land and the obligations of morality and humanity be violated in their neighbourhood without securing the culprit, and submitting him to the tribunal of his country. But that whoever should advise them to erect themselves into Mediators in a land aspiring to be free, between rival parties, if any such should exist, would prepare for that land new and not less destructive civil wars than any she had ever yet encountered. That I hoped no one was giving them that advice, or suggesting to them to dispose of officers in the Irish Government as they might think fit. The argument did not end here, for Corbet defended his opinion, but with such arguments as I really forget. In urging me to the reconciliation with O'Connor what an effect it would have in deciding the resolutions of the French Government if it saw us co-operating. To that I answered drily, that after what the French knew of the state of Ireland, of its importance and its wants, I should think very meanly of its politics and talents if it were induced to send an additional soldier or musket by any appearance of co-operation between Mr. O'Connor and me. He then attempted to touch my fears, by talking of O'Connor's great influence in Ireland, and that those who knew the services he had rendered to his country would not suffer him to be put down. I told him I had long acted with Mr. O'Connor and knew his services a great deal better than those who had heard of them from his own lips, that at any rate when Ireland was free, let his country estimate what he had done, what he had not done, what he had boasted of having done and what he had arrogated to himself of others' acts and let it give him whatever situation it pleased. I should never intrigue against it, but I was decided never to fill any situation that should come in contact with his, except perhaps as members of the same legislature; we separated, neither I believe perfectly pleased with the other. He almost avowed that he was acting by O'Connor's desire, the same man that in the height of his calumnies against Macneven and me said to several, and I believe to Corbet, that he would never act with either of us, he never shall. When I met Corbet he was reading the papers, which contain, whether true or false, some strong reports of great success on the part of our friends in Ireland, as did some of yesterday's papers. I suspect they are the cause of O'Connor's advances, when I pointed them out to Corbet he seemed as melancholy as if he considered them in the light of disasters. I have my own to regret, but I do so in private.

Before Ireland could be a nation, she became a province; before Ireland could be a people, her inhabitants were made slaves, attached not to their country, but to their soil.

T. A. Emmet.

The common soldier is as much of a machine as the musket with which he kills the peasant, or the torch which he employs to fire his habitation.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXII

Col. Miles Byrne, the trusted friend of Robert Emmet, arrives from Ireland with a full report for Mr. Emmet from his brother as to his plans and failure—Also of his arrest and that of John Patten and of every one connected with the family, which had been accomplished before Byrne could get out of the country—Criticisms and some explanations as to the cause of failure—Mr. Emmet and his family return to the country so as to limit as far as possible a knowledge of the disaster in Ireland and to cause as little discouragement as possible—Is assured that the preparation for the expedition to Ireland is progressing rapidly—Accidentally meets O'Connor in the street, who is very cordial and insists on talking over the situation and expresses his desire to establish good feeling between them—O'Connor is heard to the end, when Mr. Emmet politely concludes "this extraordinary interview" by assuring Mr. O'Connor that what he seeks to accomplish is impossible—Sketch of Capt. Thos. Markey—Reports received by Mr. Emmet of his brother's trial—It was not known even at the time how close a relation existed between these two brothers, and Mr. Emmet's grief for his loss only ceased with his own death—Nor has the fact ever been fully appreciated that before the first step had been taken by Robert Emmet he and his brother had fully decided as to every detail in the projected movement, which was but a continuation of the purpose attempted in 1798—Mr. Emmet is now able to give an accurate account to the French Government and people as to what Robert Emmet did say during his trial—Sketch of Lieutenant Thomas Reed—The Government continues to make every effort in the preparation for invading Ireland—Sketch of Thomas Lawrence O'Reilly—Hampden Evans—General William Lawless and Edward Lewins—It is now proposed that a general committee be formed, including O'Connor, to manage Irish affairs in relation to the Government—Another move by O'Connor is opposed by Mr. Emmet and many others on the ground that it would give their names to the English, who would confiscate all their property in Ireland—Sketch of Dr. Arthur MacMahon—When this committee is first formed by order of the French Government Mr. Emmet agrees to serve and to do so with O'Connor, but consents only on the assurance that the expedition is to sail immediately for Ireland—At no time has there existed so much misunderstanding—Mr. Emmet is treated with the greatest indifference and one week after another passes without any prospect of the expedition sailing for the invasion of Ireland.

SORROWFUL news is now at hand, another burden for Mr. Emmet to bear and one to be felt the most by him. He resumes the record of his diary:—

A messenger is arrived at Bordeaux from Ireland and on his way to me. I can learn that he has some not unfavorable and some very bad and to me very distressing news. My brother Robert is arrested, he has been three times before the Privy Council, but has declined answering anything. My brother-in-law John Patten was arrested and liberated and is arrested again, so that now almost every male relative I have

in Ireland that I know and love is in prison and perhaps in danger. God protect them to their friends, their families and country! My wife and I have determined to keep this secret as long as possible, not to discourage our countrymen in Paris. If the news from Holland shall turn out true we shall not be long bound to concealment.

Saturday, September 17th. The messenger, Byrne,* is arrived in Paris. He left Dublin on Wednesday, August 31st. This news I am far from thinking favourable, because it is clear to me that no new effort will be soon made in Ireland and that everything must now wait upon the French. He has given me an account of the previous proceedings of the Provisional Government, and of its efforts on the 23rd, by which I see there was a great deal of money and talent expended on an enlarged and complicated plan, which would perhaps have been better directed to one single point and to a simple plan. The failure seems to show this, for it failed for want of heads and means to make the different parts support one another. The present state of Ireland he says is this,—the Provisional Government still maintains its connections and correspondence with the country and the English Government really knows little or nothing. The people are in excellent spirits and none of the fire arms have been lost, but a great deal of ammunition and pikes. The Insurrection of the 23rd inst. was forced on by the explosion of the powder manufactory in Patrick Street, and a slight battle for recovering some ammunition a few nights before, but the country in general was not called upon or expected by the Provisional Government to act unless Dublin had been taken. Russell's proclamation was not intended by him to be published 'till Dublin was taken, but it

*Dr. Madden in "The Lives of the United Irishmen" refers to Byrne, the bearer of these dispatches, as Colonel "Michael", instead of Colonel Miles Byrne, who: "possessed the entire confidence of Emmet [Robert] and was cognizant of all his plans". Colonel Byrne states in his "Memoirs":—"Mr. [Hugh] Wilson told me that he wrote to Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet the morning I landed in Bordeaux, and that he should now write to him again to let him know the day and hour I should arrive in Paris. Mr. Evans ([Hampden] speaking French well, made the journey very pleasant; otherwise it might have been dull enough to be shut up for four nights and five days in a coach before we reached Paris. It would have been particularly so to me who thought every moment an hour till my mission was terminated, thinking then that assistance would be obtained from the French Government by Mr. Emmet. We arrived at the coach office, Rue Montmartre, at three o'clock, P. M., where we met Dr. Macneven and Adjutant General Dalton; this officer belonged to the staff of the Minister of War, General Berthier, who sent him to receive me at the diligence office. His coach being ready, he made the conductor of the diligence get into it with himself, Doctor Macneven and me. Hampden Evans remained to look after his luggage and as I had none, General Dalton ordered his coachman to drive to the Grand Judge Requier's Hotel, Place Vendôme, in whose study Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet was waiting our arrival. On being asked by the Minister if he knew me, Mr. Emmet replied he had never seen me before. The grand judge then handed to him a paper containing the impression of the seal-ring which I had been the bearer of from his brother Robert Emmet, and which the Commodore commanding the squadron at the mouth of the river at Bordeaux, thought proper to take from me, and have forwarded to his Government, after I had written my name on the back of the paper on which the impression was made.

"As soon as Mr. Emmet had compared this impression with his own seal-ring he crossed the room, took me in his arms and embraced me with affection. The grand judge witnessing this seemed quite satisfied. He then told Mr. Emmet that the First Consul required from him as soon as possible a detailed report on the present state of Ireland and that it would be well if this document were furnished next morning early. A *carte re sureté* being then handed to me, we all retired from the grand judge's hotel, I, a free man, going with Mr. Emmet to his lodgings, Rue du Cherche-Midi, where he presented me to his lady and children. We then went and hired a cheap room for me, Petite Rue du Bac, quite near his house. Doctor Macneven was to dine with us and immediately after dinner we three retired to Mr. Emmet's study, to commence the report required by the First Consul, Doctor Macneven writing with great facility, and I explaining and answering the best way I could all their queries about men and things in Ireland. A rough draft was soon drawn up. Mr. Emmet having lately been chosen by the Irish refugees in France to represent them with the First Consul, he was the more anxious to have this document carefully made out and as it was to be copied in the morning we retired each to bed late at night.

"And now this account of my mission being ended, I must say before concluding this chapter that I shall ever feel proud of the part I took with the lamented Robert Emmet. I have often asked myself, how could I have acted otherwise, seeing all his views and plans for the independence of my country so much superior to anything ever imagined before on the subject? They were only frustrated by accident and the explosion of a depôt, and as I have always said, whenever Irishmen think of obtaining freedom Robert Emmet's plan will be their best guide. First take the capital, and then the provinces will burst out and raise the same standard immediately. . . . I mentioned in the first volume that Mr. Emmet had hired a room for me in the Petite Rue de Bac. It was a mere closet, but it was all I wanted as it was near his house. I felt a great consolation that I could be with him every day and continue to furnish him with still further particulars about unhappy Ireland, hoping too that from his influence with the French Government we would ere long obtain assistance for my beloved country. In consequence of this, I was happier than might have been expected under such circumstances; but, alas! this happiness was of short duration, for Mr. Emmet on learning the final and fatal news about his lamented brother Robert, left Paris with his family and went to reside at Saint Germaine-en-Laye, that is, in a country house he took in that neighbourhood".

Byrne in his Memoirs, records further—"In December, 1803, before leaving Paris to join the Irish Legion, I paid a farewell visit to Thomas Addis Emmet and his family. Mrs. Gallagher, staying with Mrs. Emmet, I took leave of also".

transpired from the over zeal of some friends. In the same way the proclamation of the Provisional Government was not to have been published 'till the next day and was not therefore signed by the members. If no persecutions are permitted the people will be quiet 'till the French come, and the instructions to me were to urge an expedition with the utmost speed. But as to arms, if they come they would be received and concealed, but not used before a landing, and that therefore it was useless to run the risk of sending them. My brother, he says, is not in danger, but I doubt that. John Patten expected to be let out the day after Byrne came away. He says the people's spirits have received a spring by the effort and that if a speedy landing takes place they will act much better than they would have done.

Sunday, September 18th. Dalton, who did not go to Strasbourg, called this morning very early from the Minister at War, to learn the news brought by the Messenger. I told him in substance as before. When I said I would not press for arms he was very glad of it and told me several captains of ships had declined carrying them and that Captain Murphy himself, when spoken to by the Minister of the Marine, seemed very averse to it, that the idea had been therefore dropped as it was not thought right to risk his being hanged on such a business, when he might have been made useful in another way. This might have been a very right decision, but I should have been made acquainted with it either by Murphy, or the French Government.

As to the expedition itself, he gave me the greatest assurance, he said the activity at Brest and the western coasts was without example. He had seen and spoken to a person just returning from thence, that he could assure me with certainty there were eighteen sail of the line there ready for the sea. The French Government wished to direct attention from that quarter and were therefore making great demonstrations towards England and establishing camps along that coast to prevent alarm, and because they were unnessary, "for Brittany was as full as an egg of troops", which would not be collected together 'till they were wanted. And that for the same reason of preventing alarm, Government had spread the report that Masséna had refused going. I asked him when things would be ready, he answered he thought very well by the end of Vendémiaire. I hinted about the Bayonne expedition and said every one at Bordeaux believed it was for Ireland, which I lamented if it was the fact, as no place abounded more with English spies. He answered in a very pleasant manner, not contradicting, that it was, but certainly not saying it,—"Mr. Emmet", says he, "it is impossible to prevent persons forming and uttering their conjectures, but I can assure you solemnly that not a word in writing has passed on the subject of that army, and that every arrangement respecting it has been made by word of mouth between the First Consul and the General himself". He further told me that he had strong reason for believing that Bruix would command the expedition for Ireland, tho' he was now Admiral of the flotilla at Boulogne. This last news, from what has been said of Bruix in Hoche's expedition, I did not think the most pleasant. In consequence of the communication from Ireland and what Dalton said of the intentions of the French Government respecting arms, I sent to prevent Simpson sailing for Ireland, as accidents have hitherto strangely delayed him and a messenger from me with the same intelligence has departed from Bordeaux. I also called on Bonneville to prevent the presenting of my memoir, it has not been yet done. While I was out Mr. O'Connor and I met plump at the turn of a street, to my surprise he instantly saluted me and enquired very tenderly after my family. I answered him as coldly as I could with politeness, but he was not to be rebuffed. He said he had long wished for this opportunity of speaking to me on a subject which had been probably mentioned to me by Mr. Corbet. The French Government were making communications to us both and as far as he could collect holding different language to each, that it had not concealed from him the assurances it had given to me, which were much larger than any he had received, and that it had enabled me to send a messenger with them to Ireland. That the Government had also at different times pressed him to send over messages, but as he was not satisfied with their sincerity he had always refused and if he had sent one he would have done it out of his own pocket. He believed the French Government wished to deceive us both, but they did it

in such a bungling manner as not to deceive him, for they made him at different times different and inconsistent proposals, and besides he had learned facts from different sources which he was enabled to have access to by means of his fortune and character and connections, which laid open to him the views of the French.

As I might not have the same advantages, and as it was of importance that no one treating for Ireland should be deceived, he wished to propose to me that we should make an unreserved communication of everything that had been said to each, or that had come to our knowledge from other quarters, as being the best way to prevent either of us from being outwitted. But that as in doing so he would have to commit to me the lives of persons who might suffer for their confidence in him he could only do it on the most solemn obligation of secrecy, which on his part he was also willing to give. He then launched out on different topics, which, as I presume the conversation was to be understood as confidential I shall not even commit to paper. I listened with the utmost patience and silence to this discourse, in some part very arrogant, but on the whole containing a very artful proposal, and from his desiring me to remember that he had made it, I suspected he was laying the foundation of some future impeachment. I therefore answered him that I did not think myself at liberty to disclose the communications that had been made to me and was aware how little right I had to ask a disclosure from him when I could not be reciprocal, that, however, if his love for his country could induce him to dispense with that reciprocity, which scarcely appeared necessary as his opinion of the insincerity of the French seemed founded on such decisive evidences, I would give him every obligation of secrecy that could pass between man and man. He replied he could not conceive how I was bound up, the French Government had never tied him up to secrecy. They had communicated very freely with him and they did not conceal their communications with me. They gave him to understand that he was the principal person and an "homme D'Etat" had been expressly appointed to treat with him and empowered by the First Consul to sign any agreement in writing with him, but they had never asked secrecy from him, nor would he have given them any such promise. That he acted in his own individual capacity, tho' he knew how easy it would be to call together some of his friends, make them take the title of an Executive and give him a nomination. But he pretended to no delegated power and he told the French Government so; his only wish was that we should be both enlightened and understand one another for the purpose of not being duped, that he had very important things to tell me and could not do it without the most solemn obligations and an unreserved communication. That once the French Government wished us to be reconciled, but now he believed such a circumstance would be regarded with jealousy, and that the best way would be to meet in the country, where our interview would be unsuspected and unknown to anyone but ourselves. This proposal was made at the front of the Palais Royal after the conversation had lasted for about three-quarters of an hour, and as I thought had been studiously protracted in hopes of its being perceived by some one to whom we and our differences were both known.

I answered again that the different situations in which we stood rendered a difference of conduct necessary, he acted for no one and was free to tell his own secrets, I was only an agent for others and did not feel myself at liberty to disclose the communications that had been made to me for their use, particularly to him who had refused to acknowledge their authority, that in whatever assurance I had transmitted to my countrymen I had endeavoured not to deceive them, and I trust I had succeeded. But that I would be exceedingly anxious to have every information which might prevent my doing so great an injury and would gladly give him every possible assurance that whatever he told me should never pass my lips, and that the time and manner of doing it should be entirely at his disposal. He then mentioned several things which, whatever importance I may attach to them, as they were probably given under that assurance, I shall not state, they were not facts but inferences, intended to excite my curiosity as to the facts themselves. He said he could not disclose his secrets without knowing mine. He desired me again to remember he had made the proposal, to think on it, and give him a definite answer, which he had a reason for wishing me to give before Tuesday at twelve.

I said I would, and very politely concluded this extraordinary interview. My conjecture on the whole is that O'Connor is dissatisfied with the French Government notwithstanding their flattery, he is not convinced he is of sufficient importance, and he wishes to ascertain whether I am of more. As to the facts of which he boasts I don't believe he has any, but I suspect this day's conversation will at some future time be made a subject of conversation.

Tuesday, 20th September. I sent O'Connor his answer to the same purport as above by Corbet.* Garat has not delivered my memoir, but as he demanded the interview and does not know whether it may not be still granted, he wishes to keep the memoir that if called upon he may give it, stating at the same time that since it was written circumstances have altered and that I wished to withdraw and alter it.

McNeven tells me that Markey† says Augereau told him O'Connor had refused to be Chef D'Escadron. I suppose he thinks he has as good a right to be General as Tandy had, and he is dissatisfied at his disappointment.

Saturday, 24th. Before going out of town I called again on Dalton about some minor business and to lay before him a plan of descent on Ireland that had occurred to me. His objections to it make me doubt whether the Bayonne Army is for Ireland. He said "be assured the French will never divide their force", now if that army were going and another from Brest, they could scarcely avoid dividing them. I urged again the necessity of losing no time, he repeated the same assurance he had given me on the 18th and said the demonstrations are all made against England, but the object is Ireland, and added "no camps are formed, but Brittany is. full of troops, and in the time of Hoche, when we went to Brest there was not a man there but in twenty-one days they were all collected in and we were under sail". He hinted as he had done on the former occasion, that the Irish in Paris would be let to stay quiet 'till the last moment and then hurried off. He said he repeated these assurances knowing how deeply I was interested, not only as an Irishman but as a brother, for I had told him last Sunday of my brother's arrest, and it is reported in today's *Argus*.

Thursday, October 20th. Swiney is returned from Cork in an open boat, he could not penetrate to Dublin, but committed his message to a confidential person who undertook to have it conveyed forward. The account he gives of the state of Ireland, as to precaution, is dreadful and the most vigorous police pervades the whole country. The spirit of the people, however, he says, is if possible more determined than ever. Vide his narrative. He has brought some statements respecting the forces in the South, which are mostly concentrated towards Cork, e. g., about five thousand in Cork, five thousand in Bandon and three thousand about Bantry. This he says is the utmost exclusive of yeomen. One seventy four, and five or six frigates cruising off that station. The forts of Cork Harbour are miserably neglected, garrisoned entirely with invalids, as follows. *Camden,* sixty men, 20 guns, 12 and Prs. *Rams Head,* eighteen men, 4 to 8 guns, 6 and 12 Prs. *Spike Island,* 100 men, 30 to 40 guns, 12 Prs. *Cove,* useless, thirty men, 10 guns, 24 Prs. He proposes a plan for putting all those and Cork into the hands of the French; but as

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*As Capt. Thomas Corbet, the elder brother, must have been in the army and in active service, this reference must be to William, the younger brother, who was expelled from Trinity College at the same time as Robert Emmet. Escaping from Ireland he settled in France and became professor of English in the Military College of Saint Cyr. He took an active part in fitting out the expeditions to Ireland and while in Hamburg was arrested with others and surrendered to the English. He was taken back to Ireland and long imprisoned, but was again able to escape and returned to France. After his return he received the commission of Captain in the Irish Legion, but he soon resigned and resumed his professorship at Saint Cyr. He again re-entered the army and continued in active service until retired at the age of 62, having reached the rank of General. He died in 1842. He was a warm friend of Mr. Emmet.

†Captain Thomas Markey, aide-de-camp to the Minister of War, the Duke of Feltre, is here referred to. He served in the French army with great honor and died in 1854, at the age of 84 years. Byrne states:—"Few Irish patriots suffered more than Thomas Markey. At Drogheda in 1798 he was tried by a court-martial and condemned to death; he was on the point of being executed when a respite came, and his punishment was then commuted to transportation for life. He was bound with chains, thrown on board the convict ship in Howth Harbor, where he suffered all kinds of indignities for several months; he was removed to Kilmainham Gaol, and became the fellow prisoner of Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, Macneven, Hugh Ware, etc. At the peace of Amiens in 1802 he was allowed to expatriate himself forever".

secrecy is very necessary in all these things I shall only communicate it to some one authorised to hear it.

Swiney has brought me the details of my dearest Robert's trial and execution.* His conduct is my only consolation for his loss, but his speech as given by the English Government would be very offensive here. Dalton has been out of town since the date of my last, but as he is expected very shortly and matters do not press, I will wait for his return before I mention anything of Swiney to the Government.

Wednesday, November 2d. Saw Dalton for the first time since his return. I had different matters, relative to the release of some of my countrymen, to talk to him about, and a great deal to pull up that had run in arrears in his absence. I was curious to see whether there was any alteration in his manner, as my brother's speech before sentence has been printed in the French papers and must have been displeasing to the Government, but I could perceive no change in him. I told him the messenger was returned. Gave him some general statements relative to the state of the country and added that he had particular communications which might influence Government as to the plan of landing, which, however, for discretion sake, I would not communicate until called upon by the Government and to some one appointed by it. This may give me a test of their intentions, as if I am not called on they can scarcely be serious.

Friday, November 4th. Called on Dalton again this morning in consequence of a communication from Genl. Augereau, which shows at least his desire to know every thing about Ireland. I took the opportunity of asking how the preparations were going on. He said he had lately seen one from Brest. Truguet was there and putting everything into the greatest activity, that there were twenty and odd sail of the line ready for sea, and that troops were gathering fast into the Department. Further than that they did not know themselves, as the greatest mystery was kept up respecting everything there. I had occasion to apply for permission to Connolly,† who is in Portugal, to come to Paris, and he desired him to apply without delay to the French Minister there "parce que la Portugal sera bientôt cassé". I urged also the state of my countrymen who are here, and he comforted me with a repetition of the vague assurance so often given—"that a general measure would be shortly taken respecting them".

Sunday, November 13th. In consequence of Dalton's desire I saw him this morning, he wished to communicate to me that the Irish would be attached à la suite de corps immediately and afterwards united into a corps, when the expedition was to take place. He showed me a list of the names and the order in which he had ranged them for commission. I reminded him of one or two he had forgotten. Before this conversation, there was a stranger and he in conversation about the probability of an expedition this winter, which the stranger denied, saying there were not above seven sail of the line ready in Brest. He answered, and I thought seemed embarrassed at my presence, that it was true there were not above eight sail actually ready, but there would be twenty in a very short time.

Tuesday, November 15th. In consequence of a rumour that the French had landed in Ireland, I called on my friend Dalton, but he says it is not possible. "It must have gone," said he, "from Spain or the Western coast of France; now we have not a soldier on the Spanish territory, and as to the Western Coasts I can assure you there are no troops as yet embarked".

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*The world has never realized that the death of Robert was to his brother Addis a sorrow from which he never recovered. Mr. Emmet was never known in after life to have made a voluntary reference to his brother Robert, except in his letter to King, and the sudden mention of his name by another always effected a very noticeable agitation in his manner. Mr. Emmet, as has been stated, held a profound appreciation of the value of Robert's judgment, which was reciprocated; politically they were as one, united by an affectionate bond of union.

The fact that this relation existed proves that the movement in 1803, under the guidance of Robert Emmet, was not without plan or purpose, as has been generally thought. It received in every detail from these men the most profound consideration the human mind could devise and was the intellectual ultimatum of two individuals endowed by nature to an extent seldom known, if ever, in such close relation. The result, therefore, had nothing to do with what these two men planned, which must always be accepted for future guidance as a basis.

†Unknown.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

DEATH MASK OF ROBERT EMMET, BY PETRIE

Thursday, November 17th. The rumour of an expedition for Ireland having sailed still gains ground, but principally among the Americans. Mr. [Joel] Barlow told me that he hears six of them have sailed from Bayonne, Corunna, Ferrol, Rochfort, Brest and some other places. This is absurd, but a Mr. Livingston, a relative of the American Minister, assures me that one is on the point of sailing from Brest, that he knows there are twenty sail of the line ready there and has the strongest reason to believe that Masséna set out for that place the day before yesterday. Others say that Masséna is gone to Nice. At any rate I suspect the rumours are the consequence of something having transpired from the bureaus relative to the intention of Government.

Saturday, 19th. Encore des bruits. Every one says today that Augereau is landed in Ireland. I don't believe a word of it, but I am unwell, and cannot go out. I am sure, however, that if it was true and known Dalton would have written me a note. Lawless also tells me, a friend of his who had opportunities of knowing, assured him that an expedition would very shortly sail from Brest and that the Irishmen in Paris would be hurried off suddenly; this corresponds with Dalton's hint on the same subject.

Monday, December 6th. Saw Dalton this morning in consequence of a proposal I was desired to make to Government on the part of Thos. Read,* for making an insurrection in the British Navy. Read, as I had previously learned is very honest but cracked. He had made something of his proposal personally known thro' another channel, so that I did not take Dalton unawares. He said the measure proposed by Read could not be taken, as an exchange of prisoners must be made from the situation in which the two countries stand to one another. At any rate, said he, four months, the time mentioned by Read, are now too long. *The French Government will now very shortly do something, or not do it at all.* He mentioned that he had a personal conversation with the first consul about Dowdal and his fellow travellers coming from Spain, and that the first consul desired to know would they take a destination without coming to Paris, on which I must write to them. I asked him confidentially, among friends, whether anything was to be done soon, he answered,—"Oui, tenez-vous à cela", and after a little pause, before four days, said he, the Irishmen in Paris will get their orders to set off. I answered that tho' I was glad they were provided for, it was not about that I was asking. I know it is not, said he, but about the expedition. He told me before the conversation began that some United Irishmen, whom he could not name, had let suspicion fall on their conduct by being too intimate with Englishmen. Perhaps, says he, their circumstances may have forced them; but we are going to provide on that, at any rate it is now of no great consequence as all the English are being sent away. I said I believe Mr. O'Connor, Dr. Macneven and myself were perhaps more in the line than any other United Irishmen of seeing Englishmen. As to you, says he, all the English say that you are of all the United Irishmen the best intentioned for the liberty of his country, so much so as almost to make the Government look on you suspiciously. He said this with a half laugh, but query, are the French Government to look on every man suspiciously in proportion as he is well intended for the liberty of his country?

I see by some letters on his table that O'Connor is in full confidence and procuring commissions in the new corps for men who were never United Irishmen, while the real United Irishmen are unprovided for. In the course of our conversation he suggested to me to give an account of Swiney's mission and offered to translate it. I am sure he does it because he thinks matters are coming to a crisis. I shall set about it directly, but I sha'n't ask him to translate it. I will do it myself and address it to the Minister of War.

Thursday, 8th. Dalton's promise is out, the orders are this night issued for the Irish of the corps to go without delay to Morlaix and receive further orders from McSheehy. My letter to the Minister of War is not yet finished, writing French is a slow business.

*Byrne states in his "Memoirs":—"Thomas Reed, Lieut., 7th December, 1803. He retired on reform pay in 1806. Reed took an active part in the politics of the North of Ireland for which he had to abandon his home and escape to France in 1798. Fortunately for him he brought with him a small sum of money, the interest of which sufficed for his frugal habits of living. He was more than fifty years of age".

Saturday, December 10th. Sent off my letter to the Minister this morning, I took the opportunity of alluding to the language held by poor Robert [his brother] and all his friends, respecting the French and plainly stated the misfortunes that would follow if the French attempted to interfere in the internal affairs of Ireland, and pointed out what I thought ought to be their conduct. Vide the letter. I enclosed it to Dalton to deliver, but it is brought back with the word that Dalton was this morning sent off in the utmost hurry on a mission; query to what place? As I could not go out myself Macneven has taken the letter to the Bureau de la Guerre to give strict charge that it may be put into the Minister's own hands. Harty has called here this evening, he says Dalton's mission is on that subject, but he will be back in a few days. The greatest activity, he says, is used and a great sudden exertion making; he says there are twenty-five thousand men at Brest and a General in Chief, under whose orders they are. The General is neither Masséna, nor Bernadotte, but one, he says, that he prefers to either, having an honester character than Masséna, and being a better General than Bernadotte, he made a considerable figure in the Army of Italy. Gen'l Harty says he is not at liberty to mention his name, but I will probably hear it in a few days. Harty says another Irish Battalion is going to be formed, which will I hope provide for the remainder of the Irish.

Monday, December 12th. Called on Gen'l Harty this morning and pressed some provision being made for enabling the Irish to travel to Morlaix. He said the application had been already made and would probably be granted, but he supposed not soon enough to be received before they set off. I will endeavour to enable the poorest of them to go. He mentioned again the formation of another battalion and hinted that those who did not show their devotion to the cause would be considered as English subjects and sent to Verdun. I mentioned to him that I wished to concert some mode of directing the mind of the First Consul, without making a formal requisition that by taking from him the merit of originating the measure would perhaps predispose him against it, to the dangers of the Irish holding his commissions if they should be taken. The Directory had suffered them to be executed and in so doing they acted weakly, but it would be more consistent with the known energy of his character to protect those who bore his commission. Harty did not think Bonaparte would depart from what was the established custom in that respect, *as he did not know what insurrections might be raised against himself.* He would be probably unwilling to begin the example, that the French emigrant suffered in the same way and as long as our efforts could be considered a mere insurrection he did not believe any such step would be taken. I answered that I believed every liberal man thought the English and the coalesced powers ought to have protected the emigrants; that I asked no more than what France had done for the Americans, that if France did not think our insurrection lawful it ought not to profess to come and free us, that if it thought our attempt to throw off the English yoke lawful, it ought to protect us and consider us aliens to England. That what I would propose was that the First Consul should declare the Irish in France should be answerable for their bearing his commission, and I was certain the English would attempt nothing against us. That as to our efforts being considered as a mere insurrection it was in the Consul's power to remedy that by recognising our independence. I was aware of his unwillingness to recognise any particular government in Ireland, 'till his forces were there and properly supported, and therefore he would sign no treaty with me as the agent of my government, but I was willing to relieve him from that and make a sacrifice by proposing that he should conclude a simple recognition of the Independence of Ireland, with all the United Irishmen in France who were known to have been leaders and I would sign only as one of them, and in this treaty refer the details 'till a properly organized government should declare itself in Ireland and give powers to its Minister to treat with the French Republic. I repeated that I had thought on all this and could put it very strongly in a formal demand; but I would wish the idea to proceed from the First Consul if any mode could be devised for suggesting it to him. We were interrupted, but he promised me he would speak of it to the Minister of War next Wednesday.

Saturday, January 21st, 1804. I have for this sometime past too much neglected to continue these notes, but I will now endeavour to bring forward my arrears.

Finding Genl. Harty did not speak to the Minister of War and that nothing effectual was likely to be done that way, I determined to prepare a memoir on the subject. I had spoken to him of it on the 12th December. While I was occupied on that subject Mr. Reilly* arrived from Ireland and brought me some extracts of my brother's speech, which completely contradicted the abuse he had been said to utter against the French, I therefore determined to lose no time in laying this before the Government, together with some details he had given me respecting the political and military situation of England and Ireland. When these were finished I gave them to the Minister thro' Harty and had some reason to perceive their good effects. My brother's speech gave very great satisfaction, it was printed in the *Moniteur, Argus* and every other paper, and was equally acceptable to the People and Government. I followed this by some further details respecting the military state of Ireland sent to me by Dowdall, who with three others had escaped to Spain. My memoir respecting the protection of the Irish officers and the Independence of Ireland was delayed by the translation and other causes, 'till—

Wednesday, Jan. 14th. I gave it to Dalton with a letter for the Minister at War. After having given it, I had reason to see that our affairs looked better. I got Swiney's arrears, some sucours for individuals and a promise of more.

Wednesday, 18th. Finally Dalton delivered to me an answer to the Memoire† promising that the first Consul had communicated it to the Minister at War, who had directed him to reduce it to writing. After he had done it, the Minister approved of it and desired him to inform me that he would confirm it to me by word of mouth whenever I pleased, for the detailed contents of the answer see itself. It promises every protection to the Irish officers and reprisals if any of them should not be treated as prisoners of war. It promises that the General commanding the expedition should have sealed letters by which he will be directed to publish on landing the First Consul's promise that he will not make peace without stipulating the independence of Ireland, if his forces shall be joined by a considerable body of Irish. It promises that Ireland shall be in every respect treated as was America in the war for its independence. In case of failure of the expedition it promises to all fugitive United Irishmen either places in the brigades or pensions. It expresses the First Consul's wish for the formation of a Committee and suggests that it might issue proclamations to make known those matters, which should be inserted in the *Argus* and different journals of Europe. After I had read this Dalton mentioned that it was the First Consul's wish that Mr. O'Connor and I should be of that Committee and that he was instructed to make copy of that paper, leaving out the first sentence, for Mr. O'Connor. This proposal has embarrassed me more than I can well express; but one reason decided me. If at any time hereafter the promises which have been made us should be violated I would not leave it in anyone's power to blame me and say my pride or obstinacy frustrated the good intentions of the French Government. Besides, if, which I believe, the First Consul really means well towards Ireland, he is, however, of a character to have things only done in his own way, and I could be of no further use to Ireland if he took offence at my refusal. Dalton had signified that when the Committee was formed the Government would only communicate with it and thro' it, so that I determined to divest myself of my ambassadorial capacity with a good grace. I told him that with the feelings Mr. O'Connor and I had towards one another, I would never act along with him, if he and I were to be the Committee or the major part of it. But that if it were to be composed of such a number as that our passions

*Terence O'Reilly, according to the record given by Byrne, became a Lieutenant, January, 1804, Captain in 1810, chef de bataillon March, 1814. With Commander Lawless he saved the eagle of the Irish regiment and escaped, after the siege of Flushing, from the English, to Antwerp. He held other commands afterwards with bravery and distinction. He retired on half pay to the town of Evreux, where he finished his days quietly. It is stated that O'Reilly was a well informed officer and a good comrade.

†See Chapter XXIII.

and prejudices and differences would be lost in the cooler feelings of others, I would acquiesce. Dalton asked me who I thought would be fit members of such a Committee. I said H. Evans,* Sweetman, Macneven, McDonnell and Lawless.† He said he had been desired to see Lewins,‡ but had answered that no one had confidence in him and that he would be very unfit. He desired me to think on the subject and he would fix a time for my seeing the Minister, so we parted.

I consulted Sweetman, who highly approved of my conduct and thought that as the Consul had required a Committee it could not be declined. But he started apprehensions about our property and an idea, which had forcibly impressed itself on me, that we and our proclamations might be used for the purpose of bullying England into peace and we agreed that we must try and keep clear of that rock. A letter I had received from Macneven tended to confirm that idea, he states as his opinion that matters are not in sufficient forwardness at Brest, that he hears there are but eight sail of the line equipped, that in six weeks there will be sixteen. But he looks on six weeks as the ultimate limit of time this season. His suspicion was confirmed by Augereau wanting to get a person to go to Ireland and bring back *consignments,* which certainly could not be done in less time.

With these impressions I went to the Minister's by appointment this morning. Before I saw him I had a long conversation with Dalton. O'Connor offers to go into the Committee heart and hand. He has mentioned as fit members Chambers and McCormic. I believe he has also mentioned others not United Irishmen, or who are not known as such, and also H. Evans and Sweetman. I stated my fears to Dalton about the delay of the expedition and some of my reasons. He certainly did not seem to me very clear that the expedition would take place this season, but I could plainly see he had no idea it would be in even a month's time. I stated my wish as an individual that my acting in that Committee should be sanctioned by the approbation of my countrymen at Morlaix. Against which he very strongly advised me as a friend, he would not wish me to do it. Even when Ambassadors are recognised they must in doing the business of their country, *conform themselves to the Genius of the Government near which they reside.* A delegation would do me no good and had never done me any and the confidence of Government in me resulted not from that but from my individual character, my services, suffering and the known devotion of my family to the cause of my country. The only argument which he used that had weight with me was that I had already had the suffrages of my countrymen to act even alone with the French Government, *à fortiori,* I had it to my being one of a committee when that Government chose to act by such an organ. At length I saw the Minister, who confirmed to me every part of the Consul's answer to my Memoir. I expressed all my gratitude for the communication, that with regard to the committee there were some circumstances probably unknown to the First Consul, that ought to be considered. Almost every one of those who might be deemed eligible for that committee had their property in the hands of the English Government, which would undoubtedly confiscate all, and as most of us were fathers of families it was natural we should look to our families. He interrupted me by saying it was not intended to expose us to any risk. The names of the committee might be kept secret and the necessary proclamations published without names, that our country-

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*Hampden Evans was an Irishman who had long lived in France, but was in close sympathy with the Irish cause. He was a friend of Mr. Emmet who had long known him from his frequent visits to Paris as a young man. Miles Byrne states, after having bid the Emmet family farewell before leaving for the army:—"My next visit was to Mr. Hampden Evans and his family. His son, young Hampden, my fellow traveller from Bordeaux, returned there and married a young French lady. . . ." Mr. Evans' daughter married William Lawless.

†The service of General William Lawless to Ireland in the French army was too great to be stated here. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Emmet. He was never allowed to return to Ireland, but died in Paris in 1824.

‡Edward Lewins was sent by the Irish leaders on a mission to the French Government, after Hoche's expedition, which proved a failure, but he was retained in Paris in charge of Irish affairs during 1797, '98, and '99. Many of the Irish leaders were doubtful of his enthusiasm for the Irish cause, but Miles Byrne, who knew him well, was satisfied great injustice had been done him. He continued to live in Paris and was made a naturalized citizen.

men would still give credit to them. That in short we could act as we chose for these objects, but the First Consul wished a body to which he could adapt himself and that would combine all interests and keep up the necessary communications with Ireland. I answered that the conduct of those who might go into the committee would be very much regulated by the knowledge of what state affairs were in. If matters were near the point men would naturally run such risks as they would not feel warranted in doing if the crisis were remote. He said "we can't tell you the secrets of the Government"; and after an instant's hesitation "it is the intention of Government to do it in six weeks. I do not say it will be done then because I can't answer for the weather, but everything will be ready and the English expedition will also be ready then". He pressed the forming of the committee, saying—"fix among yourselves upon the proper persons, I suppose five will be enough, and when you are agreed you can take such steps for your own security as you may think fit". "Mr. O'Connor and you need have no difference, your lines are not the same, he is military and *has always been in that line,* you are for the civil administration. He desires to act in *the way he has been accustomed to and it will put him at the head of the Irish Troops".* "He says he does not know whether he has their confidence, if he has not, will put another in his place". So that all my suspicions are confirmed, and my friends must act with great circumspection.

The Minister also mentioned Lewins, but instantly said, "He is not trusted by any of you, and would be unfit". He expressed a wish to get some one to go to Ireland to communicate the substance at least of the Consul's answer to me. I observed that when speaking on the subject of the time of the Expedition going and the possibility of its being delayed, he did not confine himself within the limits of that answer, but went the length of his former assurance,—"it is the intention of the First Consul not to make peace 'till the independence of Ireland is recognised". At the conclusion he requested me to give him my own ideas of the best place for debarkation and the number of forces that would suffice and when the committee was formed he would wish for theirs. I speaking of the possible number of that Committee, which I said ought to be more than five, Dalton said to me "I have a person to propose to the Minister whom you do not know, but whose respectability will I am sure secure your approbation". On my looking inquisitive, he said he could not communicate his name 'till he had obtained his permission. If I conjecture right he is a man very unfit, because not of our principles and I suspect foisted in by O'Connor.

When I returned home I met McDonnell just returning from the country and shewed him the First Consul's answer &c. He agreed that a Committee must be formed, as it is asked for, and I believe he will consent to be one. Sweetman also called on me, Evans has refused; he disapproves of the Committee and is not sufficiently polite to bend to the First Consul's wishes. He says it can do no good that is not done. All Europe knows the state of Ireland, and it wants no preparations from a Committee. He is not far wrong, but it would be very culpable in me to object to its formation on that ground. He suspects it is some trap and meant to deceive us, if deception be intended I ought doubly to wish for its formation, both the better to see into and counteract the deception and to relieve myself from the entire responsibility of being a dupe and the instrument of deceiving my country.

Sweetman proposes procuring a person to send over to have our properties secured by our friends, and who might perhaps also be the bearer of any political message; I will see him tomorrow.

Tuesday, February 7th. As on the last occasion, I have a considerable arrears to pull up. Sweetman failed entirely in procuring the person he counted on for going to Ireland and no one seems very anxious to hurry the formation of the Committee except the Government, whose agents spoke of it several times. The reluctance on my part arose from the notions already mentioned, from a growing conviction that no immediate expedition would take place, and from perceiving O'Connor's efforts for gradually setting aside those I have named and slipping in persons of his own nomination. The present fears of peace are very much done away by the failure of the American

offers of mediation and by the personal animosity which prevails between the two governments, but the other reasons for declining the Committee become every day stronger. In the meanwhile I presented to the Minister the plan of operations that seemed to me best calculated for Ireland and shortly after Gen'l Donzelot, Chef D'Etat major du Camp de Brest, requested an interview with me in which we had a very detailed conversation. Every time I saw Dalton some sounding conversation arose about the Committee, in which he either stated some objection against some one of those I had originally mentioned, such as—"puisque Macneven est lá bas, nous l'y laisserons, il pourra nous y être utile", or else he asked me would not Chambers be a good man, or Sampson, tho' he was a great egotist and vain, yet he had connections and fortune, or Arthur McMahon,* who might act as Secretary. Apropos of this last, I believe him very honest and that O'Connor would be mistaken in his subserviency, but the reason he was mentioned I am convinced was that he had been obliged to lay himself under some pecuniary obligation to O'Connor. Dalton also said that the objection respecting the danger to our families and properties might be removed by mutually giving an oath of secrecy. But I had seen enough to convince me that no Committee was necessary and that no proper one would be formed, and that no blame might fall on me for thwarting it prematurely I quietly let matters take their course 'till this morning. I had occasion to see Dalton on a very secret and important subject, which he said was an additional motive for forming the Committee. I then asked him whom Government had in contemplation to place on it, he said O'Connor and myself, Sweetman, Chambers, Sampson, another gentleman whom he named of his own friends, and who if he was ever an United Irishman and a republican would be very proper, and finally Arthur McMahon. I then said that I had many observations to make on that subject whenever was the proper time; he said to make them now. I then went on and observed that when I had consented to go into a Committee with Mr. O'Connor, I did it under the impression that an expedition was on the point of sailing and that a proclamation and provisional measures were urgently wanting. Under that impression I was willing to make great sacrifices which I could not so readily do under my present conviction that no expedition was speedily intended, and that the Committee would only be occupied about things of which I could not see the end, nature, or object. Dalton said he had observed to the Minister the other day that there would be a great deal of difficulty in forming a Committee; observe this was the first time I had appeared to make any, and that men would not willingly risk their fortunes in an affair *"qui pourrait trainer"*. I said that was unquestionably true and objection against forming any Committee; but that further I must observe that when I consented to be one I said provided it was composed of independent men and that any consequences of Mr. O'Connor and my personal feelings might be lost in the independence of the rest. I had mentioned some on whom I was convinced the choice of the United Irishmen would fall if they were to choose. They had all been set aside one by one, as I was sure on Mr. O'Connor's objections and others mentioned, as I was equally sure on his suggestion. I then asked him if it was not Mr. O'Connor who had named Chambers, Sampson & McMahon, he said it certainly was, and, either said himself, or repeated O'Connor's expression of them, which I think was the fact "qu'ils seraient assez nuls". I said I was very certain Mr. O'Connor objected to those of my naming, because he knew they would not be his instruments, and he proposed the others hoping, whether truly or falsely, that he might make them so; that for my part I would never consent to lend whatever name or character I had to the acts of himself and his instruments. I begged it therefore to be expressly understood that tho' I saw no use of the Committee in the present state of things, yet I gave it no opposition, but reserved to myself the right of withdrawing myself from it if it should consist of such men as should not be selected out of the United Irishmen in France, and as would not be chosen by the United Irishmen in France or Ireland, if they were permitted to make an election. I

*Dr. Arthur MacMahon, an Irish physician, practising his profession in Paris, who took an active part in Irish affairs. He was one of the trustees for the Irish College in Paris.

forgot to state that both Macneven and Swiney had written to me against going into any Committee with O'Connor, and stated that to be the opinion of their friends at Morlaix.

Saturday, Feb. 17th. I had today occasion to have another interview with Dalton on a subject which I cannot well commit to paper. But I am more and more convinced that it is not intended to do anything speedily for Ireland, which would if possible indispose me more than I was to the projected committee; but in truth all idea of that seems past as will appear by the following conversation. Dalton told me he had been last Sunday at Malmaison, at a ball of Madame Bonaparte, that the Chief Consul had taken him aside and talked to him a great deal about me, that he expressed great anxiety that Mr. O'Connor and I should be brought together and to act together. Thinking this alluded to the Committee, I began to repeat what I had before said, that if a sufficient number of really independent men could be brought together, I should not oppose it, but he interrupted me and said it was not a committee the Consul alluded to, but that *we two* should act together without any committee. I instantly replied that was what I would never do and asked what necessity was there for the measure, had we been giving different advices and opinions? He said, no, on the contrary we agreed in all our suggestions; I then said there could be no reason for doing what, if I did, I should hold myself criminally responsible to my country. For I took the opportunity of alluding to what the Minister said were the intentions of the French, to put O'Connor at the head of the Irish Army on landing, and I said the Government must have been grossly deceived if it believed him a Military man. Who had told them so? I affirmed it was not the fact, and that he had never seen any service or array of troops, nor was he qualified for any such station. His answer was most remarkable "The French you know have sometimes a singular and eccentric way of accomplishing their objects, and perhaps they would prefer placing in that situation a man who knows nothing, so would let himself be directed, than one who might take advantage of his military knowledge and not be so much under orders". "Au reste", says he, "the Government wont be deceived". If they think O'Connor will be under orders from diffidence of himself and his knowledge, they are grossly deceived, if they think he will let himself be at their orders from other motives they may know him about as well as I do.

Thursday, March 1st. In consequence of a paragraph which has appeared in yesterday's *Argus,* attacking the United Irishmen and one of their fundamental principles, religious liberty, and their formally maintaining the necessity of a Catholic Establishment in Ireland, I have prepared a very strong letter to the Ministry requiring its being disavowed as speaking the sentiment of Government, and if that should not be complied with, withdrawing from all further connection with Government.

Indeed I have many accounts to be dissatisfied. I wrote to the Minister at War the 22nd of February on the subject alluded to in my last as one I ought not to commit to paper, but which is really of great importance and requires a very prompt decision; it has been dragging on this month and that letter was to hurry their decision, but I have yet received no answer. The manner in which the appointments have been made at Morlaix show that they were made by O'Connor's influence under cover of McSheehy's discretion and I understand is to have some great military command, far out of proportion to the others, and all is kept a secret from me, who have not been at all consulted.

Saturday, March 3d. Delaney has not yet translated my letter to the Minister, and the delay vexes me exceedingly; but what vexes me still more and astonishes me above measure, is that O'Connor is appointed a General of Division, and is to set off in fifteen days for Brest! He says that he has the First Consul's promise that when they land in Ireland, Augereau will yield the command to him, is that possible? I am to dine at Augereau's tomorrow where he is to be. O'Connor is to make McSheehy head of his staff, that accounts for the appointments at Morlaix. O'Connor is going on rapidly to the object I know he aims at, being First Consul in Ireland, but I hope my countrymen will have spirit and virtue to prevent him.

Monday, March 5th. I gave in my letter to Lesperat, Berthier's Secretary, yesterday morning and he says he is sure the answer will be favourable. I dined yesterday at Augereau's where I certainly was received with every mark of distinction and politeness. O'Connor was there and he had the impudence to come up and speak to me, but I answered him very coldly. I mentioned to Augereau in conversation that the season for the expedition seemed passed. He said not and that all the sea officers said we had yet 'till the end of April. I put him in mind of the little Naval preparation at Brest. He said he had himself seen sixteen sail of the line ready and in ten days there would be twenty one. That they would sail from different ports and in short would have enough for transporting thirty thousand men. I objected to the crews as not being sailors; he confessed they were not experienced, but they were practising every day and the officers were good. All this indeed Macneven's letter from Brest confirms. He spoke in the warmest terms of Ireland and assured me everything would be so conducted as to give the people the utmost satisfaction. Truguet and Donzelot, were also there, and all speak of the expedition as immediately to take place, and they are all going down to Brest without delay. But I do not believe that they are so near sailing, indeed Truguet in conversation with me admitted the probability that the King's illness might bring about peace and prevent it. Harty has called on me this morning, he was at the Consul's yesterday, who personally told him he would get his orders for going to Brest directly, and asked him abruptly if O'Connor and I were agreed yet. He said the question embarrassed him but he answered we were "d'accord aufond sur nos affaires", which I am sure is not the fact. He says Augereau has great consideration for me and the Consul, &c. I suppose to make O'Connor's appointment palatable to me. He says that if I had chosen a military line, I would have had as high and that I am much thought of, perhaps so, but not as much listened to, nor as respectfully treated, as may be seen by the Minister not condescending to answer my applications, will see what the last will do, it's rather a tartar.

Saturday, March 10th, 1804. This day's *Argus* contains an article that may be considered as coming from the orders of Government in consequence of my remonstrance and disavowing the former publication as speaking the language of Government. So far it is satisfactory, but it is very dryly so and further if it proceeds from Government I am treated very cavalierly, for no communication or message direct or indirect has been made to me, nor any apparent notice taken of my letter.

I shall therefore avoid doing anything and keep myself in the background unless Government chooses to show me some little civility and to convince me that they wish for the continuance of my communications.

This diary of Mr. Emmet was contained in three parts, evidently home-made, by stitching together a number of sheets small enough in size to be carried in a coat-pocket. The manuscript we have given was very closely written and ends abruptly, leaving several blank pages at the back of the third part which would have been utilized in all probability if the record had been continued during the following six months of Mr. Emmet's residence in Paris. It is to be regretted that we are left in ignorance of the cause, or final affront from the French Government, which compelled Mr. Emmet to give up his position and leave France during the following October to settle in the United States.

The historical student will naturally seek for the cause of war between England and France, after the rebellion of 1798. A pretext for war can at all times be found between two countries if it be sought in the interest of either party or both. Neither country at this time could profit by a war, but

it is well known that the best interests of a country are often held of secondary importance by the ruler. To the student nothing is made more evident than that the Irish people were goaded into the rebellion of 1798 through statecraft, by the most cold-blooded movement ever perpetrated; and which was the immediate cause of over one hundred thousand lives being lost to Ireland, of men, women and children, through slaughter, starvation and legalized murder by packed juries, where the guilt or innocence of the victim was not considered. After the struggle of 1798, when the people were utterly exhausted, England refused to do anything to conciliate, but on the contrary did everything to keep the country in a state of disaffection for years after, so that the rebellion of 1803 was a natural consequence, if it was not directly a forced issue, brought about by Pitt's orders. If Bonaparte's course towards the Irish people and Mr. Emmet's diary be carefully considered, it will be found that a different course could not have been followed, as he, Bonaparte, was Pitt's agent throughout. That some understanding existed between Pitt and Bonaparte has already been suggested, as being the only explanation for Pitt's course towards Ireland and Bonaparte's treatment of the Irish people and leaders. The purpose of war as conducted between these two nations seemed to be to inflict as little injury on each other as possible. The more the subject is investigated the greater becomes the conviction that Pitt and Bonaparte had come to some understanding. These two men were equally unreliable so far as any faith could be placed in their word, for truth was absolutely foreign to the nature of both. They were both crafty, but Pitt was greatly Bonaparte's superior from an intellectual point of view, and if there was an understanding, the overture doubtless originated with Pitt, and in the end he alone reaped the fullest benefit, if not all the advantage. England's navy was superior to that of France, but the French had the best army; Pitt determined to establish the "Union" between Ireland and England, but could not possibly have done so had Ireland been assisted by France. Nor could the war have lasted a month had Bonaparte, with the aid of the Irish people, invaded Ireland and England at the same time.

Bonaparte aided Pitt to carry out his purpose in Ireland, by gaining the confidence of the Irish people with promises, thus encouraging the turbulent condition which existed there for years.

Napoleon had a most accurate knowledge of the condition of England and of the dissatisfaction existing among her own people, due to the fact that her army and navy were in a totally unreliable condition, as the greater part of the men were from Ireland, every one of whom had been tampered with by the agents of the United Irishmen. Her condition was thus a helpless one, and the declaration of war by Pitt was a farce. It is easy to see the benefit to England from a pretended war, and it is not difficult to surmise in what direction Napoleon was to be benefited! Possibly the invasion of Egypt, with the army pretended for Ireland, was a suggestion of Pitt, Napoleon to have been left with a free hand to build up a French domain in Africa, similar to that of England in India. After Napoleon had spent his strength and could no longer

serve England, Pitt had the English fleet reorganized and ready at hand for the battle of Trafalgar! In the end Pitt doubtless was successful, and France was not the gainer.

Had Napoleon wished at any time to injure England, he could have quickly done so to any extent by establishing Ireland as a French province. With this condition perfected and Ireland at his back as a necessary recruiting ground, he could have brought about such changes in the map of the world, which he did attempt afterwards, when it was too late, that a century or more would have lapsed before political gravitation could have again brought about a natural readjustment.

Pitt was a man of unusual ability, but was by nature a coward, and so cold in impulse that he never moved a pawn without foreseeing the consequences, and took no chances. Bonaparte possessed the fullest development of animal instinct, and as an animal he knew no fear. He gained his point or battle by brute force so long as he had men enough, and gave no thought to his losses in the expectation of always gaining his object.

In the opinion of the writer, possibly a presumptuous one, it is not believed Napoleon was by nature a soldier. Possibly fifty officers could have been selected from either the northern or southern army, during our Civil War, who would have proved Napoleon's superior in gaining the best advantage with an inferior force. It was the want of reasoning power which rendered Bonaparte Pitt's inferior, and likely his tool, so long as Pitt maintained his health.

No credulity can believe that had Ireland, girt with the Atlantic and embraced within the sphere of European mind, been left as independent in will as in station, she could at this day exhibit such a miserable contrast as she presents to the strength, the opulence, and the policy of her neighbour.

T. A. Emmet.

When a nation which refuses to bend is broken by the tempest, its fame is measured by the storm. But in the sad picture of her destitution, Ireland exhibits not the majestic ruins of a nation.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXIII

The Irish Legion formed to become part of the army fitted out at Brest, for the invasion of Ireland—The leaders in Paris decide to have Mr. Emmet prepare a memoir to be presented to the French Government and Dr. Macneven to draft a proclamation from the leaders to the Irishmen abroad and to be issued as soon as the expedition is about to sail for Ireland—Bonaparte's answer declaring his intention to fit out an expedition for securing the independence of Ireland—Letter from Mr. Emmet to Dr. Macneven containing a copy of the First Consul's answer to the Irish memorial—Mr. Emmet's interview with the Minister, who confirms in detail everything as promised—O'Connor causing trouble—Bonaparte's promise that the Irish in the French army will receive the same aid from France as was given America—Details as to the rules to govern the Irish expedition—Macneven prepares the proclamation—Mr. Emmet begins to doubt the sincerity of the French government—Dines with Genl. Augereau as one of a large party, receives every civility but believes the whole to be for political effect alone—With the new constitution the Irish in the service of the government will have to become French subjects—Mr. Emmet ceases to have any faith in French promises—Unable to see the Minister or to receive explanations needed—Mr. Emmet's letter to Dr. Macneven announcing his departure from Paris for America, and his reasons for it—Dr. Madden's acknowledgment of aid received from Mr. Emmet's son, T. A. Emmet, Jr.

MR. EMMET shows in his diary that the Irish Legion was formed for the French army and placed under the command of General MacSheehy as part of the force being fitted out at Brest for the invasion of Ireland. The leaders in Paris decided that a memorial, to be prepared by Mr. Emmet, should be presented to the French government from the United Irishmen abroad, while Dr. Macneven was to draft a proclamation to be issued to the same Irishmen, in relation to the French invasion of Ireland. The Diary records: In the autumn of 1803, Thomas Addis Emmet's memorial was received by the First Consul, and on the 15th of November he addressed a personal, but official communication to the government. On the 13th of December following, Bonaparte replied declaring his intention to set on foot preparations for an expedition to secure the independence of Ireland. The copy given is from the Macneven papers. Mr. Emmet wrote from Paris to Dr. Macneven who had already entered the army, expecting to serve in Ireland.

Directed:—"A Monsieur Macneven, Officier du Battailion Irlandois a Morlaix", and Dated,

1st Pluviose (21st Jan.), 1804.

My dear Macneven—I have received Gallagher's, Sweeney's, and your letters, all which I acknowledge with very sincere love to the respective parties. But the length and nature of this letter, with my having at this moment a great press of business, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my not writing to them at present. As to the conjecture you make in your letter about the time before which matters will not be ready, I am clear you are well founded; though not, perhaps, for the reasons you have assigned, as I perceive your traveller did not give you an exact account of what was in Brest, and none at all of what was in the neighbouring ports; but your conclusion, nevertheless, is true. At the end of that time (if any faith can be placed in assurance) it is intended to attempt something. I am not seaman enough to calculate the chances of success; but this I know, that similar things were done in August; and further, none of us know what combinations of plans may be used to facilitate the measure, even in an unfavourable time. So much for that. Now for what will perhaps surprise and please you, as it has done me. I presented the memoir I was writing at your departure on the 13th Nivose; on the 27th, I received the annexed answer.

When Dalton delivered me this, he stated the readiness of the minister to confirm it by word of mouth whenever I pleased. As the latter paragraph afforded ample room for reflection, and for consulting my friends, I would willingly have avoided the interview for some time ,and professed myself perfectly satisfied as to the authenticity of the answer; but by his eagerness in pressing the matter, I quickly perceived that the minister's readiness to confirm was, in fact, a desire to see me on the subject. After I had read the answer through, Dalton subjoined: "I have to add that it is the First Consul's wish that you and Mr. O'Connor should be of that committee; and I have directions to present him a copy of this answer, leaving out the first sentence. When that committee is formed it will give the present government the means of communicating at once with all parties of United Irishmen, and give them the certainty that whatever may be offered in their behalf will not be contradictory and drawing in different directions."

He added a great deal more, &c. We took leave, he in a great hurry to procure me an interview with the minister, and I in none. One reason for this disposition, besides what I already stated, was that I apprehended very strongly—as the American mediation is not yet ended—the proclamations of the committee might be an engine for terrifying England into terms; and I wished, and still wish to waste time, until I have reason to hope that the best exertions of the committee may not be turned into a cause of mischief to our country. I therefore postponed, but was yesterday obliged to have the interview, of which I shall speak directly. You may be assured I lost no time in consulting Sweetman, M. D. [Matthew Dowling?], and my other friends here, who all agreed that as the Consul made a point of it, it could not be avoided; and they even saw considerable advantage from it, provided it acts with caution.

Before I saw the minister yesterday I had a long conversation with Dalton, the greater part of which turned on the best mode of appointing the committee. The mode he contemplated, and with him the government, was that O'C. and I should each name whom we thought fit; that government should add to us some person or persons, if we should omit any it thought important. I said—"If I were of the committee, I certainly should not object to any person of whom I thought sufficiently well and whose presence government thought of importance; but that for myself I wished to be sanctioned by the approbation of my countrymen; which could be easily had, as they are collected at Morlaix". Against this he remonstrated with a good deal of energy, and in truth it made the principal part of our conversation. I was free to make whatever proposal I pleased; but as a friend, and in confidence, he advised me against that. He added some observations, in no respect disreputable to our countrymen, but which I don't consider

myself free to repeat; and said I at least had no occasion for any such scruples, for acting alone and *a fortiori* for acting with others.

At length I saw the minister, who confirmed, in the fullest manner Dalton's paper, and assured me it was what the Consul intended to abide by; and asked me if I had thought of the committee and who would be the most proper members? On my part I expressed the utmost gratitude to the Consul for his assurances and intentions. As to the committee, I said—"There was one peculiarity in the situation of most of us which was probably unknown to the Consul, but which made the formation of that committee a matter of some difficulty—though our persons were free, the property of almost every man who might be thought eligible was in the power of the English government and if they did anything that could be taken hold of, that property would certainly be confiscated. This was a great consideration for fathers of families; and although, under certain circumstances, when men had a full assurance that matters were come to a crisis, they might run risks, they could not feel warranted in doing so under uncertainties". To this he answered, among other things, that we should not be required to run any risks we did not think fit.

"Form your committee, give government the body with which it wants to communicate, and manage your own affairs as you may think fit; publish your proclamations without any names; and if you think your countrymen will give sufficient credit to them, keep your names secret; but form the committee".

A good deal more was said, that perhaps ought not to be repeated. Thus, however, matters stand. I will not throw any impediment in the way; but I do not intend to break my neck in trying to bring about what I do not perfectly understand the drift of. I wish you were here and I think you may be called for; but you need not fear being left behind, as the commanders-in-chief of the Irish will be here also. Sweeny was very right not to offer to get to Ireland on Augereau's invitation. Let him consider if he should be asked whether he would go on any other condition different from what he has already offered. As I know there is an anxiety of transmitting the substance of the Consul's answer to me, you will see how much discretion is necessary with respect to the foregoing parts of this letter.

You will, no doubt, be rejoiced to hear that the First Consul himself has taken the trouble of dictating the device for your colours. They are to be green in the centre; a tri-coloured circle, with R. I. The legend on the colours is to be, "L'indépendance de l'Irlande—Liberté de Conscience". You are also aware that your uniform is somewhat changed, on the demand of MacSheehy; the amarinth is exploded, and yellow, the second national colour, substituted in its place.

Copy of the First Consul's Answer to My Memoire of 13th Nivose, Delivered to Me 27th Nivose (13th December, 1803).*

The First Consul has read with the greatest attention the *memoire* which has been addressed to him by Mr. Emmet the 13th of December.

He desires that the United Irish should be convinced that it is his intention to secure the independence of Ireland, and to give protection, entire and efficacious, to all those of their body who will take part in the expedition, and enter the French service.

The French government cannot issue any proclamation before the Irish territory has been reached [by the expedition]. But the general who will command the expedition will be furnished with sealed letters, wherein it shall be declared by the French Consul that he will not make peace with England without stipulating for the independence of Ireland; provided, however, that the [French] army shall be joined by a considerable body of the United Irish.

Ireland shall be treated in every respect as America has been in the late war.

Every person who shall embark with the French army destined for the expedition

*A copy in French of the original is given in the Appendix, Note XIV.

shall be commissioned as French; in case of being arrested and not being treated as a prisoner of war, reprisals will be made on English prisoners.

Each corps formed in the name of the United Irish will be considered as making part of the French army. Finally, if the expedition should not succeed, and that the Irish should be compelled to return to France, France will maintain a certain number of brigades, and will give pensions to all persons who shall have formed part of the government or of the authorities of the country.

The pensions will be assimilated to those which are accorded in France to those of a corresponding grade or part, not on active service.

The First Consul desires that a committee of United Irish should be formed. He sees no inconvenience in members of this committee issuing proclamations and instructing their countrymen of the state of affairs.

These proclamations will be inserted in The Argus and the different journals of Europe in order to enlighten the Irish people on the part they have to take, and the hopes on which they have to rest. If the committee should desire to make a relation of the acts of tyranny exercised by the English government, it shall be inserted in The Moniteur.*

Dr. Madden makes the following statement:

The expectations which the reply of the First Consul to the memoir of T. A. Emmet gave birth to, and the full conviction that was felt by many of the leaders of the United Irishmen at that period (December, 1803), that an invasion of Ireland was intended, led to the duty being delegated to Dr. Macneven of writing the proclamation that was to be issued in the event of that invasion taking place.

The following is a copy in English of this proclamation, which was found among Dr. Macneven's papers:—

Friends and Countrymen! The hour of your emancipation is at length arrived. We announce to you allies and arms, which will enable you to throw off the English yoke. An auxiliary force of ——— thousand of those illustrious warriors who have repeatedly triumphed over our enemies, with arms to equip ——— thousand Irishmen, as valiant as even those warriors. These are the ample means that are offered to you for redressing the wrong, and asserting the independence of your country. United brethren, who have maintained—even in servitude—the dignity of freemen by a gallant, though unsuccessful struggle against the tyranny of George III, we do not at this day presume to inflame your valour. Could courage alone given independence to our country, you would long since have made it free; but when virtue was unavailing to break its fetters, it was at least preserved by your magnanimous daring, from dishonour. Placed in the dreadful alternative of resigning yourselves to despotism, or contending with its power, you proved to the world that the most intolerable evil to Irishmen is slavery.

A consolatory task awaits you now; you will meet the foe with advantages equal

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*Dr. Madden adds this footnote:—

"In 1842 I had a copy of this important document in the handwriting of T. A. Emmet, which he had placed in the hands of his friend, John Sweetman, at the period of his departure for America, but at my disposal by the son of Sweetman. From this copy the reply of the First Consul to Mr. Emmet's memoir, which was printed in the memoir of T. A. Emmet, in the former edition, published in 1843, vol. ii. p. 123, was taken. In the fifth paragraph, however, on comparing it with the copy sent me with Mr. Emmet's papers, I find an omission of the following eight words, *'la représaille s' exercera sur les prisonniers Anglais'*, as they exist in the copy of the document sent to me by Mr. Robert Emmet. I have further to observe that, in the copy given by T. A. Emmet to John Sweetman, at the end of the document the following note is appended. The preceding copy, as well as the succeeding note, is in the handwriting of T. A. Emmet:

"The foregoing is a correct copy of the First Consul's answer to my memoir; and in consequence of my quitting Europe for America, I leave this copy in the hands of John Sweetman.

(Signed) 'THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.'

" 'Paris, 2nd September, 1804'.

"I have further to observe that in the document given by T. A. Emmet to Sweetman, after the words in the heading commencing, 'Copy of the First Consul's answer to my memoire of 13th Nivose', the following words occur: 'Delivered to me by Mr. Dalton, 27th Nivose, same year'.—R. R. M".

to his own. On the ruins of what he acquired by oppression, rapine and bloodshed you will establish the happiness of millions, and you will rescue from provincial degradation the exalted character of your country.

Cited to the field by your wrongs and by your sufferings, by the forlorn exile of your friends, and by the unexpiated murders of your relations; with the sword of liberty in your hands, and the spirit of independence in your hearts, what can your enemies avail against your sacred cause and ardent enthusiasm? Another effort of national energy, made in conjunction with our victorious allies, will annihilate a calamitous domination, and establish forever the glory and welfare of Ireland.

Countrymen of all descriptions! Where has England triumphed that we have not bled from her victory; where is she famed that you partake of her renown? The French army comes with positive orders to act as an auxiliatory force to the Irish nation—its government, but what is stronger than every other pledge, you are called on, countrymen, to embody,without delay, an Irish army, under the command of Irish officers, who shall be commissioned by the Irish government, and thus to take into your own hands your fate, your honour and your country!

"The sincerity of the first Consul," observes the son of T. A. Emmet, "as to this expedition seems not to have been doubted by Mr. Emmet until about the month of April following. What may have taken place I have no means of ascertaining, but from that period he seems to have given up all expectation of assistance".*

My dear Macneven—By yours of the 6th, as well as by one of Sweeney's which came to-day, I find that my postscript to Mrs. G.'s [Gallaghar] letter has led you all into a very great mistake. I certainly never said, nor did I mean to insinuate, that any offer had been made to me. I had reason to conclude from two different quarters that something was in contemplation, and therefore I wished to anticipate the necessity of deciding by asking your advice beforehand, but, so far from any offer, if I were to draw any conclusion from continued—I must say marked and obstinate silence—I should say none was ever intended.

You may remember I once mentioned that you would probably meet a general at Morlaix—why you did not will perhaps one day become in our own country matter of investigation—but the person to whom I alluded has since requested me to make some applications, which I have done, but without receiving an answer. I enclosed MacSheehy's memorial—on the subject of your being considered as French citizens—to the minister on Saturday last, with a very civil note, requesting an interview, in order to take his instructions; but no answer as yet.

Under all those circumstances, I am not so foolish as to flatter myself with any very sanguine expectations. I adhere to my original plan of going to America, and do not think it probable that anything will occur to prevent me. Suppose, however, an offer should be made I do not entirely agree with you. If I do not exceedingly alter my opinion I will not accept either of the situations you have advised, and for reasons that, with your knowledge of my politics, you can be at no loss to guess. I am an Irishman, and until necessity forces me to contract ties of allegiance elsewhere, I will hold no situation that is not Irish or obviously directed to the emancipation of that country.

If I am to contract a new allegiance and to undertake civil duties not connected with my native land, let not the latter part of my political life be at variance with the begin-

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*There exists little doubt that Napoleon only intended to use Ireland so far as he could to his own advantage. However, this subject should not be closed without a copy of the following letter showing that whatever may have been his reason, he did intend at one time to invade both England and Ireland.

Fitzpatrick in his work "Secret Service Under Pitt" makes reference to the following letter:—

"The 'Correspondence of Napoleon' (Bingham's 'Correspondence of Napoleon', II., 96, Chapman and Hall, 1884) contains a letter to Berthier, dated Sept. 27, 1804. He says that an expedition to Ireland has been decided upon; that 18,000 men for that purpose were ready at Brest; that simultaneous landing was to be attempted in Kent, while in Ireland the French army would march straight to Dublin. Meanwhile 200,000 men were encamped in Boulogne, but hostile plans collapsed with the smash of the French fleet at Trafalgar".

ning. What then can I expect? Nothing but what is Irish in all its objects; and if nothing of that kind can be found or created, I am too old, too poor, and too heavily laden to await the issue of reiterated procrastinations. You will judge, then, what chance there is of my wintering in Europe.

Since I began this letter I have learned that the Minister at War has set off for the camp at St. Omer, and will not, probably, be back for some time. As he did not answer my note that accompanied General MacSheehy's memorial I presume I am to take no steps in that affair till his return, my instructions being that I should act under his directions. . . .

This was followed in a short time by another letter:

SATURDAY, 12TH MAY, 1804.

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—

I yesterday received a letter from Sweeny, enclosing a half sheet from you. I mean to answer both, but I put off writing to Sweeny till I can tell him all his commissions are executed. In the meantime your half sheet would afford matter for more than one very long letter, if I could unbosom myself, and express all I think and feel on certain subjects. As to your idea, that there is no fear but that Sweeney's and the other commissions of the same date will be confirmed, I hope you are right, and my hopes are stronger than when I wrote to him; but still I am very far from having no apprehensions.

The very day after I sent in my remonstrance against the famous paragraph in "The Argus", I received an invitation to dinner with Augereau for the next day but one or two. As it was still undecided whether I should have any further connection with government or not, I thought it right to accept the invitation, and went. It was a parade dinner—O'C., Truguet, Donzelot, &c., &c.—and I certainly experienced every attention and civility. In the course of the evening, Donzelot, with whom I had before had some conversation on business, requested me to call on him again, before he left town, to continue the conversations. I told him of the remonstrance I had just given in, and of the intention it expressed of withdrawing from all connection with government if I were not satisfied on the subject, but assured him that if I were satisfied I would not fail to call, and give him every information in my power. I was never satisfied, and I never called. The same circumstances prevented me from consulting General Augereau, with whose reception of me I had every reason to be satisfied. Even the civilities necessary for keeping up a personal acquaintance might be considered as putting in for a confidence I affected to renounce, and as I knew that my personal acquaintance was solicited on political grounds, I felt that the former was rendered unnecessary by my declining to act on the latter if ever the opportunity occurred. I own I should not be sorry. Augereau knew this, that he might not attribute to ill manners a conduct that proceded from very different motives. Now, however, my determination not to interfere further in French and Irish politics combined, whatever explanations, offers, or assurances may be given, is stronger than ever, and grows on every day's reflection.

If you read attentively my last letter to Lawless you will divine all my reasons, I am afraid my interference, if it were to produce any effect, would be injurious to my country. I think it would be injurious to my fame; I am sure it would be repugnant to my conscience—but all this is talking to the air. No motives will be held out to me to stay, and I am much mistaken if peace will not be made without any attempt at invasion. Do you think the emperor will hazard his new title and popularity by an attempt with his fleet on one country, or his gun-boats on the other, which, if it failed would be—either in a naval or military point of view—tremendous and irreparable, particularly as he has no opportunity of balancing the miscarriage by brilliant success in another quarter. I am determined, however, to give your proclamation as strict a scrutiny as if I thought it would be used.

But now that I am on the subject, let me say a little more. I have not heard from

the minister; but if I thought it would be useful to my countrymen, that should not delay me for an instant and I would at once address the Consul. But what should I solicit? That they might be made French citizens and take oaths of allegiance to the government of this country?

Have you learned what will be the rights and duties of French citizens under the new constitution, or what declaration you will be called on to make? When you went down you intended to be Irishmen, and as such to fight under the French banners in your own country, and for its freedom. Have you all determined now to become subjects of the French empire, and to follow a military life? If you intend only to procure an exemption from the *droit d'aubaine,* I think you are right, and I have long meditated to try and procure it for my exiled countrymen; and if my connection with government had continued I should have sought for it long since, and independent of the procuration; but as to being a French citizen, I should neither wish myself to be one, nor to ask it for you and some other of my friends. I only need the procuration to prevent a bad use being made of your name, and to influence and to prevent your being committed in character, by an act not sufficiently well considered by those among you who intend leaving France in the event of peace.

If, however, you do on due reflection wish the claim to be pushed in its full extent; indeed, circumstanced as I am with government, and decided as to my own conduct, if you wish any steps at all to be taken, I shall cheerfully make over the procuration to any person of respectability that may be marked out to me; and on your desiring me I will write a suitable letter to MacSheehy. But let me call the serious attention of you and some other friends to what you are doing at the bottom of Brittany, and by no means *au fait* of what is going on here in the capital. You are getting a band, and incurring a thousand expenses, very fit for military men by profession, or who count upon following it for a considerable time. Will you follow it in the event of a peace? Mark, I tell you, there will be peace—and that soon unless England be actuated by the most insolent and foolish madness. This I say, not from my own reasoning merely, but from facts that have been told me confidently and confidentially ever since I began to write this letter.

A change of ministry in England now appears certain, and this government is only waiting that change to make such proposals as no English ministers ought to reject. It will make commercial arrangements; but I mention this only to our particular friends. What will then become of your band, your regimentals, and your right of French citizenship, &c? . . .

Adieu,

T. A. Emmet.

A valuable historical letter, showing Mr. Emmet's remarkable sagacity and forethought in being able to foresee Napoleon's future purpose, so far as it lay within his power to direct it. Mr. Emmet, in the spirit of his convictions, acted promptly by leaving Paris for Bordeaux, where he began making preparations for his passage to the United States. Before sailing he wrote to Dr. Macneven in explanation of his course:

My dearest Macneven,

I expect that you and my other friends at Lisneven will be extremely angry with me for having left Paris without giving you previous information, but I did so expressly, and in order to prevent a struggle between your inclinations and your duty.

By yours and the other letters I perceived the intention of eluding military regulations and going to meet me at Nantes, if I had gone there. As my destination was changed for Bourdeaux, I saw you could not attempt coming without the utmost danger; and I determined to set your minds at ease as to my self reproaches for not having done so, by making the matter impossible.

I wish most earnestly and anxiously to embrace you all again, but it must be on American ground; and if you wish to see me, come there.

I do not blame the resolution you have taken, of waiting a little longer for the victory you are promised; but I am much mistaken if you will not be disappointed.

I repeat it, do not let yourselves be blinded even by a temporary victory. Win it if you can; but come to America as soon as you can.

The reception I have met with has surprised and gratified me; for it is impossible to be more civilly or cordially received, even by those who do not pretend to think as I do on politics.

As to the time of my departure, it is not fixed, nor even the vessel, owing to the non-arrival of my baggage by the "Roulage"; but it will not be postponed beyond six days, nor perhaps beyond three.

American papers are not to be had; but I will take every precaution I can against the English —or, rather, that if they should think fit to seize me, they shall find nothing with me that could injure me.

I do not bid you adieu, because I wish to bind you by every obligation to see me again; but I pray, may heaven bless and prosper you.

Accept the sincere love of Mrs. Emmet, myself, and all the little ones, who, trust me, never will forget you.

Ever yours,

T. A. Emmet.

Dr. Madden states in his "Lives of the United Irishmen":

"So far, the correspondence of T. A. Emmet, inserted in this chapter is that for which I am indebted to the sons of Mr. Emmet." For this reason, credit is not being given to Dr. Madden, as the copies or the originals which he returned are in the possession of the writer. The same is true in relation to the material taken from Dr. Macneven's papers for his use. Much now known to be unreliable has been omitted, and with the addition of new material, the whole is now more valuable for historical purposes.

Had the Duke of Normandy been king of France; and the strength of France been consolidated by the Union of the great fiese to the crown, Britain might be, at this day to France what Ireland is to Britain, a miserable province, without a constitution, without a navy and without a name.

T. A. Emmet.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Thomas Addis Emmet, by Martin, painted and engraved shortly after 1804

That the subjugation of a country, superior in almost every natural advantage to the country by which it was subjugated, should produce neither glory in victory nor sympathy in defeat, is a singular historical phenomenon.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXIV

Thomas Addis Emmet, with his family, leaves Paris and emigrates to the United States—He makes application to become a citizen—Some letters of introduction—His letter to Joseph McCormick, a fellow-prisoner at Fort George—Dr. Macneven's letter to Mr. McCormick—Mr. Emmet had thought of becoming a farmer in Ohio, but through the influence of friends settles in New York—Application to practise law in the mayor's court—The document an interesting one—Application granted—Mr. Emmet's letter to Robert Simms, also a fellow-prisoner at Fort George, giving an account of his prospects—Arrival from Ireland of Mr. Emmet's three sons and their experience on landing—An article on Mr. Emmet's professional course by A. Oakey Hall—Mr. Emmet's successful ruse for recovering a client's money.

WITH the arrival of the Emmet family in New York we take leave for a time of Irish affairs, for they have at length reached a land of promise, though not of strangers. From the earliest settlement of the country, Ireland had given a larger proportion of her sons, by birth or direct descent, to the army, the navy and the senate, and also to that class which furnished the special labor and brain work needed to develop the country, than had come from any other nation or people.* England's centuries of misrule had driven the Irish people into exile and to wander over the earth in quest of a haven. In the American colonies they became pre-eminent in every walk of life, as they have prospered everywhere but in the mother country.

In the autumn of 1804, Thomas Addis Emmet left Paris for Bordeaux, where he embarked, on the 4th of October, for New York. He was accompained by his wife, his eldest son, Robert, and three daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, who were born in Ireland, and Jane Erin, born in Fort George. A daughter, Catherine, was born in Paris on January 11th, 1804, and died shortly after birth. The three younger sons, John, Thomas and Temple, remained in Dublin until March, 1805, when they joined their parents in New York. Nothing is known of the incidents of the voyage beyond the fact that Mr. Emmet and his family arrived in New York to begin life anew on November 11th, 1804.

The first step towards becoming identified with this country was taken

*It would be but just if this fact were more generally known and appreciated.

by Mr. Emmet three days after his arrival, when he declared and placed on record his intention to become an American citizen as soon as he could be naturalized.*

He brought with him a number of introductory letters from Lafayette and others. The originals of those that follow are in the possession of the writer.

GENERAL KOSCIUSZKO TO GENERAL GATES.

DEAR GENERAL:

Permit me to recommend to your acquientens and friendship Mr. Emmet good republican and sufferer for his opinion. be so kind as to make his residence so agreeable as you can in your town and recommend him to your friends.

As to me I am always your friend, and I hope you will be ever mine.

T. KOSCIUSZKO.

My respects to your lady

Paris 29 July 1804

rue.le Province—No: 43.

To Gen'l Gates, New York.

MR. HORRY TO GENERAL GATES.

PARIS, 12TH AUGUST, 1802.

DEAR GENERAL:

I am encouraged by the remembrance of the kind civilities I received from you when I was in New York to present to you Mr. Addis Emmet (lately released from a four years' imprisonment in Scotland). He was before the disturbances in Ireland an eminent lawyer in that country, highly respected for his talents, information and probity. I have not the pleasure of being personally acquainted with him, but my Lady Montcastle (who I am sure would not bestow undeserved praise), speaks in the highest terms of his worth and character. All persons agree in ——— to his conduct, the purest motives and the most disinterested views. Unfortunate circumstances oblige him to seek shelter in a foreign land with an amiable wife and young family. Should you be able to be of service to these deserving people, your good offices will much oblige your very

Sincere and obliged humble servt.,

C. L. PINCKNEY HORRY.

GENL. GATES.

Mr. Horry was from South Carolina, and Lady Montcastle, of whom he speaks, was a connection of the Emmets through the Colville family.

The following very interesting letter was written by Mr. Emmet shortly after his arrival in New York. It is to Joseph McCormick, one of the Irish leaders who had been confined with him in Fort George and with him in Paris, and who was already settled in Georgia. Through long association he had become an intimate friend of Mr. Emmet and his family. This letter is the earliest incident connected with Mr. Emmet's life after his arrival in this country, with the exception of the record of his declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the United States.

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*The original volume in which this declaration for naturalization was recorded, with all others covering a period of some sixty years, was subsequently sold by the city, or by some official from City Hall, for waste paper, and was purchased by the late George Moore. From the public sale of Mr. Moore's effects in 1894 it came into the possession of the writer, and now forms part of the Emmet Collection in the Public Library, Fifth Avenue, New York.

New York, January 28, 1805.

My dearest Joe:

Never did a letter give greater pleasure to an entire family, than was felt by ours on the receipt of yours. On our first landing in New York, we had inquired concerning you, among others, and had been informed that you had caught cold, and had died of a consumption. Believing this melancholy intelligence, we were astonished and delighted at getting a letter from you, which had almost the appearance of coming from the other world.

* * * * * * * *

I am on the point of setting out on another journey, which will show you that my lot, as to my future residence in America, is pretty nearly cast. You desire me not to decide on that subject, without further inquiry about the Southern States. You know the insuperable objection I have always had to settling, where I could not dispense with the use of slaves, and that the more they abound, the stronger are my objections; but, in truth, circumstances have decided me to settle here, if I can.

On my arrival, I received so much friendship from the most influential people in this state, and so many promises of assistance to overcome any difficulties that might occur to my settling professionally, that both Mrs. E. and I agreed it was impossible to refuse them, because, if I fail, I have nothing to reproach myself with; but if, having declined those offers, and thrown away that opportunity, I tried elsewhere, and then failed, I should blame myself exceedingly. Their friendship and assistance continue unabated, and I am going to Albany, tomorrow, to get an act passed by the state legislature, enabling me to be admitted to practice as a lawyer, notwithstanding my being an alien; and if I succeed in that shape, I shall be called to the bar immediately. In Georgia, I probably should not succeed so rapidly, and yet my friends here do not permit me to doubt of success.

You will, probably, expect to hear from me some news of our friends in France. I wish I could give you such as you would like to hear; but the situation of those you love and esteem is unpleasant. General O'Connor is a general of division. No other United Irishman is more than a captain. You know the general's skill in making a party. Swiney has had a duel with Tom Corbett, in which S. was wounded, and Corbett has lost his life. Swiney, Macneven, Lawless, Tennent, Dowdall, and some others, have given in their resignations, which would *not* be accepted. Nor could they, or Chambers, get permission to come here. I myself escaped but by a day, an order having been issued to bring me back; but I had sailed. It is now a horrid country, and all I conceived of it, at a distance, is nothing to what I found it to be on close inspection. It will do nothing for our country; and, if it attempted anything, I believe it would do harm. Our friends are prisoners there, forced to continue in the service against their will. I rejoice you are not there, and I wish those who are were here; except Wilson, who is doing very well at Bordeaux. *Ware,* I understand, has joined O'Connor with all his might; he was Corbett's second; Macneven was Swiney's.

Our little family are well. Mrs. Emmet, Robert, Margaret, and Elizabeth, desire a thousand loves to you. Your little fellow-traveler, Jane Erin, is still our youngest, we having lost a lovely little baby in Paris. But a few weeks promise to make us once more amends. *Jane Erin* is a darling child, and a universal pet. Give my most affectionate love to your brother.

Ever yours,

T. A. Emmet.

Mr. Joseph McCormick.

The following letter from Dr. Macneven to Mr. McCormick is of equal interest owing to its reference to the movements of the Emmet family.

New Brunswick, August 5, 1805.

My dear Joe:

After having waited long enough in France, and seen my *expectations in favor of our unhappy country repeatedly baffled,* I saw it was fit I should at last look to my own interest, and I accordingly came out to America. I arrived at New York on the 4th of July, but though not in time for all the exhibitions of the day, I could witness the important parts which the Irish bore, where there was a very general display of the strength of the republicans. The immense majority are on this side, and I trust they never will be so unprincipled or foolish to desert it.

You may have heard that an Irish legion was imbodied in France. I accepted of a commission in that corps, for the purpose of learning tactics, and of going with it to Ireland; but while at Brest, and in its neighborhood, it was evident to me that this same corps was only held up as a scarecrow to frighten England into a peace, *and that we were in reality made mere instruments by Bonaparte, to answer his own selfish views.* This was not all; but he sought, through this association of Irishmen, to agitate their country, and thereby bring England the sooner to his terms. I could not lend myself, after that, to so mischievous a purpose, and I accordingly resigned. I am also of opinion, and I have the most direct reasons for it, that, if ever Bonaparte does land a force in Ireland, he will endeavor to dictate a form of government and administration to that country, unless the vigor of the Irish themselves shall deter him from it. Lawless, for reasons similar to my own, sent in his resignation after me; but it was not immediately accepted. Tennent, I heard, wished to quit the corps likewise; Tierney quitted when I did, and he would have been out with me, but for a nice young lady in Morlaix, whom he staid to marry. She has a handsome fortune.

Not wishing to pass the month of August in New York, and wishing to see something of the country, I have come out to pass two or three weeks in New Brunswick, with Emmet and his family, who have taken a house here for the summer. Every body tells me I shall do well in New York, in a little time; but by Jove, I have very little more time to lose. One physician tells me there is no fortune in the profession, though one may live. *It is, I believe, his own case.* The expense of living is very great, and *patients pay as little as they can.*

Let me know everything that interests you. You know how much I am attached to you all, and that I will be happy to hear of your welfare; being

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

W. J. Macneven.

P. S. I left our friend Sweetman well. He mostly lives in Paris; but poor Mat Dowling died last winter, after a short illness.

In a letter dated January 28, 1856, to the writer from Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, a connection of the family through Sir John and Robert Temple, he states:—

Among my family papers I find one letter from your distinguished name-sake, immediately after his arrival in America, to Governor Bowdoin's son James, in which he recognizes the relationship and asks for letters of introduction at Washington and elsewhere. He hardly anticipated the proud career which awaited him and which makes it a pleasure to us all to trace even so remote a connection with him.

Believe me, Dear Sir, Your obliged Servt.

Robert C. Winthrop.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq., M.D.

Mr. Emmet's first intention was to settle on a farm in the State of Ohio, as that seemed to offer the best means of furnishing a ready support for his family, and, if the opportunity presented, he intended to resume the practice

of medicine. He spent several months, after his arrival, in Washington, and in seeing the country with reference to deciding as to his future course. At length, George Clinton, then Governor of the State of New York, to whom he had also brought a letter of introduction from Kosciuszko, with De Witt Clinton, his nephew, then Mayor of the city of New York, Daniel D. Tompkins, afterwards Vice-President of the United States, and others, urged him to remain in New York, where there was an opening at the Bar, made by the recent death of Alexander Hamilton. As soon as it was known that Mr. Emmet had decided to remain in New York, the objection was at once raised that as an alien, he could not practise until he had become naturalized. To test the question he made application for permission to practise in the "Mayor's Court", then presided over by De Witt Clinton. He was requested by Mr. Clinton to put his application to the Court in the form of a letter setting forth his claims for granting the plea. As this document was certainly Mr. Emmet's first legal effort in this country it should be placed on record, particularly as it is such an able and clear exposition of the subject that a legal training is not necessary to appreciate its worth. This application was as follows:

APRIL 7TH, 1805.

SIR:

Availing myself of your permission, I take the liberty of laying before you some observations, on the subject of my application, to be admitted a practitioner in your court. I shall confine myself entirely to the question, how far my situation as an alien, creates any LEGAL disability or objection to its being granted. What effect that situation ought to have in the *discretion* of a Court, I shall not presume to say; but shall content myself with acknowledging that I should consider the admission as a favour only, and as one of the very highest kind. The liberality I have already experienced, and the disposition to extend it further, which you have been pleased most strongly to express on your part, leave me no room to apprehend the necessity for urging anything on that head.

I shall now proceed to shew that alienism creates no such legal disability. This I consider certain, because in the Statute or Common law, no disqualification of that kind is anywhere created or recognised; nor is any rule or principle to be found, from which it could be inferred, except the position be true, that an alien cannot legally hold an office. That position is not true and even if it were, it would be inapplicable, because the professional situation of Attorney, Solicitor or Counsellor, is not an office, in the strict, legal acceptation of the term. These propositions I shall discuss in their order.

Allow me to observe, in the outset, the great difficulty of actually proving the negative, *that no such disqualification is to be found.* If I were arguing with an adversary, I should call on him to produce the law, which created any prohibition of that nature,—the authority, the adjudication or the dictum, which stated any such disability; and I should contend, that until he had done so, it was not incumbent on me to prove anything, in as much as I should come under the maxim, that what the law does not prohibit, it permits. That line of argument, however, I do not mean to pursue. I avail myself indeed of the maxim, that the law permits all that it does not prohibit, but I shall endeavour to show that no law whatsoever has made that prohibition, or created that disability.

If any such prohibition has existence, it must be found either in the Constitution and Laws of the United States, in those of this State, or in so much of the English law as is still binding here.

After looking very carefully over *the Constitution and Laws of the United States,* I cannot find anything regulating the admission of Solicitors, Attornies, or Counsellors; it is not a point touched upon by them, and therefore they certainly create no disability or prohibition. Respecting the rights or disqualifications of Aliens, the same thing may be said. Those laws provide rules for naturalization, but none of them say anything of what an Alien can or cannot be, except the articles in the Constitution, which require Citizenship of a certain standing, for some offices.

The Constitution and Laws of the State are equally silent respecting the incapacities of aliens, if you except the Acts, which partially removes one of those incapacities by giving a restricted permission to purchase and hold land. Those laws however, and the State Constitution, take notice of the Professors of the law, in its different departments; but not so as to create any prohibitions; leaving the entire matter of their admission, except the requisite oath, and their entire regulation to the Courts themselves.

It is then perfectly clear that none of those laws create any objection to my receiving the favour I solicit, and that if any such exist, it must be found under the *English Common Law.* I say the Common law, for by the act for the amendment of the law &c, none of the English Statutes are law in this State. If any English Statute touching this question, therefore, could be produced, of which I am not aware, it could do me no injury; and even the necessity of making it, would afford a strong proof, that without it no such objection could have force.

Turning over the English books, I find the Common law disqualification of foreigners entirely reduced to those which are well known—viz:—an alien cannot hold a freehold in lands by purchase or inheritance—cannot be tenant to the curtesy, nor endowed,—cannot maintain a real or mixt action, nor, if an alien enemy, any action at all. These disqualifications relate solely to Estates and their incidents, and they are the only ones known to the Common law. Certain others relating to carrying on trades, having apprentices, &c, and are therefore out of the question. Permit me then to ask is there anything resulting from these disqualifications, which were of mere feudal origin, to raise by analogy, inference or implication of any kind, an obstacle to a foreigner being permitted, if otherwise competent by knowledge and the performance of previous requisites, to act professionally in the Courts of Justice? It certainly was a thing not likely to happen often, because the diversity between the English laws and language, and those of every other country, rendered it scarcely possible, or desireable, for any foreigner to practice at the barr. Perhaps, however, some subsequent observation may lead to the belief, that in former times, foreigners may have actually practiced in certain English Courts, with which their own laws were to a great degree common—and at this day, I am persuaded the only objection to an American being admitted in England, if he had kept the necessary terms, would arise from the oath of Allegiance, which is required by Statute, or from reasonings respecting it.

The objection against my application has I believe been put this way—*an Alien cannot be a Counsellor or Attorney because he cannot hold an office.* With the utmost submission and respect, I conceive that proposition to contain two errors—one, that an alien cannot hold any office, and the other, that the situation of counsellor, or even of attorney is an office within the strict meaning of that term.

By no law-writer that I have been able to consult, do I find the position laid down as true *at Common law, that an alien could not hold any office.* I find, on the contrary, that he could. It is laid down, 1st Com: Dig: 431, title Alien (D. 3.) that if the King *grant an office* to an alien, it does not make him a denizen; for it shall not enure to two intents. For that position he quotes 3. Sec. 243—which I have not immediately by me, and have not been able to consult; but I have no doubt the question is correct, and it proves that the King's grant of an office to an alien, shall enure to the purpose of his holding it, and that, tho' he still continues an alien. It is also stated, 1st Com: Dig. 426. title Alien (c. 2.) and for which he quotes 2. Rol. 93, that a corporation may purchase, *tho' the head of the corporation be an alien;* thereby admitting the fact, that an alien could be the head of a corporation, which undoubtedly is to hold an office. Indeed, no

doubt can exist that aliens were by the law permitted to be corporations, both sole and aggregate. Before the Reformation there were many religious houses, consisting entirely of foreigners, known by the name of foreign Convents and Priories—that they were corporations, if it could be doubted, is evident from their having held large and extensive estates, which were subsequently seized. Many aliens formed corporation sole. During the times of the Papal Power, Italian and other foreign Clergymen used to go over to England and be promoted to Ecclesiastical Benefices. This arose to a very great height; but when Richard the Second was inclined to break the Pope's influence in England, his Parliament passed the 3. Ric: 2. Cap. 3. which prohibited aliens from taking benefices, without the King's licence. This statute confirms two facts, 1st that aliens might before that have legally held benefices without obtaining the King's consent; and 2nd that after that they might have done the same thing, on obtaining a licence, which neither naturalized them, nor made them denizens, but left them aliens still.

Here I would beg leave to remark, that altho' I can produce no proof of the fact, and it is impossible, I believe, to ascertain it at this day, yet it seems very probable that when the Ecclesiastical and Equity Courts were struggling to adopt almost entirely the civil law, and when the practitioners therein, as well as the judges were clergymen, those foreign Ecclesiastics, who had come from countries, where the civil law was generally adopted, were very frequently admitted to practice as civilians.

It may be asked, then, since the Common law creates no disqualification to an Alien holding office, what prevents him in any case? I answer, in England many things, not applicable to this argument, principally the landed tenures necessary for certain offices, as those of Coroner, Knights of the Shire, or Peer of Parliament, the official oaths to be taken, the charters and bye-laws of corporations, particularly Acts of Parliament, and lastly the unwillingness to name a foreigner, on the part of the crown, body or person having the right to appoint. And it is very observable that when that unwillingness did not exist on the part of the crown, directly after the Revolution, which by the bye, conferred the very highest office of the state on William the Third, an office which had been before inherited by James the First, and which it was never supposed that any law disqualified either of them from holding in consequence of alienism. When William came to the throne, the desire of gratifying his followers, caused him to grant them many offices and even to have them naturalized and to create them Peers of the Realm. This produced the generally excluding law, the 12 & 13, W. 3, Cap. 2, which enacts that no alien, tho' naturalized or made a denizen, should enjoy any office or place of trust, either Civil or Military. On this statute I would observe, that if it had been merely calculated to prevent the enjoyment of offices by denizens or naturalized persons, it would have probably said so, and simply enacted that no denizen or naturalized person should enjoy &c., but by using the larger expression, which excludes *all* aliens, it shows the doctrine to have been recognized as law that aliens could hold office.

It appears to me certain then, that there is no common law disqualification of this kind, unless the office by its nature requires landed tenure. Is there anything and what, in the American codes to disqualify an alien?

In the federal constitution and laws I know of nothing—except that the Constitution guards certain of the most important offices of the State to Citizens—the most important of all to a non-naturalized citizen; and it requires the members of the federal and State Legislatures and all Executive and Judicial officers to be bound by oath to support the Constitution. Under the protection of this oath, without super-adding even that of allegiance, it leaves the nomination of aliens as officers to the discretion of those in whom may be vested the powers of appointment. This liberal conduct was consonant to the spirit of the times, in which the Constitution was made, and was not I am convinced the result of mistake or omission. The Acts of Congress made no material alteration in this respect, that I have found, except that by the Army Act, all officers and privates, &c, are obliged to take the oath of Allegiance.

In this assertion, that by the Common or United States law there is no general disqualification to an alien from holding office, I am confirmed by the very highest authority. At Washington, many of the most respectable characters, with whom I had the honour of being acquainted, were of that opinion. The President (Jefferson) repeatedly, in conversation on this subject, not only maintained that, whatever prudential reasons might regulate the discretion of the Court, there was no legal objection to my being admitted to the Barr, but he went further and first suggested to me the position I have stated, that there was no general legal disqualification to an alien holding office—he added that many instances to the contrary might be produced, and expressed his conviction that if the matter were accurately investigated, the idea would be found to originate in mistake. At the same city, there is actually an instance, as I am assured, of an alien holding an office with a salary, under the House of Representatives. I mean that of Mr. Laurie, who is chaplain to that House, and has not been three years in the country.

It only remains then, on this position, to enquire whether *the Constitution or Laws of this State* have created any such disqualification. The Constitution has required that certain officers, which it specifies shall be free holders, and with that restriction, has left the appointment of all officers to the discretion of those having the power of making it. The Act concerning Oaths, has imposed the Oath of Allegiance on every officer civil and military—but no act has created any other incapacity, necessary to be noted here, then what may result for the difficulty of taking that oath.

I hope the foregoing statement will be considered as demonstrating the error of the position, that by law an alien cannot hold any office. But even were it true, I shall now endeavour to show that *the situation of Counsellor, or even of Solicitor or Attorney, is not an office within the strict meaning of that term.*

Permit me to premise, that it is become a matter of some consequence, not I hope to me, but certainly to others of considerable worth and respectability, to ascertain the truth of this doctrine. Some Gentlemen have been found guilty under the Duelling Act, —one of the penalties it inflicts is an incapacity to hold any office of honour, profit or trust. To them, therefore, as well as to me, it is of importance to establish that their profession is not an office.

Attornies have often been called officers of the Court and undoubtedly for the purpose of checking and controlling their conduct, they are so entirely at its discretion, that it has never before been worth while to discuss the question, how far they are officers in the proper legal or political acceptation of the word. Counsellors have not been so frequently considered in the same light, and on the received distinction between those two situations was founded on an opinion given me by the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania [Thos. McKean] that if he presided as he had done for many years, in the Supreme Court of that State, he would instantly admit me as a Counsellor, tho' he might hesitate to do so as an Attorney—at that time we spoke on the supposition that an alien could not hold an office. I do not however mean to ground anything on the distinction between attornies and counsellors, but shall consider them in the same light.

In 3 Bac: Abr. 718, title offices and officers (A), it is laid down on the authority of Carth, 478, to be a rule, that where one man hath to do with the affairs of another *against his will, and without his leave,* tis an office. Bacon then, on the authority of 2 Sid. 142, states the difference between an office and an employment—saying that every office is an employment, but that there are Employments which do not come under the denomination of offices; such as an agreement to make hay, plough land, herd a flock &c., which differ widely from that of Steward of a Manor. Tho' the illustrations are taken from very humble life, yet I think they disclose principles that will support the following definition: *An officer is one who is bound to perform certain things for another, which the party interested in them would not be permitted to perform for himself, and which the officer when duly called upon cannot refuse to perform.*

For the existence then of an office, two things are necessary, *1st, that the party interested in the discharge of its functions, shall not be permitted to act for himself,* and

which requires the oath of allegiance, and therefore I presume, if Officers at all, not of that description, that if any disqualification for non citizenship could on general principles be supposed to exist, would fall within it.

These observations have been extended considerably more than was originally intended, and certainly their length stands very much in need of apology. - I shall therefore only observe, that since Courts have now admitted me, and therefore judicially expressed their opinion, that my want of Citizenship formed, at least no legal objection to my admission for altho' I feel and very gratefully acknowledge, that the peculiar circumstances of my case, have induced them to exercise their discretion towards me, with the utmost liberality - yet I can not pay them so bad a compliment, as to suppose they sacrificed the smallest portion of what they conceived to be the law of the land. They dispensed indeed with requisites, which they had themselves created for cases not similar to mine - and being convinced that I am not an adventurer, whom professional disrespectability or failure has forced to try a new speculation here; but that my immigration to this Country has arisen from very different causes, they scrupulously investigated the propriety of my application, and when they became convinced that no other obstacle lay in my way, but those resulting from their own rules, over which they had entire control, they accorded to me the permission of following the profession to which I was bred, and in which I was known - and by that kind and generous conduct, conferred on me the greatest favour I could possibly receive at their hands.

I beg

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

CLOSING OF MR. EMMET'S PLEA BEFORE MAYOR DE WITT CLINTON

I beg, Sir, that you will excuse the length of this letter – its importance to myself and to my family have perhaps made me enter too minutely into detail – but as I am conscious I do not submit it to an unfriendly Judge, I venture to lay it before you, with those defects which I could not now correct, without considerably increasing the great delay, that has already unavoidably occurred, by my being obliged, for those some days, to devote myself to other business.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir
Your most obedient
Humble Servant
Thomas Addis Emmet

Sunday April 7th
1805

Water Street No 43

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

2nd, *that, as a compensation for that incapacity, the officer must act when called upon.* Now are either of these two necessary characteristics of an office, to be found in the employment of Attorney or Counsellor? May not a party to a suit, if he pleases, appear and act for himself and can an Attorney or Counsellor be compelled to appear and act for another? So long as he continues in the employment of the party, he is bound to the faithful discharge of his trust, like every other servant or person employed—but his undertaking the employment is in every instance entirely voluntary. As the situation requires peculiar information, of which suitors are not competent judges, and also very considerable integrity, the Courts do right in making provision—that the employment shall not be confided to the ignorant or the dishonest—but they do no more than the Universities and Colleges of Physicians, which only grant degrees and *licences to practice* physic, after due inquiry into the skill and character of the person offering himself—or than Bishops and other heads of Churches do, before they ordain a clergyman. In the fair and rational point of view, they are all professions or employments, in which voluntary services, requiring peculiar learning and good conduct, are performed for voluntary applicants and in consideration of the necessity of such learning and good conduct a power is vested in those who are qualified to judge on those subjects, that they may examine and decide on the fitness of those who wish to enter into the profession, for the mass of society, which is incapable of forming any judgement, respecting at least one of the necessary qualifications. Physic and Divinity are professions open to duly qualified and learned aliens. Why should not the profession of the law be also open to an alien whose studies and learning have been of the legal kind?

The laws of this State seem to recognize the distinction between this profession and an office so called. But before I examine them I would premise that officers act under a *Commission or Warrant,* that is under an order to do, or a security from injury for doing certain things which they are bound to do; but lawyers receive only *a licence* or bare permission to practice if they choose. The Act of this State concerning Counsellors &c. was passed, and I think the date material, on the 20th March, 1801, and enacts (Sec: 4.) that no person shall be admitted a Counsellor &c. without taking an Oath duly to demean himself in the practice &c.—and this is the only oath whatsoever, which it imposes as a preliminary qualification for being *admitted* to practice in those capacities. On the 2nd of April, 1801, only thirteen days after, was passed an act concerning oaths, which requires that every person who shall hereafter *be appointed* to any office, Civil or Military, shall take an oath renouncing all foreign allegiance and professing allegiance to this State. Now, I beg leave to observe, that those two acts, at the same time under the eye of the Legislature, and enacted so nearly at once, must be considered as made, if I may say so, *uno statu;* the one prescribes *the only oath,* and every legal qualification required from the non-commissioned members of the legal Profession—the other act marks out what Oaths, *whether of office or Allegiance,* shall be required from all officers *appointed,* that is, deriving their authority from the Council of *appointment* or any other persons having a right to appoint. A careful examination and comparison of these two acts induced the Supreme Court to decide that Counsellors &c, were not within the purview of the last, which requires the oath of allegiance, and therefore, I presume, if officers at all, not of that description, that if any disqualification for non-citizenship could on general principles be supposed to exist, would fall within it.

These observations have been extended considerably more than was originally intended, and certainly their length stands very much in need of apology. I shall, therefore, only observe, that five courts have now admitted me, and therefore judicially expressed their opinion, that my want of citizenship formed at least no legal objection to my admission, for altho' I feel, and very gratefully acknowledge, that the peculiar circumstances of my case, have induced them to exercise their discretion towards me, with the utmost liberality—yet I cannot pay them so bad a compliment as to suppose they sacrificed the smallest portion of what they conceived to be the law of the land. They dispensed indeed with requisites, which they had themselves created for cases not

similar to mine,—and being convinced that I am not an adventurer, whom professional disrespectability or failure has forced to try a new speculation here, but that my immigration to this country has arisen from very different causes, and when they became convinced that no other obstacle lay in my way, but those resulting from their own rules, over which they had entire control, they accorded to me the permission of following the profession to which I was bred, and in which I was known—and by that kind and generous conduct, conferred on me the greatest favour I could possibly receive at their hands.

I beg, Sir, that you will excuse the length of this letter—its importance to myself and to my family have perhaps made me enter too minutely into detail—but as I am conscious I do not submit it to an unfriendly Judge, I venture to lay it before you, with these defects, which I could not now correct, without considerably increasing the great delay, that has already unavoidably occurred, by my being obliged, for those days, to devote myself to other business.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

No. 43 Water St., New York.

NEW YORK, JUNE 1ST., 1805.

The following letter* published in the Ulster "Journal of Archæology" (July, 1898), will cast some light upon the views held by Mr. Emmet after leaving France. It will also show the purpose of Arthur O'Connor, who seems to have made an effort "to revive the ancient title of O'Connor, King of Ireland". This letter was written to Robert Simms of Belfast, who was appointed to the chief command of the Antrim United Irish forces in 1798. Madden states (Lives of the United Irishmen, etc., IV., p. 455), that on one occasion John Hughes, apparently an active United Irishman, but in reality an unsuspected English spy and informer, charged Simms with incapacity for his position, and proposed to the incorruptible James Hope that he, Hughes, should inform against Simms with the object of thus getting rid of him. Hope indignantly drew a pistol and threatened to shoot Hughes if ever he repeated such a proposal. Mr. Simms was also a fellow-prisoner in Fort George, Scotland, with Mr. Emmet and the other leaders of the United Irishmen.

NEW YORK, June 1st, 1805.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

With very great pleasure I received yours from Belfast, and I am gratified to find that I continue to preserve that place in your esteem and friendship for which I shall be ever solicitous.

You judge rightly as to the motives which induced me to leave France. I saw there enough to confirm me in the opinion I always maintained—that a permanent and useful union between virtue and vice is impossible and that the virtuous and honest will always be deceived and injured by permitting any attempt at such a union to be made. France is the headquarters of fraud, deceit and despotism, and under its present rulers no nation or people that love liberty need look for its honest co-operation.

Wishing to doubt this truth, I remained there as long and went as far as my principles would permit; but when the opportunities I enjoyed, both of observation and information, convinced me that if a French force ever landed in Ireland, its influence and strength would be employed to eradicate every vestige of Republicanism, to prevent and corrupt the public mind and then, by a mixture of force, fraud and delusion, but

*From "Ireland Under English Rule", second edition, Vol. II., p. 348.

always under the color and pretext of the public will, to establish a government *which should be modelled after that of the protecting country,*—I use language that has been used to myself,—and in order the better to support that fabric, to prop it by a *Catholic Establishment,* which the arrogant and self-opinionated despot and his minions obstinately and in the teeth of every evidence that could be produced, supposed would be highly gratifying to the Irish Catholics at large.—When I became satisfied that these views were entertained, if ever it should become physically possible for the French to land in force in Ireland, and very unjustly acquired reputation by asserting the impolicy of any Religious Establishment, but who would now (to adopt the expression respecting him [O'Connor] "of one who ought to know his secret compact") make terms, and who, after disavowing his ever having been a Republican, in a pamphlet which appeared with his name at the very crisis, that Bonaparte was declaring himself Emperor, would I am convinced be selected under the auspices of *the protecting country* to be a greater man than Schimmelpenninck is likely to be in Holland, and to receive the ancient title of O'Connor, King of Ireland.—When I perceived all this I determined to fly from the sanctuary of crimes, and, as I am incapable of compromising with the English Government, the constant and bloody oppressions of my native land, to retire to this happy country, where liberty is triumphant and cherished and where the principles to which I have sacrificed so much would be a kind of portion to my children. I write to you what are my own sentiments of England, France and Ireland, without adverting to what yours may be, because I should do the same thing to any friend, or to any enemy, were he ever a member of the English or Irish administrations, if I did not dread that he might pervert the terms of abhorrence in which I speak of France to something like soliciting an amnesty or reconciliation, and from my soul I detest the English tyranny; but in truth I wish my sentiments to be known to my countrymen at large, and I should long since have given them greater publicity but for the fear of the imputation I have mentioned, and of its being supposed that I wished to support the dominion of England in Ireland. What your political sentiments may be I do not presume to know. I only write for the purpose of expressing my own, and I write them to one of whose private friendship, abstracted from all political considerations, I am confident.

From my coming to this country unaccompanied by any of my political friends, you might suppose that the opinions I have stated are not entertained by them; if you think me right you would be inclined to censure them, but you would do them a very great wrong. Many of them were entangled with situations they had entered into under the expectation of being useful, and could not pursue any line of conduct as promptly as I have done. I can say, however, that those whom I have been in the habit of esteeming and loving coincide with me in every particular; that when the idea of a Catholic Establishment of Ireland was first broached in France the Irish Catholics there of any consideration reprobated it in a most marked and decided manner, and that my resolution of quitting that country was approved on principle, by those who were so circumstanced as not to be able immediately to adopt the same conduct.

I have the pleasure further to add that many of them have withdrawn from a military life from the same motives and devoted themselves to other pursuits. James Joseph McDonnell, whose name you must unquestionably have heard of, arrived from Bordeaux on the 26th of May, and he informed me that Macneven and Swiney were there preparing to come here, and that Macneven's sea-stores were ready. I expect that others will follow them; and even of those who may remain behind, do not suppose that they all approve of, will endeavour to effectuate the views of France respecting Ireland. Some men there undoubtedly are for whom I would not say so much; but with one exception, they are very little known or thought of at home.

I rejoice, my dear friend, to think that the resolution you have taken of settling yourself and family here will withdraw you from scenes which I cannot but suppose must be extremely irksome, and from a country the future prospects of which appear to me extremely gloomy. Believe me, it is with pain I find that you are determined to defer your voyage for one year more. The determination to quit one's native home,

natural connections, and ancient friends is so serious and important that I would scarcely venture to advise it to any man; but you have taken the resolution, and as your choice is made, I may say I do not believe you will ever repent it, and I may urge that every moment which you unnecessarily delay the execution of your plan is so much thrown away out of your happiness in this country.

As for myself, you will, I am sure, rejoice to learn that my good fortune has been complete. The exertions of my friends have procured me the permission of following my profession here, tho' an alien, and not qualified, by performing the usual preliminary studies within the State; and my prospects in business are to the full as good as my most sanguine expectations ever conceived. Within this fortnight or three weeks I have received a very large and troublesome addition to my family by the arrival of my three youngest boys from Dublin.* They are in perfect health, and so much the harder to manage. I am now surrounded by my eight children, equally divided as to sex; the three eldest—your old fellow prisoners—are extremely well and very fine children. Your favourite, Margaret, tho' inferior in beauty, is perhaps the best and most valuable.

They all remember you with very lively affection. The little Scotch lassie is a great beauty, and a great pet; the eighth is a brave American girl of only two months old. I had another lovely little girl who died of the chin cough after we left France.

So much for my children. Mrs. Emmet, who is as eager as I am to see you and desires the most affectionate remembrance to you, would be very tolerable if she did not persevere in nursing, which never agrees with her; but we are at this moment also laboring under the most crying grievance in America—the badness of servants—of which, and the enormity of their wages you can scarcely form an idea. This, in addition to nursing, harrasses and fatigues her. When you come out, if there be any servant really attached to your family that would accompany you from affection and not from speculation, jump at the proposal. Be so good as to present my repects to Mrs. Simms, tho' I do not enjoy the pleasure of her acquaintance personally, and to your brother, who I hope has not forgotten me; and believe me, my dear friend, very sincerely yours

T. A. Emmet.

Robert Simms, Esq.

At the time the sons of Mr. Emmet landed from Ireland, as described in the following footnote, the people of all stations in New York, with but few exceptions, stood in dread of what they termed "Popery" quite as much as of a pestilence. The Irish therefore were disliked and mistrusted. It needed the intercourse of many generations to convince these people that "Popery" was not, after all, so deadly as supposed, and that in any case all Irishmen were not so afflicted, that there were indeed some Irishmen who knew no more of it than they did. It will be shown that Mr. Emmet had to fight his way bitterly until he finally succeeded in establishing his position, and his boys

*John Patten, Thomas Addis, and Christopher Temple, the three youngest sons, had been left with their grandparents after the arrest and imprisonment of their father. Shortly after the death of Dr. Emmet, their grandfather, his wife left "Casino" and took a smaller house in the neighborhood but a little further distant from Dublin. Mrs. Holmes (Mary Anne Emmet), with Mr. Robert Holmes and the children accompanied the grandmother. The aunt had charge of the house after her father's death and she only continued the care of the children after the death of her broken-hearted mother until they could be sent to New York to rejoin their parents. Much delay occurred in consequence of the difficulty in finding some one to take charge of them and the opportunity did not occur until the spring of 1805. A Mr. Thompson who brought them out, probably a distant relative through the Colvilles, was a school master. He established a noted boys' school on Long Island, and educated them all afterwards.

The arrival in the port of New York of a ship from Ireland was at that day an event of rare occurrence and it was one of singular attraction for causing the assembling of a crowd. John, the eldest, the father of the writer, with Thomas and their younger brother, were sent ashore in quest of a conveyance to take them to their father's residence. On leaving the dock the boys had to fight their way, as they were attacked by several street Arabs about their age and pelted with clods of dirt and stones, and were laughed at by the grown persons along the sides of the street who seemed to consider it a good joke to join in calling them "Paddies from Cork". John got a black eye in the first scuffle, but the two boys managed to hold their own and protect their younger brother, until they procured a conveyance. Mr. Thompson, who was behind with their trunk on his shoulder, knew nothing of the attack until it was all over.

on landing were only being initiated into what they had to bear in some form or other for the greater part of their lives. These lives were well spent before there was a change in this point of view.

Mr. Emmet's business increased rapidly in furnishing the means for support of his family. But no one has written anything to show the character of his work or any interesting feature of his practice.

For "The Green Bag", issued at Boston (July, 1896), Mr. A. Oakey Hall, at one time Mayor of the City of New York, prepared a careful article on Thomas Addis Emmet, with the accompanying couplet:—

> Dear son of Memory, great heir of fame,
> What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
> (Milton's Sonnet on Shakespeare)

Some of Mr. Hall's observations will be quoted and noted here, while the cases dealt with by Mr. Emmet in the course of his legal practice and commented on by Mr. Hale will be distributed through the volume in chronological order. The author has long adhered to the rule of having all material used by him verified, where possible. In conformity with this rule Mr. Hall's article was carefully compared with the public records, and it was found that although some mistakes had been made they were comparatively unimportant.*

When the writer was a small boy it was a common circumstance for strangers who had heard a story related of his grandfather, to come seeking to learn if it were true, and a good laugh would accompany the re-telling of it. There is not the slightest doubt of the truthfulness of the following story related by Mr. Hall.

There was an Irish lawyer who took the place at the New York Bar left vacant by the untimely death of Alexander Hamilton, who like him was an émigré from British dominions. His name was Thomas Addis Emmet, whose face and virtues are commemorated on a white marble shaft that faces every pedestrian who passes St. Paul's church on lower Broadway in New York City. The tradition of its Bar and its law reports during the first quarter of this century keep his legal memory green. Considered as a mere man, the name of Thomas Addis Emmet is one for Irishmen everywhere to conjure with as having been a martyr to their revolutionary animosity toward Great Britain. He and his brother Robert collaborated in patriotic writings and perhaps rash undertakings which the English government called treason. Together they crossed to the Continent in hopes of enlisting foreign aid, and at Paris the elder brother saw his younger one depart to engage in Irish rebellion, and to meet with unexampled courage a fate which, but for the Muses of History, might have been termed ignominious. Thomas Addis was arrested for treason in 1797, and imprisoned in Scotland, in that Kilmainham jail made famous in later times by the cells of O'Connell and Parnell. But as the Irish chroniclers of that day have said, the English government remained satisfied with the death of one Emmet, and so gave Thomas and his wife—who had shared his imprisonment—their freedom, on condition that they left their native country never to return to it. They exiled themselves first to Paris, and next to New York, where they were received with open arms by its governor, George Clinton, himself of the strongest Irish sympathies because of Irish birth, and an adversary of King George during revolutionary times.

*This commission was given to a great-grandson of Mr. Emmet, Mr. Harris, bearing his full name through his grandfather, the author, who assigned to Mr. Harris the execution of the search, which was the first professional obligation discharged by him.

Emmet arrived at New York in the year of Hamilton's decease, and was after only a short pupilage admitted and welcomed to its Bar. He succeeded from the start, for he was well grounded in the principles of the common law, and being a medical jurisprudent, found his learning as a physician additionally serviceable. He was magnetic in manner, of polished behavior, and a florid and impassioned orator without sacrificing logic. His hobby as a college student had been mathematics, and as every lawyer knows, he who is master of Euclid and differential calculus readily grasps the skill of syllogisms and enthymeme, and can demonstrate legal problems with persuasive effect to court or jury.

Although Governor George Clinton had given warm welcome to Thomas Addis Emmet, and by his influence tided him over the quicksands of Bar-admission, there were several leading members of it who stood aloof from "the interloper", and who, to put it in plain English, showed jealousy of him. It was, too, the era of the Adams alien legislation, and politics had some hand in the feeble attempt to put Emmet into Coventry. But Cadwallader D. Colden, one of Governor Clinton's allies, who had been mayor of the city, and who led in its society, took Emmet by the hand, and being a Bar leader, became of great value to the Irish barrister.

Thomas Addis Emmet's appearance in court was rather that of a rollicking middle-aged Irish squire, fond of the hunt and the bottle—although he was a model of sobriety. He had roguish Hibernian eyes, a very florid complexion, was of sound physical make, displayed an expansive head, and one that an enthusiastic phrenologist would have revelled to manipulate in a search for bumps; and he used a musical, expressive and variable voice, pleasantly tinctured with a winning Corkonian brogue.* He was persuasive and convincing, rather than strictly eloquent, but eminently graceful in gesture and pose.

The term *rollicking* in application to Mr. Emmet's appearance cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. The responsibilities of the world were placed on Mr. Emmet's shoulders at too early an age for a rollicking nature, supposing it ever to have existed, to survive his early manhood. He remained in after years a quiet and most dignified man, but always with a cheerful smile of great individuality, as a greeting alike for the humblest and most exalted person. As Mr. Hall has just shown, Mr. Emmet's bodily carriage was extremely graceful, and he retained this characteristic to the end of his life. His appearance in the street was such that no stranger would ever pass him without turning to look back. His manner was the striking one of a distinguished man, and the eccentricity recorded by Mr. Hall was probably the only one he possessed.

He had but one odd foible, which was in taking a goose-quill pen—his was not the era of the steel, the gold, or the capricious fountain pen—between his fingers, then putting his hands behind him, would reduce the quill and feather to shreds with nervous clutchings, while to the observer in front of him he appeared cool, collected, and talking to point and purpose. He was gifted with great nervous energy and mental control. When his argument ended, jurors or judges or adversary would seem to notice what immense force remained; the engine had easily performed its work, but there was power remaining for any further onward movement.

The following traditional anecdote is of record in the annals of the New York Bar, illustrative of the craft and shrewdness of Mr. Emmet as a counselor. The transaction to which it refers having been bruited about publicly at the time, gave him much popular

*What is termed "Irish brogue" is the Irishman's fashion of speaking better English than that spoken by the Englishman of the present day. He has simply preserved the English mode of speaking the language as it was spoken when the English first went to Ireland.

fame. A journeyman saddler of the city, having accumulated a few hundred dollars, proposed to establish himself in a suburban village, and while at its inn entrusted its landlord with the keeping over night of two hundred dollars. This, on demand the next morning the rogue denied having received. The guest had not taken a receipt, nor was it the time when a suitor could witness for himself, and Mr. Emmet was obliged to inform him that he had been tricked without recourse, "but", added he, "if you have another two hundred, return and tell him you must have been mistaken, and apologetically, taking a friend with you as a witness, deposit another two hundred with him"; which the client did. "Now", said Emmet, a day or two after, "go and claim the two hundred dollars while alone, and he will give it to you". And so it proved, and the bewildered client returned with it to ask how he was better off. Then Emmet added, "Tomorrow go to the innkeeper with your witness friend and say, "Having returned me my first two hundred dollars I come now for the second two hundred".

The rogue of course on another visit denied its reception, but the witness spoke up and said, "I saw the transaction, and will bear testimony in court". The village boniface, fearing for the reputation of his house if suit was brought, and exposure resulted, paid over the money, and realized how he had been beaten. Then the client returned exultingly to Emmet, who refused a fee. And the saddler and his witness friend were not chary in telling to everybody what a shrewd man was the Irish rebel lawyer from the old country.

In a country really independent, the laws and policy originate within its own bosom, and are calculated to extend the advantages of the State, whether natural or acquired, and to recover its defects.

T. A. Emmet.

When civilization is imposed, it will be fashioned by the habits, the prejudices and the interests of conquest to form a society of slaves, not a community of freemen.
T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXV

Mr. Emmet visits Washington before deciding as to a place of final residence—Is permitted to practise in the United States Supreme Court—Through the influence of Hon. George Clinton, Governor of the State of New York, is licensed to practise in the courts of that State before being naturalized—There being fortunately no law to the contrary, Mr. Emmet gains his purpose, but great opposition is ranged against him, and at once a law is passed forbidding any one to practise who is not a citizen of the United States—Receives a visit from Harman Blennerhassett—Having been a physician, the profession recognizes him as still of the fraternity, and he holds until his death the position of Counsellor of the New York Medical Society—Reference to some of his legal cases—Interesting letter in reply to Peter Burrowes—No relative of the name of Emmet left in Ireland—Desires that none of the family should visit Ireland until she be free—Meets with much political opposition on account of connection with the Republican or Democratic party—His correspondence with Rufus King, and success in defeating his election as Governor—Rufus King's protest to the English Government against allowing the Irish leaders to emigrate to the United States.

VERY inducement was offered Mr. Emmet to settle in New York after the Mayor had granted him permission to practise in his court, but before making his decision he visited the city of Washington, where, without any action on his part, he was admitted to practise in the Supreme Court of the United States. On his return to New York the Clintons, Mr. Daniel D. Tompkins and other friends caused a special Act to be passed through the Legislature by which Mr. Emmet was admitted regularly to the Bar and entitled to practise in all the courts of the State, as there was no law to the contrary.

But it appears from page 386 of 2 Carnes, New York Reports, objection was expressly made to Emmet's admission, which took place at the February term of the Supreme Court, 1805, on the ground of his alienage, and the discussion resulting in the Court's exercising its discretion was accentuated by the adoption of a rule at an ensuing term requiring citizenship in admission to the Bar (1 Johnson's Reports, 528).

Business was offered to him as soon as he was able to take charge of it. The first case he received was from the Quakers to defend a fugitive slave, and as we will see hereafter, his last case was for charity.

He had scarcely settled his family and begun his career when he received a visit from his old friend and distant relative, Harman Blennerhassett. We

find this visit referred to in "The Blennerhassett Papers" (edited by Wm. H. Stafford, Cincinnati, 1864) in the following manner:

> About this time, Blennerhassett, having received intelligence of the arrival in New York of his classmate and friend, the celebrated Thomas Addis Emmet, who had been compelled to flee his country by reason of serious political difficulties, hastened to meet him. The feelings of the exiles, as they again clasped hands, on the western borders of the Atlantic, can only be fully appreciated by those who experienced similar vicissitudes. Here he found one with whom he could freely sympathize, and who, in return, could as freely sympathize with him. Often in early life, had they sported together over the same green meadows, and participated in the same amusements. And when, at a more advanced age, they had been honorable competitors for academic honors, no selfish ambition had served to loose the bonds which early childhood welded, although the contest was never so spirited, or the prize was never so dazzling. Still later in life, they had deplored together the fate of their country; had witnessed her deep degradation and sighed over the hopeless prospects which were shadowed in the distant future. After several weeks spent with his friend, during which time he renewed his former acquaintance in the city, he returned to his family on the island.

Shortly after Mr. Blennerhassett's visit to New York he became acquainted with Aaron Burr, and involved with him in what was charged to be treason against the United States—the fitting out of an expedition for the supposed purpose of capturing territory held by a friendly power. He was arrested and tried with Burr on this charge, but was finally acquitted, as the evidence was insufficient.

Blennerhassett was ably defended by voluntary counsel. In answer to some queries addressed to him from Burr, through Colonel Alston, Blennerhassett wrote:

> I had no doubt Emmet's friendship for me would bring him hither to assist in my defense, if he thought I stood in need of him; but as I was, on the one hand, determined to expend no money in my defense, I was, on the other, equally averse to bringing my friend on a journey from his large family, or withdrawing his industry from that harvest on which that family depended for their support; but could I engage Mr. Emmet at a suitable compensation, I would write to him forthwith.

Great injustice was done Blennerhassett, for, whatever may have been Burr's ulterior purpose, Blennerhassett's great object was evidently to seek a new settlement for his family in some more genial climate.

He settled on a large island in the Ohio River, near Marietta, and had made the wilderness about him teem with plenty. But as the Spaniards then held the mouth of the Mississippi River there was no market or outlet for his produce, so for this reason and because of the absence of the social relations to which he had been accustomed he became anxious to change his habitation.

After his arrest his house was nearly destroyed and his estate was made a barren waste by the lawlessness of soldiers who were in charge, awaiting the result of the trial. His family had separated, and in their support, together with the liabilities he had incurred by indorsing notes for Colonel Burr and in meeting the necessary expenses connected with his trial, he was at length reduced from affluence to a state of great embarrassment. He returned to his home broken, not only in fortune, but in health. He hoped to save something

from the wreck and to obtain some redress from the United States Government for the losses he had sustained, but he was destined to disappointment.

One of the most important cases in which Mr. Emmet was retained, and one not mentioned by Mr. Hall, was very early in his professional career for the defence of William S. Smith who was charged with being concerned in preparing a military expedition, set on foot in the city of New York and intended to be carried on against the dominions of Spain and South America, at a time when peace existed between the United States and Spain. This was known as "Miranda's Expedition"; a general account of which was published in New York in 1808. The trial of Smith took place in the Circuit Court of the United States for the New York District, in July, 1806.*

It is one of three trials in Mr. Emmet's practice which were reported in full and were taken in shorthand by Mr. Wm. Sampson.† The writer has a copy of the report of this trial, as published.

The medical men of New York always claimed Mr. Emmet as a member of their own profession, and one of the first official recognitions he received was from the Medical Society of the County of New York. This is shown by the following letter, in which he accepts the position of Counsellor to the Society, which position he held until his death:—

New York, July 12th, 1806.

Dear Sir:

Permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your polite note, and to express my regret that I had not the pleasure of seeing you and the other gentlemen of your committee, when you were so good as to call upon me.

I request you to return my most sincere thanks to the members of the Medical Society for the Honour they have done me in appointing me their Counsellor, and to assure them, that in return for their confidence I shall always endeavour to discharge my duty to the best of my abilities.

I have the honour to be Dear Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Thomas Addis Emmet.

James Tillary Esq., M. D.,
Broadway.

Mr. Hall states:—

The first reported case in which Mr. Emmet appeared is that of Mumford v. McPherson, 1 Johnson, 414, tried in August, 1806, in which he successfully defended on appeal a nonsuit that he had obtained at nisi prius on the point that a plaintiff, suing upon a verbal warranty that the ship which he sold was copperfastened, could not maintain his declaration after a bill of sale had been offered in evidence that was silent as to warranty. His brief is given, in which he cites memorable English cases on the subject of the relation of parole contracts to those put in writing. This relation is so well settled now-a-days that a reading of the old case cited sounds oddly. Emmet cited cases from Yelverton and Peake, stating that verbal and written warranty could not coalesce. It seems that the case was subsequently cited in twelve different decisions in many States.

In the next volume of Johnson, in Welsh v. Hill, p. 100, Mr. Emmet argues, November, 1806, for, and obtains the discharge of his defendant client because of flaws in the bail piece.

*See Lloyd's Reports.
†See Appendix, Note No. XV.

February, 1807—James Kent being presiding justice. In Pintard *v.* Ross, p. 186, Mr. Emmet brought an old practitioner to book, in correcting and taking advantage of his blunders in procedure. This case must have brought him good advertisement, for his client, John Pintard, was one of New York's most eminent citizens in his day. That clientele also showed that his learning and ability both at nisi prius and in banco were appreciated by the highest class of litigants.

Mr. Peter Burrowes became a member of the United Irishmen early in its organization and about the time his friend Thomas Addis Emmet joined it. At that time the object of the association was to bring about Catholic Emancipation and a reform in the Irish Parliament. He was never in favor of separation from England, but as a member of the Church of England he never changed his opinion or relaxed his efforts for gaining Catholic Emancipation. As a lawyer his professional advancement was sacrificed, for the Government withheld all official preferment. When some petty office was offered him by Sir Robert Peel, when he was Prime Minister, it was declined by Mr. Burrowes as he felt that he could not adopt the views of the Government of the day, nor would he change his own as to Catholic Emancipation.

In Mr. Burrowes' "Memoirs", page 67, the editor writes:—

It is to be deplored that throughout an active and long life, and until old age had overtaken him he failed, while in possession of the most transcendant abilities and unblemished integrity, to obtain any employment except that of counsel to the commissioners.

The most affectionate intercourse subsisted between Mr. Burrowes and the family of the Emmets, of whom he was a great admirer. He lost no time in communicating the change of administration of 1806 to his friend Thomas Addis Emmet with whom he was most closely united, apprizing him of his own good fortune, and of the political and judicial arrangements incident on the change; inviting him at the same time to return or at least send over some of his children to be educated. This letter produced the following reply from Emmet, exhibiting a friendship which no adversity could shake or diminish, yet breathing hostility keen and inveterate against those men whose political rancour and personal ambition stifled every feeling that was honourable to human nature, and who had, as he considered, treacherously contributed to blast his own happiness and disappoint the hopes of himself and his family.

New York, Nov. 19th, 1806.

My Dear Burrowes—I had the pleasure of receiving yours of July last in due time. And first as to the matter of business to which it alludes. I have inquired after Mr. ———'s claim to property in Baltimore, and the result is pretty conclusive that nothing can now be done, and probably never could, even if the party entitled had come out here to urge his claim. Mr. ——— is at present in Baltimore, and I have furnished him with all the information I could get before his departure, and on his return shall put into his hand another letter I have since received. He, therefore, will, I suppose, write more particularly than I have time to do. As to your late law arrangements, I sincerely rejoice, my good friend, that promotion has fallen upon your head, and those of some others where I think it will be bestowed; however, there are in the list of promotion men of whom I never wish to think because I cannot think of them without the strongest emotions of aversion and disgust, strong and warm as was my former friendship. In the conclusion of your letter you ask a question which if I did not know the occasional absence of your thoughts, would have caused me much speculation.—Do you ever mean to visit us? says an influential officer of the Government of Ireland, to a proscribed exile, whose return would be death by law;—or to send over any of your children? A man

who was very anxious to return would catch at this offer, but that is not my case. I am settled here with the fairest prospects for myself and children.

My principles and my sufferings were my first passport and introduction here, and they procured me the effective regard of the leading characters of this State, and in the Union at large. In proportion as I cherish these principles I am respected, and every day's reflection and observation makes them dearer to me. Ought I to go where they are treasonable and sufficient ground for perpetual proscription? Besides, my good friend, I am too proud when vanquished to assist by my presence in gracing the triumph of the victor. And with what feelings should I tread on Irish ground? As if I were walking over graves, and those the graves of my nearest relatives and my dearest friends. No, I can never wish to be in Ireland except in such a way as none of my old friends connected with the Government could wish to see me placed in. As to my children, I hope they will love liberty too much ever to fix a voluntary residence in an enslaved country. Nothing in their future prospects gives me greater pain than the fear that my eldest son will be obliged, when he comes of age, to go to Ireland to dispose of some settled property which, if I were worth a few thousand dollars more, I should wish rather in the hands of my greatest enemy than his: There is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet. I do not wish that there ever should while it is connected with England, and yet it will, perhaps, be remembered in its history. With very sincere and warmest esteem,

Believe me ever yours,
T. A. Emmet.

In this instance as well as in Tone's, Burrowes seems to have forgotten that the Banishment Act punished with transportation any person discovered in correspondence with the Irish exiles. His transgression, however, was purely the result of generous sympathy for their fallen fortunes; for no man more deplored or more frequently condemned the rash principles entertained by those distinguished men.

Political feeling was most bitter at the time Mr. Emmet settled in New York, and the city was then a stronghold of the Federal party. Mr. Emmet's friends were all allied to the Republican party, which was the same as the Democratic party of the present day, and being himself a democrat in principle he became associated and remained with that party all his life. In consequence he met with great opposition from the beginning, and a number of the Bar at once joined in a cabal to crush him. A noted exception was in the case of Cadwallader Colden, a prominent Federalist, who openly denounced the combination within a short time after it was formed. With his wife he called on Mr. and Mrs. Emmet, and until their death they remained intimate friends.

Mr. Emmet was not a man to be intimidated, nor was he easily discouraged. He quietly overcame all opposition by his exalted character, gradually making lasting friends of those who in the beginning had been most opposed to him, and eventually, notwithstanding every obstacle, he reached a degree of eminence seldom gained at the Bar. He finally removed the last remnant of this organized opposition to him by an open letter, written in 1807, and published in the press, to Mr. Rufus King, who was then Federalist candidate for Governor of the State.

Mr. Emmet was fully satisfied that Mr. King, while United States Minister to England, had used that position to prevent his emigrating to this country,

and consequently he considered Mr. King directly responsible for his long imprisonment. But of King's exact course Mr. Emmet had no proof beyond the statement made by some Government official that Mr. King had protested against the Irish leaders being allowed to go to America.

For some unknown reason, the proof of Mr. King's action has been overlooked, although it is plain from the following letters found by the writer in the "Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh", Vol. II, p. 394.

MR. WICKHAM TO LORD CASTLEREAGH

Private. WHITEHALL, OCTOBER 19, 1789.

MY LORD—In addition to the letter from Mr. Rufus King, the American Minister, to the Duke of Portland, which his Grace transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, in his letter of yesterday, I have the honour to forward to your Lordship, by his Grace's direction, a second letter, from the same gentleman, on the same subject.

I saw Mr. King yesterday, and had some conversation with him on the subject of this correspondence, when he assured me that, under the powers given him by the Act lately passed in America, the President would not suffer any of the traitors from Ireland to land in America; and that if they escaped his vigilance and set foot on the shores, he would instantly have them seized and sent back to Europe. This determination of the President of the United States, which Mr. King told me I might consider as official, seems to furnish a conclusive answer to any complaints that may be made of these people when the Government shall signify to them the impossibility of their being suffered to go to America. I have the honour to be, &c.,

WILLIAM WICKHAM.

MR. RUFUS KING TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, October 17, 1798.

MY LORD—I am concerned to trouble your Grace again on the subject of the exile of the Irish State prisoners, especially after the friendly assurances that your Grace has had the goodness to give me, and which have induced me to believe that they would not be permitted to go to America. But the late accounts from Ireland, which, I hope inaccurately, state that preparations are making to send them to the United States, give me much anxiety lest I have omitted any further step that might have been expected or proper, in order to prevent it. It is true, that the President of the United States has power to deny, and, in my opinion, will refuse them a residence amongst us, provided he is apprized of their names and delinquency; but of these he may be ignorant, especially as I have expressed to him my expectations that they would not be permitted to go to America. If his Majesty's Government is still free to decide I must repeat my earnest hope that these delinquents may not be permitted to proceed to the United States. If the permission of Government has already been given, I take the liberty to ask of your Grace a list of the names and description of the persons, of those of the State prisoners, who are to be sent into my country, in order that I may, if possible, in season apprize my government of the measures. It is quite possible, and I still hope that these publications are altogether erroneous. In this case I must beg your Grace's pardon for having thus unnecessarily troubled you on a subject that, through your obliging interference, had already been satisfactorily decided.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
RUFUS KING.

As Mr. King and his friends had been most active in their opposition to Mr. Emmet, he determined to defeat King's election. With this object in view he addressed an open letter to Mr. King which the latter did not see fit to answer

and Mr. Emmet thereupon addressed another to him. Notwithstanding the great length of this letter, it contains so much which is of historical interest in Mr. Emmet's life, which became public property, that its insertion needs no apology on the charge of reviving old, long-forgotten issues. Dr. Madden writes in reference to this letter:

Emmet's correspondence with Mr. Rufus King in 1807, in which the characteristics of his mind are exhibited in a greater light than any other of his letters which have fallen under the author's observation, will be well deserving of attention.

Mr. Emmet's open letters to Mr. King are here preceded by one from the quondam minister to the Irish patriot, Henry Jackson, in which he avows his interference in the matter of the emigration of the State prisoners.

LETTER FROM MR. RUFUS KING TO MR. HENRY JACKSON

BRIGHTON, AUGUST 23, 1799.

SIR:

I ought to inform you, *that I really have no authority* to give or refuse permission to you or to any other foreigner to go to the United States; the admission and residence of strangers in that country being a matter, that, by a late law,* exclusively belongs to the President. It is true that the Government of this country, in the course of the last year, *in consequence of my interference,* gave me assurance that a particular description of persons in Ireland, who it was understood were going to the United States should *not* be allowed to proceed without *our* consent; this restraint would doubtless be withdrawn in favour of individuals against whose emigration *I should not object*; and I conclude, that it is upon this supposition, that you have taken the trouble to communicate to me your desire to go and reside in the United States.—Without presuming to form an opinion on the subject of the late disturbances in Ireland, I entertain a distinct one in relation to the political situation of my own country. In common with others, we have felt the influence of the changes that have successively taken place in France, and unfortunately, a portion of our inhabitants has erroneously supposed that our civil and political institutions, as well as our national policy, might be improved by a close imitation of France.—This opinion, the propagation of which was made the duty and became the chief employment of the French agents residing among us, created a more considerable division among our people, and required a greater watchfulness and activity from the Government, than could beforehand have been apprehended.

I am sorry to make the remark, and shall stand in need of your candour in doing so, that a large proportion of the emigrants from Ireland, and especially in the middle states, has, upon this occasion, arranged themselves on the side of the *malcontents.* I ought to except from this remark most of the enlightened and well-educated Irishmen who reside among us, and, with a few exceptions, I might confine it to the indigent and illiterate, who, entertaining an attachment to freedom, are unable to appreciate those salutary restraints without which it degenerates into anarchy. It would not be injustice to say that the Irish emigrants are more national than those of other countries, yet being a numerous, though very minor portion of our population, they are capable, from causes it is needless now to explain, of being generally brought to act in concert, and, under artful leaders, may be, as they have been, enlisted in mischievous combinations against our Government. This view leads me to state to you without reserve, the hesitation that I have felt in your case; on the one hand, we cannot object to the acquisition of inhabitants from abroad, possessing capital and skill in a branch of business that, with due caution, may, without risque or difficulty, and with public as well as private advantage,

*The Alien Law.

be established among us; but, on the other hand, if the opinions of such inhabitants are likely to throw them into the class of *malcontents,* their fortune, skill, and consequent influence, would make them tenfold more dangerous, and they might become a disadvantage instead of a benefit to our country. You must be sensible that I possess no sufficient means of forming an opinion respecting your sentiments; but the motives which lead me to interfere with your Government to restrain the emigration of the persons above alluded to, oblige me to observe a due caution on the present occasion; at the same time, I desire not to act with illiberality, and should be unwilling to bring upon my country the slightest imputation of inhospitality. What Mr. Wilson* has written, so far as it goes, is satisfactory; and on the whole, I have concluded, after this unreserved communication, which I hope will be received with the same candour as it is made, to inform you, authorizing you to make use of the information, that I withdraw every objection that may be supposed to stand in the way of your being permitted to go to the United States, adding only that you may carry with you an unbiassed mind, may find the state of the country, as I believe you will, favourable to your views of business, and its Government deserving your attachment.

I must beg your excuse for the great delay which has occurred in sending you this answer, which, I assure you, has arisen from other causes than the want of due respect to your letters.

With great consideration,
I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
RUFUS KING.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET TO RUFUS KING, ESQ.

Sir:—From certain paragraphs in the *Evening Post,* I apprehend that it may become necessary for me to obtrude myself on the public. As in that event I should wish to derive some credit from the character of my adversary, I request to be informed whether you purpose submitting to the world any explanation of your interference with the British Government, respecting the Irish State prisoners in the year 1798?

I put the question in this way, because I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance with you; because I intend that everything which may pass between you and me on this subject shall be public, and because I have been informed that private applications for an explanation of that transaction have been heretofore made to you by some of my fellow-sufferers from your conduct, and that you did not think fit to favour them with a reply.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient
Humble servant,
THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

New York, April 4, 1807.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET TO RUFUS KING, ESQ.

Sir:—From your silence on the subject of my letter of the 4th instant, I presume that I am not to be honoured with a reply. Perhaps this may be owing to my temerity in addressing him whom Mr. Coleman† calls "the first man in the country". Of the height to which your friends exalt, or wish to exalt you, I confess I was not aware when I rashly ventured to question the propriety of some part of your past conduct. I thought that, in this country, you had many equals; and I protest I imagined that Mr. Jefferson, for instance, was your superior. You will, sir, however, I hope, excuse my ignorance in this respect, and attribute it to the circumstance of my being an alien, and of course not yet sufficiently acquainted with the local politics of this country.

*The American consul in Dublin.
†Editor of the Evening Post.

Though you, sir, have not honoured me with your notice, I have been abundantly honoured by your friends; and yet extraordinary as it may appear, I mean to pay little attention to their assiduities, but to envelope myself in dignity like your own. As far as they have attempted to attack my character, I shall leave it to be defended by others, or rather to defend itself. Not that I affect to be insensible of the value of public opinion, but in truth, sir, in the present pressure of professional business, I have not time to do justice both to you and to myself; and I think it of infinitely more importance to the community, in the existing crisis, to make known what you are, than what I am. You are the candidate for public favour, and your conduct is the proper subject of public enquiry. Permit me, however, sir, before I enter upon that interesting topic, to make a few general observations touching myself. Mr. Coleman has brought forward some extracts from the reports of the secret committee in Ireland: I think it more than probable that he was not himself in possession of these documents—from whom then did he receive them? There is no person in this country more likely to have them, than the gentleman who was at the time the resident minister at London.—When you handed them to him, perhaps your memory might have served you to state, that as soon as those reports appeared in the public prints, Dr. MacNeven, Mr. O'Connor and myself, at that time state prisoners, by an advertisement to which we subscribed our names, protested against the falsehood and inaccuracy of those reports; for which act we were remitted to close custody in our rooms for upwards of three months, and a proposal was made in the Irish House of Commons, by Mr. McNaghten, an Orangeman, to take us out and hang us without trial! You might also, perhaps, have recollected, for it has been published that, while we were in this situation, other state calumnies accidently reached the ears of one of our fellow-sufferers* in another prison, who wrote a letter to the editor of the *Courier* in London, for the purpose of contradicting them, and enclosed a copy of his letter to Lord Castlereagh. Upon this Mr. Secretary Cooke was sent to inform him, that if he published the contradiction, he should be hanged; to that he replied he was ready to meet the event; upon which Mr. Cooke told him, that since he was indifferent about his own life, he must know that, if he persevered, the whole system of court martial, massacre and horror, should be renewed throughout the country. By that menace he was effectually restrained.

Had you thought of mentioning those things, you might have jocularly added that though these statements might serve some present party purposes, it was rather more unfair to judge of us by the calumnies of the Irish Government, than it would be to judge of Mr. Jefferson and his friends by the editorial articles in the *Evening Post.*

The weapons you are using have been tried in Ireland among my friends and my enemies, where everything was minutely known, and they failed of effect. If I had ever done anything mean or dishonourable, if I had abandoned or compromised my character, my country, or my cause, I should not be esteemed and beloved in Ireland, as I am proud to know I am; I should not enjoy the affection and respect of my republican countrymen in America, as you, sir, and your friends confess I do.

It would not be in the power of one who had departed from the line of his duty in theirs and his common country, by simply expressing to them his sentiments of you, to do you such an essential injury as I am accused of having committed.

Another charge made against me, is that I am an alien, interfering in the politics of this country. Be it so for a moment, and let me ask why it is that I am an alien in this my adopted country at this day? Because, in consequence of your interference, I was prevented from coming to it in 1798, and from being naturalized upwards of three years ago. Supposing then that I should refrain from intermeddling with politics in every other case, where you are concerned I feel myself authorized to exercise the rights of a citizen as far as by law I may; for you know it is an established rule of equity and good sense, that no man shall be benefitted by his own wrong. But how do I come forward?

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*Samuel Neilson, a fellow prisoner, afterwards in Fort George.

Not as a citizen, but as a witness. Allow me to ask you, if I possessed a knowledge of facts which could prove Mr. Jefferson guilty of a robbery or a cheat, and unfit to be trusted with power, would you think me culpable if, notwithstanding my alienage, I made them known to the public, to prevent their being deceived and misled? And shall I not be permitted, because in consequence of your very misconduct I am not a citizen, to testify to facts which will prove you unfit to be entrusted in this country with any kind of delegated power? Whether Peter Porcupine or Mr. Carpenter ever went through the forms of naturalization, I know not; but perhaps they might both be safely considered as aliens; and yet I have never heard any of your friends censure their interference in the politics of America. I do not mention those gentlemen as my models, nor propose their example as my vindication, but I wish to show the pliability of those principles which are to be erected into a barrier against me.

As a witness, then, sir, I come forward to testify, not to my countrymen, but to the electors of this city, to the whole of the United States, if you should ever aspire to govern them, and I now present you with my evidence.

In the summer of 1798, after the attempt of the people of Ireland for their emancipation had been completely defeated; after every armed body had been dispersed or had surrendered, except a few men that had taken refuge in the mountains of Wicklow: while military tribunals, house-burnings, shootings, torture, and every kind of devastation were desolating and overwhelming the defenceless inhabitants, some of the state prisoners then in confinement, entered into a negotiation with the Irish ministers for effecting a general amnesty; and as an inducement offered, among other things not necessary to the examination of your conduct, to emigrate to such country as might be agreed upon between them and the Government. When I consented to this offer, for one (and it was the case with the great majority), I solemnly declare that I was perfectly apprised that there was no legal grounds discovered upon which to proceed against me.

I further knew that the crown solicitor had, in answer to the enquiries of my friends, informed them that there was no intention of preferring a bill of indictment against me. So much for the personal considerations by which I might have been actuated; and now, Sir, to return.

The offer was accepted, the bloody system was stopped for a time, and was not renewed until after your interference, and after the British ministry had resolved openly to break its faith with us. On our part, we performed our stipulations with the most punctilious fidelity, but in such a manner as to preserve to us the warmest approbation of our friends, and to excite the greatest dissatisfaction in our enemies. Government soon perceived, that on the score of interest, it had calculated badly, and had gained nothing by the contract. It was afraid of letting us go at large to develope and detect the misrepresentations and calumnies that were studiously set afloat, and had therefore, I am convinced, determined to violate its engagements by keeping us prisoners as long as possible. How was this to be done? In the commencement of our negotiations, Lord Castlereagh declared, as a reason for acceding to Government's possessing a negative on our choice, that it had no worse place in view for our emigration than the United States of America.

We had made our election to go there, and called upon him to have our agreement carried into execution. In that difficulty, you, sir, afforded very effectual assistance to the faithlessness of the British cabinet. On the 16th of September, Mr. Marsden, then under secretary, came to inform us that Mr. King had remonstrated against our being permitted to emigrate to America. This astonished us all, and Dr. MacNeven very plainly said that he considered this as a mere trick between Mr. King and the British Government. This Mr. Marsden denied, and on being pressed to know what reason Mr. King could have for preventing us, who were avowed republicans, from emigrating to America, he significantly answered, "perhaps Mr. King does not desire to have republicans in America." Your interference was then, sir, made the pretext of detaining us for four years in custody, by which very extensive and useful plans of settlement within

these states were broken up. The misfortunes which you brought upon the objects of your persecution were incalculable. Almost all of us wasted four of the best years of our lives in prison. As to me, I should have brought along with me my father and his family, including a brother, whose name perhaps even you will not read without emotions of sympathy and respect. Others nearly connected with me would have come partners in my emigration. But all of them have been torn from me. I have been prevented from saving a brother, from receiving the dying blessings of a father, mother and sister, and from soothing their last agonies by my cares; and this, sir, by your unwarrantable and unfeeling interference.

Your friends, when they accuse me of want of moderation in my conduct towards you, are wonderfully mistaken. They do not reflect, or know, that I have never spoken of you without suppressing (as I do now) personal feelings that rise up within me, and swell my heart with indignation and resentment. But I mean to confine myself to an examination of your conduct, as far as it is of public importance.

The step you took was unauthorized by your own Government. Our agreement with that of Ireland was entered into on the 29th of July—your prohibition was notified to us on the 16th of September; deduct seven days for the two communications between Dublin and London, and you had precisely forty-two days, in the calms of summer, for transmitting your intelligence to America and receiving an answer. As you had no order then, what was the motive of your unauthorised act? I cannot positively say, but I will tell you my conviction. The British ministry had resolved to detain us prisoners contrary to their plighted honour; and you, sir, I fear, lent your ministerial character to enable them to commit an act of perfidy, which they would not otherwise have dared to perpetrate.

Whether our conduct in Ireland was right or wrong, you have no justification for yours. The constitution and laws of this country gave you no power to require of the British Government that it should violate its faith, and withdraw from us its consent to the place we had fixed upon for our voluntary emigration.—Neither the President nor you were warranted to prevent our touching these shores; though the former might, under the alien act, have afterwards sent us away if he had reason to think we were plotting anything against the United States. I have heard something about the law of nations; but you are too well acquainted with that law not to know that it has no bearing on this subject. Our emigration was voluntary, and the English Government had, in point of justice, no more to do with it than to signify that there was no objection to the place of residence we had chosen.

Another circumstance which compels me to believe a collusive league between you, in your capacity of resident minister from America, and the cabinet of St. James's, is the very extravagant and unwarrantable nature of your remonstrance, which had the ministry been sincere towards us, they could not possibly have overlooked. If they had intended to observe their compact, you, sir, would have been very quickly made to feel the futility of your ill-timed application. You would have been taught that it was a matter of mere private arrangement between Government and us, with which you had no more to do than the minister of Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, or any other neutral power.

What inference ought fairly to be made from the facts I have stated, every man must decide for himself. On me, they have forced a conviction, which, if you can shake it, I shall much more gladly forego than I state it here, that in the instance alluded to, you degraded the dignity and independence of the country you represented, you abandoned the principles of its government and its policy, and you became the tool of a foreign state, to give it a colourable pretext for the commission of a crime. If so, is it fit that you should hereafter be entrusted with any kind of delegated authority? What motives you may have had for that conduct, if in truth it was yours, I cannot undertake to say. Mr. Marsden seemed to doubt whether you wished for republicans in America—and I shrewdly suspect he spoke what the British ministry thought of your politics.

Perhaps it may be said that you were yourself deceived by those very calumnies of

which I have complained. I sincerely wish I could believe that such were the fact—but observe this argument: We contradict the misstatements of the committees of the lords and commons of Ireland, by an advertisement written in prison, signed by our names, and published on the 27th of August—it must have reached London, on the 1st or 2d of Sept.—your remonstrance must have been made on or before the 12th, for it was communicated to us on the 16th. The effect produced by our advertisement was electrical, and the debate which it caused on the very evening of its appearance, in the Irish House of Commons, was remarkable. As you doubtless read the newspapers of the day, these facts could not have been unknown to you. Why then should you be deceived by representations which we had recently contradicted under circumstances so extraordinary? Mr. King, did you enter so deeply into the revolution of your country as to implicate your life in the issue of its fortunes? From the strong attachment of your political friends, I presume you were a distinguished leader in those eventful times; if not, you had certainly read their history. Did you remember the calumnies which had been thrown out by British agents against the most upright and venerable patriots of America? Did you call to mind the treatment which had been given in South Carolina to Governor Gadsden, to General Rutherford, Col. Isaac Hayne,* and a number of others who had surrendered to that very Lord Cornwallis, with whom, through his ministers, we negotiated; and that those distinguished characters were, in violation of their capitulation and the rights of parole, sent to St. Augustine, as we were afterwards to Fort George? How then is it possible that you could have been a dupe to the misrepresentations of the British Government?

These remarks I address, with all becoming respect, to "the first man in the country".—Yet in fact, sir, I do not clearly see in what consists your superiority over myself. It is true you have been a resident minister at the court of St. James's; and if what I have read in the public prints be true, and if you be apprised of my near relationship and family connexion with the late Sir John Temple, you must acknowledge that your interference as resident minister at the court of St. James's, against my being permitted to emigrate to America, is a very curious instance of the caprice of fortune. But

*By some oversight the surname of Col. Isaac Hayne was omitted in the published letter. At the surrender of Charleston, S. C., in 1781, the American officers and the civilians of the city were paroled with the understanding that they were not to bear arms until they had been exchanged, and if those who had plantations would remain quietly at home, it was agreed they would not be disturbed. But under one pretext and another a large number of the most prominent persons of Charleston and its neighborhood were gathered on the prison-ships in the harbor and were eventually sent to St. Augustine, Fla., where, in gross violation of the terms of capitulation, they were subjected to great privations and close confinement. Capt. Isaac Hayne, however, was not of this number, but was allowed to reside on his plantation, with the clear understanding that no further service would be exacted if he conformed to the terms of his parole. At length the British army under Cornwallis passed into Virginia and was cared for at Yorktown, Tarleton and others, commanding smaller bodies of troops, being either captured or driven into Charleston, and the British troops finally held no other portion of the State. At this time Captain Hayne and other military men on their parole were summoned to Charleston and given the option of entering the British army or of being placed in close confinement. Hayne reported in Charleston and begged that his confinement be deferred for a short time, as his wife and children were desperately ill with smallpox. Department Commandant Pattison, of the British army, who had special charge of the business, assured Hayne that if he took the oath of allegiance to the Crown he could then return home and nothing more would be required of him. A few days after his return home he was ordered to join the army in Charleston, being a British subject in consequence of his having taken the oath of allegiance. Hayne disregarded the summons, as every term of the surrender had been violated by the British authorities. He felt that his parole could be no longer claimed, and that the oath of allegiance had been cancelled, from the fact that the American army then held that territory. As his family was now in no immediate danger, Colonel Hayne joined the American army in his neighborhood and received a commission as colonel. Shortly after, while making a raid near Charleston, he captured Gen. Andrew Williamson, "the Arnold of the South", who had but recently deserted to the enemy. Col. Nesbit Balfour, the commanding officer at Charleston, ordered out nearly the whole of his force to pursue Hayne's command, which was retreating with its prisoner, and fearing that Williamson would be summarily dealt with on reaching General Greene's headquarters, the American force was overpowered and Hayne was made a prisoner. He was treated with great indignity, thrown into the provost prison of Charleston, speedily tried, as the farcical proceeding was termed, and sentenced to be hung for desertion, on the joint order of Colonel Balfour and Lord Rawdon. But as an act of special leniency he was given a respite of forty-eight hours to take leave of his wife and children. When Mrs. Hayne was sent for it was found that she had already died from smallpox.

It is true that Cornwallis was selected by the British commander, Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, to receive General Lincoln's sword at the surrender of Charleston, but he was not at this time in Charleston, nor was he in any way responsible for this military murder. It attracted such a great deal of comment throughout the civilized world, that Balfour and Rawdon each attempted to hold the other responsible. Thirty-two years afterward Lord Rawdon, then the Earl of Moira, attempted to justify his conduct in a letter to Col. Henry Lee, claiming that Col. Nesbit Balfour, a worthy member of this office-holding family of Ireland, was alone responsible for the death of this noble young man.

let that pass. To what extent I ought to yield to you for talents and information, is not for me to decide. In no other respect, however, do I feel your excessive superiority. My private character and conduct are, I hope, as fair as yours—and even in those matters which I consider as trivial, but upon which aristocratic pride is accustomed to stamp a value, I should not be inclined to shrink from competition. My birth certainly will not humble me in the comparison; my paternal fortune was probably much greater than yours; the consideration in which the name I bear was held in my native country, was as great as yours is ever likely to be, before I had an opportunity of contributing to its celebrity. As to the amount of what private fortune I have been able to save from the wreck of calamity, it is unknown to you or to your friends; but two things I will tell you—I never was indebted, either in the country from which I came, nor in any other in which I have lived, to any man, further than necessary credit for the current expenses of a family; and am not so circumstanced that I should tremble *"for my subsistence"* at the threatened displeasure of your friends. So much for the past and the present—now for the future. Circumstances which cannot be controlled, have decided that my name must be embodied into history. From the manner in which even my political adversaries, and some of my cotemporary historians, unequivocally hostile to my principles, already speak of me, I have the consolation of reflecting, that when the falsehoods of the day are withered and rotten, I shall be respected and esteemed. You, sir, will probably be forgotten, when I shall be remembered with honour, or if, peradventure, your name should descend to posterity, perhaps you will be known only as the recorded instrument of part of *my* persecutions, sufferings, and misfortunes.

I am, sir, &c.,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

New York, April 9, 1807.

The writer has in his possession a letter written by Col. John Trumbull, Washington's friend and the artist who painted the "Signing of the Declaration of Independence", now in the Capitol at Washington, and other historical paintings. Mr. Trumbull was a man of great integrity, and was generally considered to be one of good sense and judgment, yet this letter shows that he was not above the influence of prejudice. It was written from New York on April 7th, 1807, to a Mr. Williams, of Boston, on business matters, but concludes with the paragraph:

We are enjoying all the delights of electioneering—Frenchmen and Wild Irish—Genet and T. A. Emmet, in close alliance with the Clintons against R. King and Americans.

Vive la Liberté.

Your faithful and obliged friend,

JOHN TRUMBULL.

In Mr. Emmet's letter to Mr. King he refers, under his literary pseudonym of "Peter Porcupine", to William Cobbett, a political contemporary of Mr. Emmet's, who in Dublin had been connected with the Irish press. But in America he was a violent Federalist and partisan of Mr. King's, and, an evidence that political prejudice sways the judgment of all generations, to Mr. Trumbull, although equally with Mr. Emmet he was an exiled and unnaturalized Irishman, his Federal sympathies stamped him as an American.

A large meeting was held in New York by the Republican party in relation to Mr. King's action in Ireland. After the meeting a large broadside contain-

ing the resolutions proposed and passed was issued and posted. The writer possesses a copy of this broadside, which is here reproduced:

THE SPIRIT OF TOLERATION AND OF '76.

At a numerous meeting of Republican Electors, held pursuant to notice at the Albany Coffee-House on Friday, 17th April, 1807.

GEORGE MERCHANT, Chairman,
ELISHA JENKINS, Secretary.

The meeting proceeded to take into consideration the resolutions passed at a federal meeting lately held in this city, censuring the conduct of Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., and approving of the interference of Rufus King, Esq., American Minister at London, in preventing the migration of certain Irish State prisoners to these United States, and other resolutions passed at the same meeting.

The business of the meeting was opened and explained by the Honorable John Taylor, in an eloquent and spirited appeal to the judgment and feeling of all present.

After reading the federal resolutions, Mr. Emmet's letter to Mr. King, and one written by Mr. King to Henry Jackson, dated August 28, 1799, in which the writer expressly states that he had no authority to give or refuse permission to any foreigner to go to the United States, the following Resolutions were read and duly considered, and the question being put upon each, they were all unanimously agreed to:—

Resolved, That from a letter written by Rufus King to Henry Jackson on the 28th of August, 1799, and whilst Mr. King was the resident minister of the United States, at the court of London, it is evident that he did interfere to prevent the emigration to these United States of respectable men of large fortunes and enterprising character accused of no crime, denied the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act, and who had fallen under the suspicion of a "Prince (to use the words of the Declaration of Independence) whose character is marked by every act, which may define a Tyrant".

It is evident by his express declaration that his interference was without authority; and it is moreover evident that his only objection to the immigration of the Irish State prisoners emanated from the belief that they would unite with the Republicans, who were then opposing with the weapons of argument and reason, that mad career of federalism, which, under the administration of John Adams, had well-nigh subdued the spirit of freemen by systematic oppression, and by attempting with a standing army, to overawe and silence public opinion.

Resolved, That Thomas Addis Emmet, whose character stands impeached and whose professional talents are transcendentally eminent is justifiable, and merits the warmest thanks of all who are attached to liberty, in testifying to the world his knowledge of the interference of Rufus King with the Government of Great Britain, contrary to the laws and constitution of his country, to prevent men of irreproachable lives and possessing of great wealth, emigrating to these United States, and thus enabling that tyrannical and oppressive Government to incarcerate those who had committed no crime, but had become obnoxious for refusing to co-operate in heaping additional distress on their devoted countrymen; and that the abuse of power, by those entrusted with it at all times, ought to be promulgated, more especially when the actor in such scenes offers himself a candidate for public favor, it is then eminently the duty of those who can give evidence, boldly to step forward, undismayed by consequences; that Mr. Emmet, instead of meriting the censure of the people of this State, deserves their thanks and applause.

Resolved, That we wholly disbelieve that Edmund C. Genet, the former minister of the French republic, had declared:—"That in case the Government of the United States did not conduct themselves towards the Emperor of France with more friendship and civility than it had hitherto done, they would next be attacked and subjected by him." And we are warranted herein not only by the public denial of Mr. Genet, of his having made such declaration, but the whole tenor of his conduct which has fallen under notice

since his residence in that part of the State. That this meeting has incontestable evidence of his attachment to this country, inasmuch as he has purchased and holds considerable real esate within this State, has resided here more than fourteen years, has been naturalized more than three years and by his marriage with the daughter of a native citizen of distinguished rank, by whom he has several children, he has every tie to bind him to the interest of his adopted country. That to deny him the right of an elector, would be a prostrating of the constitution and laws of the United States, and an act of tyranny, which we abhor and detest.

Resolved, That we see no evidence whereon to ground a suspicion or belief, that an effort is now making to accomplish party purposes by the united force of a dangerous foreign influence; but to the contrary thereof, the citizens now assembled see in this charge the revival of those stale and antiquated attempts of the federal party to alarm and agitate the public mind for the obvious purpose of promoting the election of Morgan Lewis, and defeating that of the Republican candidate, Daniel D. Tompkins; and this meeting warns their Republican fellow-citizens to be on their guard and not become the dupes of such shallow artifices.

Resolved, That our confidence in the patriotism, honor, and political integrity of the venerable George Clinton, Vice-President of the United States, remains undiminished and unshaken and that we utterly disbelieve that in the evening of a life spent in public service, with such signal advantage to the people of this State, and with such honor to his own fame, he would attempt to mark out for his successor any other course of conduct than such as would be bottomed on Republicanism, he has given to the public further proof of his unabated zeal and his disinterested devotion to principles which conducted us through a seven years' war to peace and independence.

Resolved, That we view with lively satisfaction the bright prospect of the Republican cause again triumphing at the approaching election, notwithstanding the joint efforts of Federalists with apostate Republicans to the contrary; and that Morgan Lewis, by his official conduct in innumerable instances, has forfeited the confidence of this meeting, and is utterly undeserving their support.

George Merchant, Chairman.

Elisha Jenkins, Secretary.

Mr. Emmet silenced his enemies and Mr. King retired to private life. He soon after overcame all opposition, so that his future course became one of uninterrupted success. Those who had, in the beginning, opposed him most bitterly, became afterwards his warm personal friends. Mr. Emmet and Mr. King, however, never met, though more or less social intercourse existed between their children, and on Mr. Emmet's death Mr. King's eldest son was one of the first to offer his condolence.

Subsequent to this period Mr. Emmet was engaged in many important cases, a number of which will be given throughout the volume. Unfortunately there were then but few persons in this country who had attained any knowledge of shorthand writing, so that much of his work is from the public press or taken from the printed court records or public reports.

The earliest of these, now in the possession of the writer, is—"A Faithful Report of the Trial of the cause of Philip G. Arcularius versus William Coleman, Gent, etc., having an action for Libel, &c, on the 3d of January, 1807, &c. Taken by Mr. Sampson in shorthand and given to the public at the request of some of his friends, &c." Mr. William Sampson was a lawyer of prominence, had been one of the United Irishmen during the struggle of 1798 and was a personal friend of Mr. Emmet. His report is of interest, especially as

The Spirit of Toleration and of '76.

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GEORGE MERCHANT, CHAIRMAN,

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The Meeting proceeded to take into consideration the resolutions passed at a federal meeting lately held in this city, censuring the conduct of THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, Esq. and approving the interference of RUFUS KING, Esq. American minister at London, in preventing the migration of certain Irish state prisoners to these United States, and other resolutions passed at the same meeting.

The business of the meeting was opened and explained by the Honorable *John Tayler*, in an eloquent and spirited appeal to the judgment and feelings of all present. After reading the federal resolutions, Mr. Emmet's letter to Mr. King, and a letter written by Mr. King to Henry Jackson, dated August 28, 1799, in which the writer expressly states, that HE HAD NO AUTHORITY TO GIVE OR REFUSE PERMISSION TO ANY FOREIGNER TO GO TO THE UNITED STATES, the following *RESOLUTIONS* were read and duly considered, and the question being put upon each, they were all unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That from a letter written by Rufus King to Henry Jackson, on the 28th of August, 1799, and whilst Mr. King was the resident minister of the United States at the court of London, it is evident that he did interfere to prevent the emigration to these United States, of respectable men of large fortunes and enterprizing character, accused of no crime, denied the benefit of the HABEAS CORPUS ACT, and who had fallen under the suspicion of "A PRINCE," (to use the words of the Declaration of Independence) "*whose character is marked by every act which may define a* TYRANT."

It is evident by his express declaration, that his interference was *without authority*; and it is moreover evident, that his only objection to the emigration of the Irish state prisoners emanated from a belief that they would unite with the republicans, who were then opposing, with the weapons of argument and reason, that mad career of federalism, which, under the administration of John Adams, had well nigh subdued the spirit of freemen by systematic oppression, and by attempts, with a standing army, to overawe and silence public opinion.

RESOLVED, That THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, whose character stands unimpeached, and whose professional talents are transcendently eminent, is justifiable, and merits the warmest thanks of all who are attached to liberty, in testifying to the world his knowledge of the interference of *Rufus King* with the government of Great-Britain, contrary to the laws and constitution of his country, to prevent men of irreproachable lives, and possessed of great wealth, migrating to these United States, and thus enabling that tyrannical and oppressive government to incarcerate those who had committed no crime, but who had become obnoxious for refusing to co-operate in heaping additional distresses on their devoted countrymen; and that the abuse of power, by those entrusted with it, at all times, ought to be promulgated, more especially when the actor in such scene offers himself a candidate for public favor, it is then eminently the duty of those who can give evidence, boldly to step forward, undismayed by consequences; that Mr. Emmet, instead of meriting the censures of the people of this state, deserves their thanks and applause.

RESOLVED, That we wholly disbelieve that EDMUND C. GENET, the former minister of the French republic, has declared "that "in case the government of the United States did not conduct themselves towards the Emperor of France with more friendship and "civility than it had hitherto done, they would next be attacked and "subjugated by him." And we are warranted herein, not only by the positive denial by Mr. Genet of his having made such declaration, but by the whole tenor of his conduct which has fallen under our notice since his residence in this part of the state. That this meeting has incontestible evidence of his attachment to this country, inasmuch, as he has purchased and holds considerable real estate within this state; has resided here more than fourteen years; has been naturalized more than three years, and, by his marriage with the daughter of a native citizen of distinguished rank, by whom he has several children, he has every tie to bind him to the interests of his adopted country. That to deny him the rights of an elector, would be a prostration of the constitution and laws of the United States, and an act of tyranny, which we abhor and detest.

RESOLVED, That we see no evidence whereon to ground a suspicion or belief, that an effort is now making to accomplish party purposes by the united force of a dangerous foreign influence; but to the contrary thereof, the citizens now assembled see in this charge the revival of those stale and antiquated attempts of the federal party, to alarm and agitate the public mind for the obvious purpose of promoting the election of MORGAN LEWIS, and defeating that of the republican candidate DANIEL D. TOMPKINS; and this meeting warn their republican fellow-citizens to be on their guard, and not again become the dupes of such shallow artifices.

RESOLVED, That our confidence in the patriotism, honor and political integrity of the venerable GEORGE CLINTON, Vice-President of the United States, remains undiminished and unshaken; and that we utterly disbelieve, that in the evening of a life spent in the public service, with such signal advantage to the people of this state, and with such honor to his own fame, he would attempt to mark out for his successor, any other course of conduct than such as should be bottomed on republican principles; and that in exhibiting this solicitude for the cause of Republicanism, he has given to the public further proof of his unabated zeal and his disinterested devotedness to principles which conducted us through a seven years war to peace and independence.

RESOLVED, That we view with lively satisfaction the bright prospect of the republican cause again triumphing at the approaching election, notwithstanding the joint efforts of federalists with apostate republicans to the contrary; and that Morgan Lewis, by his official conduct, in innumerable instances, has forfeited the confidence of this meeting, and is utterly undeserving their support.

GEORGE MERCHANT, *Chairman.*

ELISHA JENKINS, *Secretary.*

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

A Political Broadside used in 1807 for the defeat of Rufus King

the defendant, Mr. Coleman, was the editor of the "Evening Post", a friend of Mr. Rufus King and a member of the cabal against Mr. Emmet. The report of the suit is printed in book form, but being too voluminous to reprint in full, Mr. Emmet's summing up will alone be given. The suit for libel was brought in the Supreme Court, before the Hon. Judge Livingston, the counsel for the plaintiff being Mr. Richard Riker, District Attorney-General, and Emmet. The defendant's counsel were Messrs. Well, David B. Ogden and Cadwallader Colden. Mr. Riker stated the case for the plaintiff as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,

This is an action by Mr. Philip G. Arcularius, to recover damages for a libel published against him by the defendant, Mr. Wm. Coleman.

It will appear from the reading of the libel and from other evidence that Mr. Arcularius was superintendent of the almshouse, in which office he has always conducted himself with great propriety. If it were otherwise, and that Mr. Coleman could make on the truth and innocent intention of what he has published, he might perhaps stand justified. But if the charge be false and malicious, it would be hard to determine what would be a just and sufficient compensation for so excessive an injury.

For the remainder of this summing up see Appendix, Note XVI.

According to Mr. Hall Mr. Emmet appeared in February, 1808, in the case of Smith v. Elder.

He seems to have been retained because of foreign and international law—the action being with respect to contraband of war on ship-board; and his experience seems to have won this contention against odds. But his greatest *coup* as a counsellor of only a few years' standing came in the star case of a suit by Morgan Lewis, governor of the State, against Editor Few of the *American Citizen* newspaper for libel. Emmet's brief is published at full length (5 Johnson,), and it bristles with logic, distinguishment of principles, and with apt citations. The libel is set forth at length, and is a curiosity in its mildness of political comment on a public official as compared with the editorial strictures that newspaper readers of to-day are familiar with. He was ingenious, but was beaten by the Court.

In Dubois *v.* Phillips,, same volume, p. 235, there cropped up common law practice in respect to procedures on which rules were silent. Here Emmet's knowledge of King's Bench practice proved valuable, and in succeeding through his learning the argument must have enhanced his reputation. [This case was argued November, 1809.]

The interest, the caprice, the errors of a manufacturing town or fishing village in Britain will frequently have more influence than the united voices of the Irish people.

T. A. Emmet.

The national vanity which emblazons doubtful pretensions in the splendid coloring of fancy, is not malignant in origin, and is harmless in its effect, but the deliberate calumny which blackens the character of the injured in order to justify the wrong of the oppressed, deserves a harsher epitaph than falsehood and a severer chastisement than contempt.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXVI

Letter from Mr. Emmet to Blennerhassett—Fulton's relations—Reference to an important case—Emmet becomes Attorney General—Interesting incidents while in office—Letter to Judge Ormsby in relation to an indebtedness of Aaron Burr—Business letter as Attorney General—Letter from Fulton, style remarkable—Fulton's friendship and intimacy with the Emmet family—History of a portrait of Fulton painted by Miss Elizabeth Emmet—Fulton painted a miniature of himself from this portrait, which is now the only authentic likeness of him—Account of a noted suit in which Fulton is defended by Mr. Emmet—His remarkable and kindly advice to Fulton expressed in his public address—Cadwallader Colden's memoir of Fulton—Subjected with Mr. Emmet to great exposure on the return to New York, which was the indirect cause of Fulton's death—Letter of Mr. Emmet in relation to a false charge made against the honesty of Fulton—Letter to Judge Yates bearing on Fulton's difficulties—A remarkable letter from Mr. Emmet to his daughter before her marriage.

EEPING up any friendly relation was impossible between Mr. Emmet and his friend Blennerhassett, as they were so widely separated that only at long intervals did either succeed in communicating with the other, and in the absence of all mail facilities many of their letters were lost.

The following from Mr. Emmet was found in the Blennerhassett Papers:

New York, Septr. 15th, 1809.

My dear Blennerhassett,

It was not without considerable emotion and pleasure that I received yours a few days since by Mr. Harding, and heard from him the first news I had been able, authentically, to collect of your present situation. Of what is past, it is not fit I should say anything in a communication of this kind; of the future, you will believe me perfectly sincere, when I assure you that your prosperity and happiness will always interest me very strongly. In return for the pleasing intelligence I have had of you, accept similar accounts of me and my family. My success has been greater than I could have calculated upon. My health has been extremely good, and Mrs. Emmet and the children enjoy the prosperity which has succeeded to our trials; such, I trust will also be the event of your present situation. Mr. Harding mentioned to me that he had brought along with him your oldest son Dominick, and placed him at an Academy at Georgetown, Pennsylvania [Maryland, and now D. C.].

As Mrs. Blennerhassett has brought her mind to part with him, a thought struck me, which I now lay before you, I have three sons [John, Thomas and Temple] at school at Flatbush, Long Island, five miles from this city, under the care of a Mr. Thompson, who is very competent, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and of very unexceptionable character; his wife is a Mary Anne Connell, cousin to Maurice Connell, of Iveragh; came over here a widow, of the name of Yielding, with strong letters from Kerry friends to Mrs. Emmett, and was married in my house to Mr. Thompson. I have mentioned your son to them both, and can answer he would be treated with more than common affection and care; and being at the same school with my own, I should have opportunities of showing him, perhaps, some attention, which, situated where he is, would be out of my power. I am not fond of supplanting a person like his present master, who, I presume, would discharge his duty, but I submit the proposition to your consideration.

Adieu, my dear Blennerhassett. Do you and Mrs. B. receive the best wishes of me and my family for everything that concerns you, and believe me,

Sincerely yours,

THOS. ADDIS EMMETT.*

Mr. Fulton about this time became involved in many law suits, for frequently questions of law were presented concerning conflicting concessions which had been granted him by New York and New Jersey. Mr. Emmet, therefore, as his lawyer, was busily engaged in defending Mr. Fulton's rights.†

Mr. Hall records the following noted case which came up in the Supreme Court of the state, February, 1810:

Another star case gave him renewed advertisement—Yates *v.* Lansing, 6 Johnson, 335—Emmet for the plaintiff, who was an Albany lawyer of high standing, and a master in Chancery. He by misapprehension of due authority had subscribed to a chancery bill the name of another solicitor who disavowed the act. Chancellor Livingston committed Yates for malpractice, but Judge Ambrose Spencer discharged him on habeas corpus. This the chancellor declared invalid and had Yates rearrested and recommitted. The poor sheriff found himself between two masters, and this conflict of the Courts attracted attention both among lawyers and laymen.

At this stage of the conflict Yates retained Emmet, who took his client before Chief-Justice Kent on another habeas; but the latter, as if by prescience that shortly he would be rowing a chancellor's boat, stood by Lansing, and Emmet failed in his action, yet stuck to his procedure, like a disciple of the famous Brougham doctrine in the Queen Caroline case about the fealty of lawyer to client, and so carried his contention into the Court for Correction of Errors, where he succeeded. Then Emmet, for Yates, sued the Chancellor to recover the penalty affixed to the statute forbidding a re-imprisonment of any one once discharged on any habeas corpus for the old offence. But Emmet failed, the Court deciding—and the decision has become for the doctrine a leading case—that superior tribunals of general jurisdiction were not liable to personally answer for acts done in a judicial capacity, nor for errors of judgment. The case is, as finally decided by the Court for the Correction of Errors, to be found in 9 Johnson, 395, and as a matter of legal curiosity is worth reading in connection with their first decision just mentioned, reported in 6 Johnson, because virtually, in deciding for the Chancellor, the Court overruled its first determination against his power.

Yates and Lansing was removed to Court for Impeachment and Correction of Error, in the February and March term, 1810, and finally decided April, 1811.

*For some unexplained reason Mr. Emmet reverted in this letter to the old mode of spelling the name with double "t", as his father spelled it in early life. That it was not an accident has been shown by a document in the possession of the writer which was signed in the same manner and about the same period.

†See Appendix, Note No. XVII for an original opinion written by Mr. Emmet, which is of historical value.

During the war of 1812 Mr. Emmet accepted the command of an Irish regiment, which at a time of threatened attack did service in some of the fortifications erected for the defense of New York.

Mr. A. Oakey Hall states:

On August 12, 1812, he [Emmet] was gazetted by governor and council as Attorney-General of the State. In six years after coming to the bar, friendless and against jealous opposition, Mr. Emmet had won the highest professional prize. He proved to be an able officer and reliable counsel to the State. In managing a murder case wherein great knowledge of toxicology became necessary, inasmuch as the means used for the crime were by poison, his medical knowledge proved of especial service. But the salary of the Attorney-General was small, and the duties confining. He was obliged to be much of the time at the State capital, while dwelling in New York City. His practice had grown to net him ten thousand dollars a year—a snug income then, for it was not the era of large corporations and trusts full of business and munificent with fees. After, therefore, not quite two years of official life, he resigned, and fully returned to private practice. How extended this was throughout the next decade abundantly appears from the later Johnson Reports and earlier ones on Wendell.

The following was printed in the "Louisville Times", December, 1906:

Dr. Henry Orendorf, of Louisville, has in his possession a valuable historic letter which has never been printed before, and is now for the first time reproduced in "The Times". It brings back recollections of some of the pioneers of Kentucky, the visit of Aaron Burr to this State in 1806, and his subsequent trial for conspiracy. The letter is from Thomas Addis Emmet, some time Attorney General of New York State, to Stephen Ormsby, of Louisville, and is dated New York, June 29, 1813. It discloses the fact that Aaron Burr borrowed $8,000 from Peter Benson Ormsby, a brother of Judge Stephen Ormsby, of Jefferson county, Ky., which he was never able to pay.

* * *

Stephen Ormsby fled from Ireland in 1798, and came immediately to Kentucky. He settled a few miles from Louisville, near what is now Ormsby Station. He was a Representative in Congress from this district. He was a Judge in the first courts organized in this county, was successful in business and organized the branch of the United States Bank in this city and was its first president. Ormsby avenue, this city, is named after the family, as well as Ormsby Station, in the county.

Dr. Orendorf's wife is a member of the Ormsby family, and the letter came into the doctor's possession through that source. Judge Ormsby, whilst in Congress from this district, caused his secretary, Dr. De Butts, to write to Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, then an attorney-at-law in New York City, about the collection of the claim referred to above, amounting to $8,000, which had been loaned some time before to Col. Aaron Burr by Mr. Peter Benson Ormsby. The letter of Mr. Emmet is a clear, concise and frank piece of English, and will be read with interest. It follows:

* * *

"New York, June 29, 1813.

"Stephen Ormsby, Esq.,

"Sir:

"I was yesterday favored with a letter from my friend, Dr. De Butts, under your cover, desiring me to inform you whether Mr. Burr is possessed of property to pay $8,000, for which your brother has his bills regularly protested.

"My acquaintance with Col. Burr and his private affairs is certainly very slight, but I think I possess sufficient knowledge to assure you that he has no such property.

"I understand there were some existing judgments against him before his return to this city, and he found means to negotiate with the holders of them to give him a certain stipulated time (I believe five years) in which he hoped to be able to pay them.

They are still outstanding, and as far as my own observations will enable me to judge his situation does not enable him to provide funds for meeting those or other important engagements. Should you think it advisable to send on the bills for prosecution, I shall do everything in my power for your brother's interest, but candor obliges me to state that for the present, at least, I should conceive the cost and expenses of the suit as so much money thrown away.

"I am, sir, with much respect, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS ADDIS EMMET."

On the back of the letter after it was folded was written by Mr. Emmet:

"Stephen Ormsby, Esq., M. H. R., in Congress, Washington City, Cola. Dist."

* * *

On account of the eminence of the writer, who was a brother of the Irish patriot, Robert Emmet, the letter is of course of great historic value. Judge Ormsby was also an able man. Highly educated in Ireland, on coming to Kentucky, he at once took high rank as a lawyer, statesman and patriot.

* * *

That part of Mr. Emmet's letter in which he advises Judge Ormsby that the costs and expenses of a suit against Col. Burr would be that much money thrown away, is so different from the practice nowadays that it is worth calling attention to. Had Mr. Emmet taken the case he might have run up a good bill and collected his fees from Mr. Ormsby, who was wealthy, and well able to pay a fee, but Mr. Emmet was not built that way, and was not that kind of a lawyer.*

The following is a business letter from Mr. Emmet while attorney-general:

NEW YORK, Febr. 13, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—

Finding a private conveyance, I take the opportunity of returning you some Mortgages & a bond that were handed over to me by mistake, & the Mortgages which I was to release to the State, with the Release itself, & one that Mr. Hildreth executed & you lent me—Perceiving a mistake in the latter as to one of the Lots, I included it in mine, as doing so, can in no event be an injury to the State. The other papers I retain till further orders from the Council of Appointment. The advertisements for the Mortgages have been prepared a good while since; but I have withheld them, as I thought it right to give my successor the liberty of choosing the time when it would be convenient to him to sell—especially as no auction could take place before Summer. If among the singular events resulting from the federal disputes, I should retain my office or be likely to hold it for a sufficient time to make my advertising proper, I will do it without delay, & would thank you to inform me whether it is usual to advertise the property lying out of Albany County in any Albany paper—or only in the proper County Paper. If I am to continue to act, there are several cases, in which Mr. Hildreth obtained Judgments, or put them in the situation of doing so when he liked; but I can find no traces whether he settled them & received the money—as to these I shall trouble you with particular enquiries, whether the State is satisfied or not; & of course whether Executions are to issue, & to what amount—Mr. Hildreth's indisposition caused his Register to be latterly incorrect—and it has cost me a great deal of trouble and examination of his papers, to acquire a proper knowledge of those causes, which is the reason why I have not asked those questions before,—I enclose you a list of costs in some causes where the Parties have written to me that they have settled or intend doing so—& you will very much oblige me by collecting them as occasion occurs—By the mistake of a clerk (who learnt the first rudiments of his profession elsewhere) two or three writs were in some instances issued against the same person, ac-

*The above letter is the property of Mrs. H. O. Whitaker of Hampton Court, Lexington, Ky., the grand-daughter of Judge Ormsby, to whom the letter from Mr. Emmet was addressed. Mrs. Whitaker kindly furnished the opportunity for having the copy of the letter verified, and presented the author with a letter written to Judge Ormsby by Mr. Emmet in 1815.

cording to the number of bonds—altho' one would have answered—This I have rectified, & intend charging no one person with the costs of more than one case—& this I would thank you to explain to any of them that may have been placed in that situation. As to the Messrs. Cranston & Thos. Kingsley, Stephen Haviland, Appleton Safford & John Chichester, I have only the assurance of Mr. Chas. Haviland of Albany that they would settle, which I suppose from his silence since, they have not yet done—from Messrs. Humphrey & Canter [Carter?] & a Mr. Truman Rice, I have only their own letters—but as the latter wrote before I took any steps, I charge him with no costs—However as to all those above mentioned—they must procure me your certificate of their having settled with the state before I can discontinue & at the same time you would oblige me by making them pay the costs, before you certify.—The others mentioned in the enclosed list, you have already written to me about—& mentioned that they would pay the costs, when furnished to you—Excuse this long letter, and this heap of trouble, and believe me, Dear Sir, Very sincerely

Your respectful and Obliged

THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

Envelope addressed

ARCHIBALD MCINTYRE,
Comptroller

Endorsement

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, Atty. Genl.
13 Feb., 1813. Answered May 21, 1813.

The following is a letter from Mr. Emmet to Captain Partridge on behalf of Madame Bonneville:

NEW YORK, Oct. 20th.

SIR:

Madame Bonneville has this day put in my hands a letter from her son who is a cadet at West Point, in which he mentions a disagreeable affair in which he was involved with one of his fellow cadets by the false and infamous reports, which personal hatred and party malevolence excited respecting her and Mr. Paine, and the wickedness of which is now developing itself in the troubles it is producing to the children. Madame Bonneville not being familiar with writing English, has requested me on her behalf to express her gratitude and thanks to you, Sir, for your interposition and conduct in that affair. She rejoices that her son is placed under the care of one who has already shown such disposition to do him justice and protect him. I myself feel an interest in the welfare of young Bonneville from my knowledge of his father and family, and from the belief that he will always conduct himself so as to merit esteem; and I confess I cannot but look forward with some anxiety for him, to the period of life when he must enter into the world. For if now he is obliged to resent and repel the calumnies which have been spread respecting him, what is to be his fate in the profession he has chosen, subject to the same folly and insolence, and called upon by the etiquette of that profession to repel it at the hazard of his life.

I am, Sir, with much respect,

Your obedient servant,

THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

CAPT. PARTRIDGE,
Commander at the Military School, West Point, N. Y.

The following business letter, from the Crimmins collection, is of no interest to the reader beyond the fact that it is one in which Mr. Fulton himself writes in relation to the steam-boat monopoly, and it gives no evidence of the close and friendly relation which existed between him and Mr. Emmet, to whom it is addressed:

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, ESQ.:

SIR:—I send you Mr. Slosson's opinion on the contract between Livingston and Fulton.—His *will* was made before our contract and the invention of the steamboats; they are not mentioned in it; then as personal estate did not his widow come in for her thirds which she might dispose as She pleased if so they must be her assignes,—The fourth article of the contract Says Livingston and Fulton only shall build steamboats, the purchasers of shares or shareholders Shall have no Voice, this clearly means the purchasers of shares—For article Sixth says in case of the death of Livingston or Fulton *each heir* or *assign* who holds 20 shares &c this must mean the heir or assign of Livingston or Fulton; then if Mrs. Livingston had a right to her third, which she might dispose of because it was property acquired after the will was made, they of course I presume are her heirs and assigns amount of shares which gives them 20 each. please to consider this point—

Again

In our experiments and Partnership the chancellor and I never contemplated anything but Steam Boats for passengers or merchandise. Steam Ships of war were not thought of. This is really a new thought and Invention not I think coming within the contract nor ever meant by it.

The first Article of which Says a *passage boat* moved by the power of a steam engine shall be constructed. The second Article says a patent shall be taken for a new combination of a Boat to move by steam and that half shall be transfered to R. R. Livingston and all Emoluments arising from Said patent *In America* shall be divided, this is confined to the said patent *Boat* or boats built from the patent, or Boats on the principle of the patent for such purposes as boats are generally used to carry passengers or merchandise, This was the real intention of the contract. The Chancellor never contemplated nor did I that he had a claim to all inventions of every kind which I might make of Steam engines moving bodies on water, For if so he might have claimed a steam mud machine of my invention, or a steam floating mill in a Boat, in fact such a partnership would give his heirs half of all my brains or the product thereof as far as floating bodies and Steam engines were combined. The contract no where gives him a right. "In all I may do with Steam to move bodies on water *in america*"—the second article terminates thus, or for any patent premium or privilege in any other *country* it does not say what kind of patent but evidently means such patent as then contemplated, which was for boats to carry passengers or merchandise *and* not Steam Ships of *War* please give me your opinion on this head have my partners by the contract any claim on this new and extended application of Steam.

Yours Respectfully,
R. FULTON.*

June 24th, 1814.

Mr. Emmet was Fulton's lawyer in all the various litigations which sprang up in connection with monopolies granted him in different States for the exclusive use of steamboats. There is a tradition in the family that Mr. Emmet after defending a suit in Trenton, N. J., was returning to New York with Mr. Fulton, and not being able to get over on the ferry-boat, they and others attempted to cross on the ice from "Hobuck" ferry point at Mr. John Steven's

*Robert Fulton and Mr. Emmet resided in Paris at the same time, where they became acquainted, and a warm friendship sprang up between them. (The diary of Mr. Emmet shows that Fulton at one time expected to join the expedition to Ireland for the purpose of using his recently invented torpedo against the English.) Mr. Fulton returned to New York about the time Mr. Emmet arrived with his family, and it is not improbable that they crossed in the same ship. From this time until his death Fulton was on the most intimate terms with the Emmet family. He had studied painting under Benjamin West, and detecting evidences of talent in Mr. Emmet's second daughter, Elizabeth, he devoted much of his spare time for several years to perfecting Miss Emmet's skill in portrait painting. He sat, as a critic and model, for Miss Emmet to paint his likeness. From this portrait, well remembered by the writer, an engraving was made by W. S. Leney in 1817 for Cadwallader D. Colden's "Life of Robert Fulton". (See Appendix, Note XVIII.)

place. The ice not being strong and partially covered with water, Mr. Emmet, the heavier of the two, broke through. In his efforts to get Mr. Emmet out Mr. Fulton exposed himself by getting overheated, with the result that he caught a severe sore throat. Without waiting to recover from it he again exposed himself on the following day in very inclement weather, and in consequence of his imprudence he died, at No. 1 State Street, a few days afterward, in February, 1815. The house where he died is still standing.

The following is from Cadwallader Colden's eulogy on Fulton, page 345:

John Livingston and Fulton had spent an immense sum of money in the establishment of their magnificent boats where they had not realized a cent from their enterprize, but on the contrary this law* was recommended to the legislature [New Jersey] as one that might be passed consistently with good faith, honour and justice!

Upon the reports being made to the house, it was prevailed upon to be less precipitate than the committee had been. It gave time, which the committee would not do, for Mr. Fulton to be sent for, from New York. The Senate and Assembly in joint session examined witnesses and heard him and the petitioner by counsel. The result was that the legislature refused to repeal the prior law, or to pass any act on the subject.

It was upon this occasion that his friend, Mr. Emmet, who appeared as his counsel at the bar of the house, at the conclusion of his speech made that address to Fulton, which has been so much spoken of, and which was at once such an evidence of warmth of heart, rectitude of principle, and of superior abilities. We do not pretend to give it in the very words he made use of, nor can it now have the effect, which his oratory and circumstances produced when it was delivered; but so far as it is in our power, we will endeavour to preserve it, as a just tribute to our departed friend, and as a memorial of the abilities of his advocate.

Mr. Emmet, having said that he had concluded the observations which he proposed to make, as well against the petition as the report of the committee; and that he submitted their force with respectful confidence to the deliberation of the legislature, turned toward Fulton and addressed him as follows:—

"I know and feel, and I rejoice in the conviction, that for the present at least, your interests, my friend, are perfectly secure; but do not, therefore, flatter yourself that you will be involved in no future difficulties, on the same account. Those whom I have just addressed will certainly decide with enlightened liberality and a scrupulous regard to public faith; but their power and authority will pass away. Your present antagonist, I also hope, will become convinced by this discussion of the impropriety of his application and refrain from repeating it; but interest and avarice will still raise up against you many enemies. You rely too implicitly on the strength of your rights, and the sanctity of the obligations on which they are founded.

"You expect too much from your well-earned reputation and the acknowledged utility to mankind of your life and labours. You permit your mind to be engrossed with vast and noble plans for the public good. You are inconsiderately sinking your present income in the extension of public accommodation by steam boats. You are gratuitously giving your time and talents to the construction of that great national object, your stupendous invention for maritime defense, which in itself is calculated to effect a revolution in naval warfare. You are profusely lavishing what the intense and unremitted study of years has acquired for you, in investigations and experiments tending to the same purpose. Your knowledge and your fortune are freely bestowed upon everything that can contribute to the advancement of science, or of the elegant and useful arts. I admire and applaud you for your readiness to devote to the service of the public the opulence you derive from its grateful remuneration. Let me remind

*A bill introduced into the legislature to deprive him of certain concessions which had been granted him.

you, however, that you have other and closer ties. I know the pain I am about to give, and I see the tears I make you shed, but by that love I speak, by that love, which, like the light of Heaven is refracted in rays of different strength upon your wife and children; which when collected and combined, forms the sunshine of your soul; by that love do I adjure, provide in time for those dearest objects of your care. Think not I would instil into your generous mind a mean or sordid notion; but now that wealth is passing through your hands let me entreat you, hoard it while you have it. Artful speculators will assuredly arise with patriotism on their tongues and selfishness in their hearts, who may mislead some future legislature by false and crafty declarations against the prodigality of their predecessors—who calumniating or concealing your merits will talk loudly of your monopoly, who will represent it as a grievous burden on the community, and not a compensation for signal benefits—who will exaggerate your fortune and purpose, in the language of Marat to the French convention:—'Let the scythe of equality move over the republic'.

"In a moment of delusion (unless some department of our government shall constitutionally interpose an adamantine barrier against national perdify and injustice), such men may give your property to the winds and your person to your creditors. Then, indeed, those who know your worth and services, will speak of your downfall as that portentous omen, which marked a people's degradation and the successful crime of an intruder.

"'A falcon, towering in his pride of place,
Was by a mousing owl hawked at and killed.'

"Yes, my friend!—my heart bleeds while I utter it; but I have fearful forebodings that you may hereafter find in public faith a broken staff for your support, and secure from public gratitude a broken heart for your reward".

Colden in his memoir, on page 251, again refers to the action of the New Jersey legislature in relation to the bill before that body and the serious consequences to Mr. Fulton:

In January, 1815, Mr. John R. Livingston, who owned the steamboat which plied between New York and New Jersey, but which was stopped by the operation of the Jersey laws, petitioned the legislature of that State for their repeal. After hearing witnesses and counsel for several days, the laws were rescinded.

It was upon this occasion that Mr. Fulton was examined as a witness, as stated above.

The following letter is from Mr. Emmet, refuting a charge against the honesty of Mr. Fulton:

New York, March 23rd, 1815.

Henry Baldwin, Esqr.

Sir,

My friend, Dr. Macneven, has just shown me a letter from you to him, in which you state "that the friends of Mr. Rooseveldt* have written that Mr. Fulton in his examination at Trenton was detected in proving falsely about a letter said to have been written to Lord Stanhope by him, while in England—that he proved the letter which he produced at Trenton was a copy of the original written in London; and that the paper produced was written on American paper".

As I was present, and hold the character of Mr. Fulton very dear, I take the liberty of addressing this to you in order to contradict the infamous and malignant calumny—The quarter it has come from I can easily conjecture from its atrocity—not Mr. Rooseveldt—but the man he puts forward & employs to do all his dirty work respecting

*Nicholas J. Roosevelt.

the steamboat dispute & whose character is so utterly blasted, wherever he is known, that I have no apprehension of his gaining any credit *there* for such an assertion.

The fact was simply this—Mr. Fulton produced a copy of a letter sewed up with drawings & referring to them, to Lord Stanhope, dated from near Torbay some time in 1793—one of the drawings represented the model of a boat (intended for a steamboat) with water wheels at the sides—and the letter explained it—Mr. Fulton stated this to be a copy of a letter he had written to Lord Stanhope in 1793 and I then particularly questioned him as to the drawing—which had the name of an attesting witness and the date written on it—and he swore that the name and date were written at the time of the date—Being myself ignorant of anything more I asked no more questions, but read the letter and referred to the drawing—We then proceeded to some other matter and Mr. Fulton whispered me that there was one thing about that letter which he thought ought to be stated—that the drawing was the original which he had made at Torbay; but that the copy of the letter, having been worn and injured, he had copied it over again and sewed it into the drawing, which formed the cover—I immediately called him up to explain this matter, which he did, as I have done—at any time—neither he nor I suspected that any observation had occurred on the subject to any one—but Govr. Ogden said he was extremely happy Mr. Fulton had made that explanation, as he had himself discovered that the paper on which the letter was written was American—and so it passed off—Neither Mr. Fulton nor I took the trouble of seeing whether the paper was or was not American nor did Mr. Ogden seem to suppose that there was any longer room for suspicion—Mr. Hopkinson indeed in his observations dwelt for some time on the great importance it was to Mr. Fulton to prove that letter on some future occasion by having recourse to Lord Stanhope himself—but his observations on any thing appeared so acrimonious, that I really attached no importance to them on this point and omitted noticing them in my reply—partly because I was certain that no disinterested person present entertained the least suspicion of Mr. Fulton. I should, however, have recollected that there were at least two persons there (one of them Mr. Rooseveldt's agent) who would scruple at no misrepresentation or falsehood to blast Mr. Fulton's character.

I am, sir, with much respect,

Your obedient servant,
THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

The following is to Judge Yates bearing also on Fulton's difficulties:

NEW YORK, August 16th, 1817.

JUDGE YATES,
DEAR SIR:

I have postponed informing you that judgment has been entered for you against the Executors of Fulton, in the hope that I could accompany the letter with some proposals of arrangement as to the mode and time of payment.

It has, however, so happened either this misfortune or the multiplicity of Mr. Cutting's business or of mine, that I have not been able to converse with him on the subject. I cannot therefore longer delay giving you the information you are entitled to, and asking you for your further instructions.

If you chose to empower Mr. Morris or me, I think we should have no difficulty in making you safe as to ultimate payment, and the gradual extinction of the debt by getting an assignment of a competent number of shares of the North River Company, as a security, with the right to appropriate the dividends to extinguishing the interest and lessen the principal of the debt. I suggest this because I know other creditors to a large amount have done it, and because I am convinced that sales forced at present would be attended with immense sacrifice, and if in any considerable number would bring about the ruin of the estate. When I talk of sales, you will perceive that under

an Execution it could not be of stock, which is a choice in action, but of the boats, &c., and the adjustment of a Purchaser's right under such a sale of partnership property would probably lead to a very anxious chancery suit.

I, however, submit all these things to your consideration and shall await your answer.

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing Mrs. Emmet's and my very great obligations to Mrs. Yates and yourself for your very friendly attention and kind hospitality to my daughter during her stay at Schenectady. She speaks of her reception in terms of the utmost gratitude.

Believe me, Dear Sir, very sincerely and respectfully your obedient and Humble Servant,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

HONBLE. JUDGE YATES,
&c., &c., &c.,
Albany.

The amount for which Mr. Cutting has given a cognovit is $4,354.6, being the sum due with interest until August 8th. We have enclosed the statement upon which the calculation was made for Judge Yates' inspection.

EMMET & WHITE.

Mr. Campbell P. White at this time and until Mr. Emmet's death was associated with him in the practice of the profession, taking charge more particularly of the office practice.

With the exception of a few letters written by Mr. Emmet to different members of his family, all those which have been found written about this period were of a strictly business character. The following letter is one of interest, written by Mr. Emmet to his daughter Elizabeth, who was then about to be married to Mr. Wm. H. Le Roy, and it was written from Albany while Mr. Emmet was attending the sitting of the State courts:

ALBANY, February 12th, 1818.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH,

Your letter was an unexpected favor, for which I am the more indebted to you, as I had released you from all necessity of writing from any other impulse than affection, I supposed your head would be occupied with the bustle of company to which, even if you were an unwilling partaker of its amusements, you must at present lend yourself. I take for granted your heart was occupied with something more infinitely preferable but which for the present at least, if it did not exclude me, would make my congé acceptable. Gratifying as it always is to receive assurances of your love, they are particularly valuable, when my mind is constantly dwelling on your fate and prospects, and they in some measure repay the hopes and wishes that are the companions of my pillow, that close my eyes with prayer and open them again to happy expectations.

I read with all of a father's feeling the vague acknowledgement, to which, however, I attach an *individual* meaning, that there is not a *member of the family*, you would wish different from what *they are*. If I understand you correctly, my dearest girl, you are fortunate indeed. The respectability and amiableness of the family are as well known as their wealth, and about that most important and momentous concern to a young woman, the character and disposition of her husband's connections I felt always easy. My own abstraction from mixed or fashionable society, difference of age and pursuits, and my quick departure from New York left me little or no opportunity of forming a sufficient judgement on the all important point, infinitely more momentous than the character and dispositions of his connections.

Most willingly, however, I rely on your Mother's opinion and yours. I believe this is the first letter I ever wrote you, and it is possible the last I shall ever write you by your present name. Which would you prefer, having it filled with the trifling topics of ordinary correspondence or with the more serious effusions of my mind on your intended change of condition? I know you too well not to anticipate your answer, particularly as reading a letter will not produce the same embarrassment and awkwardness that perhaps a conversational lecture would do.

When I used to consider your disposition, talents, and acquirements, and I will now, without flattery say your merits, and looked around upon the young men within the circle of my acquaintance, I confess I have often reflected with solicitude on your future destiny and feared that the heart which found no congenial breast to rest upon, might make for itself an idol of happiness in future that would open the way to grandeur and fashion. But fortune is only an Idol, and not the true god of happiness. The regions of grandeur and fashion are not the biding places of the blessed, and the heart that devotes itself to this false worship never feels satisfied, and is too often grievously disappointed. Opulence that secures the conveniences and comforts, and a proper share of the luxuries of life, may be a desirable sweetener of the wedded state, and it naturally recommends and fixes attention upon the other merits of its possessor. But I fervently hope that, now you have become intimately acquainted with Mr. Le Roy, whatever he may possess or expect of wealth, is in your eyes by far his slightest recommendation. It is that hope and belief which make me rejoice to think your fate is fixed, and with these views you will feel no disappointment or dissatisfaction at commencing the world, as you both ought to do, without pretensions, and on a prudent scale, that may probably be enlarged by time and industry. His father, I believe, thinks too correctly, not to put him upon acquiring pursuits and habits of business, even if he had the means of increasing his possessions ten fold. He knows that occupation is necessary to the permanent enjoyment of life, and that the man who is not forced to it by necessity, should resort to it from policy. Without it, the best thing he can become, is being worthless, but few stop there. The mind, hunting after its natural aliment, employment, supplies the want of it by intemperance, dissipation, and vice.

I hope, therefore, for your sake, as well as his own, that he will be a hard working man for years, at least until time and experience shall have given stability to his character. But even if it were otherwise, and that he immediately made you mistress of all the means of living in splendor, I hope you would not slight the graybeard's advice, to indulge it but sparingly. The woman who can afford extravagance and expense, but declines them and prefers more moderate appearances, is almost always estimable and esteemed. But she who flaunts in the sunshine of her wealth, excites the approbation of no one's head or heart and if the vicissitudes of this life afflict her with a reverse, she seldom experiences the consolation of sympathy. The highest praise that, possibly venal writers could give to the Princess Charlotte, of England, was that having at her command the splendor of a Royal Court, she preferred the moderate sphere of private life. As to her, perhaps, it is a fabrication, but the framers of the panegyric knew what was calculated to conciliate the respect and esteem of the world. You seem peculiarly pleased with and fortunate in Mr. Le Roy's connections, and their amiable dispositions will make your duty more easy and pleasant. Cultivate them, not for interest, but for affection. Much as a man may love his wife, her person, her talents, her disposition or accomplishments he will love her a thousand times more if she loves and is beloved by his family. And if she should excite coolness, or dissension between them, her utmost merits would scarcely compensate for the loss she has caused to him. His sisters, I dare say, are perfectly amiable, and you will have no difficulty in becoming strongly attached to them. But even if it were otherwise, you must shut your eyes against those things, which, if seen, might have a tendency to alienate you from them and the same to all his relations, but above all, love and make yourself most dearly beloved by his father and mother, omit nothing that duty, tenderness and affection can do to make

yourself acceptable to them. Study them well and if they have peculiarities respect and gratify them.

To this day I remember I never loved your Mother so much, or looked at her with so much delight, as when I saw from my father's and mother's actions that they cherished her as their own daughter, and I dare say Robert [his eldest son] has frequently experienced the same feeling. My Dearest Child you will think I have preached to you a most unconscionable sermon, but I could easily have written you a shorter and a more pleasant, or at least a more sprightly letter.

Perhaps, however, even the prosing of this may have some charms, for it will show you how much your interest and happiness occupy the thoughts and possess the heart of

Your most affectionate father,
THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

Miss Elizabeth Emmet,
18, Courtland Street,
New York.

Evidence stronger than parliaments and charters, evidence written in the tears and blood of the natives, exhibits Ireland, from the invasion of Henry, in all the horrors of provincial servitude as the pure acquisition of conquest begun, and to be completed and retained by the sword.

T. A. Emmet.

From that period [the capitulation of Limerick] an end seemed to be put to the desolation of the sword. The slower but not less certain and more consuming desolation of the law remained.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXVII

Mr. Emmet writes to his daughter after her marriage—Letter to Mr. Sampson on legal matters—Notice of Mr. Duponceau—Mr. Emmet's letter to John Patten—His remarkable mechanical skill—Social life of the Emmet family—Various places of residence—Home life—First break in the family circle—"An Evening at Home"—Mr. Emmet anxious that his family should fulfill all their social obligations, but himself participated but seldom.

HORTLY after his daughter's marriage to Mr. Le Roy, Mr. Emmet again wrote her:

ALBANY, January 27th, 1820.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

A few days ago I received your letter, which considering the gaieties of the bridal winter was an unexpected pleasure, and therefore your previous silence had called forth no side rebukes, but it being unexpected only rendered it the more agreeable. I perceive Jeannette [afterwards Mrs. McEvers] is fairly entering the lists of fashion, and your mother's anxieties only transferred, the last effort of them I suppose has exhausted her, as I have not heard from her since. By every account I perceive that your die and Le Roys is nearly cast for Gennessee, and to tell you the truth it seems to me much more advisable and judicious than the contemplated settlement on the North River, and if the advantages are otherwise equal, more eligible than that on the St. Lawrence.

New York I consider out of the question, however personally agreeable it might be to us both for the present, but Le Roy's residence there implies a continuance of commercial pursuits and alas I have seen so many noble fortunes, within these few years, swallowed up in the quicksands of trade and speculation, that his continuance in that line would a subject of very constant anxiety to me. The utmost his father's bounty or affection could give him might easily disappear in the misfortunes of a single year, and by accident, like the fire at Savannah, or the shipwreck on Long Island, over which he could not have the slightest control. In the country good habits, attention, perseverance and proper economy will without difficulty realize a splendid provision for himself, and his family out of what he can now command. The dictates of prudence then are obvious; but there are feelings that plead against them, and which it is natural to suppose are strongly implanted in your breast, about which your husband may be delicate in expressing himself for fear his urgency should seem like indifference to sources of your happiness and on which no one can speak to you more properly than your father, who participates in them; but whose experience in life teaches him that they ought to be combated and subdued. Your removal to the country will separate you from your family and friends and remove you from the society which your acquirements qualify you to ornament and enjoy. It is a sacrifice, but it is only a sacrifice of short

and perhaps very transitory gratifications, to secure others, which the course of events renders much more likely to be permanent and which acquire strength and intensity, as our new connections excite our interest in Posterity. The ordinances of Nature do not permit that the affections of our childhood should be powerful motives for our conduct in more advanced life. It gives birth to new affections which suppiant the old ones and raises up new objects of love, the hope of whose welfare and prosperity is the paramount principle of action. You have not yet felt this to its full extent, but you will act wisely if you act in the hope and expectation that all those new affections will acquire their influence over you and what you may now regard as privations, will then be sources of permanent gratification. The removal from such society as you have been accustomed to, will at first require an exertion of your good sense and fortitude, but the void will be speedily filled up by the duties of perhaps increasing occupations of domestic life, and by the attention to these accomplishments which you acquired with a view to society, but which are much more precious in retirement.

They will indeed be secondary, but, perhaps there may be leisure from family arrangements, how delightful will it be to fly to reading, music and painting, and to feel that you are above the necessity of society. Don't disregard them because you will have no motive for exhibiting them; you will, in the pleasure they will afford yourself and the gratification and amusement to your husband in his hours of relaxation.

A country life is never tiresome but when the cultivation of the mind is neglected. When that is attended to in the intervals of employment, such a life is the source of the purest and most lasting pleasures. If the scurvy notion of double postage had not occurred to me, I should have given you another sheet in what ought to be your domestic conduct, style of living, &c., with a very impressive exhortation against useless show and extravagant living in a new country. But I much doubt whether you would think it worth eighteen and a half cents. So give my love to Le Roy, accept my prayers for both of you. Remember me to all and believe me ever your most affectionate father,

T. A. Emmet.

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy,
At Mr. Emmet's, Pine Street, New York.

Mr. Emmet to Mr. Sampson

[From the Crimmins Collection]

Albany, Jany. 25th, 1820.

Dear Sampson:

I have just procured the enclosed copy of the Chancellor's opinion in our Partition Cause. B. [Beverly] Robinson can furnish you with the Decree—and I would advise you to send both on to Mr. Duponceau*—and let the points and circumstances be well considered on which it might be thought advisable to appeal or seek for a rehearing—On the facts as they stand at present (whatever suspicions he may have) I do not believe you would shake the Chancellor—the lapse of time weighs much with him—I think it very possible, however, that he might so far modify his Decree as that it should not operate to prevent *our* filing a bill to enforce the trust—farther I do not think he would go in our behalf—But then how would you stand? If they in answering or pleading could allege on oath that the consideration money was *bona fide* paid, and that Dr. Redman [of Philadelphia] bought the property in ignorance of the trust, unless we could disprove their position, we should be brought to a dead stand.

Can we venture to prove their consciences? Dan'l Coxe [of Philadelphia] is still alive—if he did not answer—we would take the bill *pro confesso,* so far as relates to

*Mr. Duponceau was a French officer who served during the Revolution, and afterwards became naturalized and a lawyer. For many years after he was Chief Secretary of State before the Constitution of the United States was adopted and while the government of the Federation was located in Philadelphia. At the time this letter was written he was acing as the secretary of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston. Dr. Redman was a noted physician of Philadelphia. Mr. Sampson, to whom Mr. Emmet writes, was an intimate friend, having been connected with the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

him, but how far is that under Dr. Redman's will—Can we entertain a doubt but that he would go thro' with the transaction and swear that Redman purchased without notice? Dr. John Redman Coxe [of Philadelphia] is the only other party likely to know anything—Is he old enough to have acquired actual knowledge of the transaction—and how far might he be resorted to with safety? Is it possible for us to collect any additional circumstantial testimony in our favour? As the Smiths are entirely out of this part of the controversy, they could be witnesses in such a suit—Is there anything within their knowledge or that could be proved by the papers they possess to shew Dr. Redman's knowledge of the trust? I throw these matters out for yours and Mr. Duponceau's consideration—more particularly as my mind and time are just now so much occupied with our business here that it would be impossible for me to sit down seriously, and institute any enquiry on the subject—But observe, nothing can now be done by side-wind applications to the Chancellor—he has delivered his Decree and pronounced his reasons—and indeed did both before I received your answer to my first letter—Whatever we mean to do must now be deliberately concerted and formally done. If we should apply for a rehearing (from which I should not hope for much, unless you and Mr. Duponceau can collect and place all the circumstantial evidence of knowledge of the trust by Dr. Redman, in a more striking point of view than it has ever yet been exhibited) we shall be time enough if prepared for that when the Chancellor comes down in June (I think). If we appeal it [will] not be possible to have our appeal heard this year. Therefore we shall have full time *for preparation*—if we decide to file a new Bill, we must apply to the Chancellor by Petition, so to modify his decree as to give us that liberty—that should be done speedily—and I rather imagine he has kept his Decree *in fieri* and under his control and that he has done so in the expectation that we might possibly wish to make some such application.—But in giving you this advice I must remember that I am Counsel for the Smiths—and impress upon you that your proceedings need not and ought not to delay the asking of the Partition. Which ever Branch of the Coxes may be entitled to the 5/16ths in question, the Estate must be divided into 3 Parts and 2/3rds into 16th parts. While the question is discussing whether those 5/16ths of 2/3rds should be held by those having the legal Estate, charged with, or discharged from a trust—there can be no inconvenience in apportioning out the property according to those shares, *in usum jus habentis*. Good bye, I am writing in a great hurry, and probably very incorrectly—but I am,

Very sincerely yours,
T. A. Emmet.

William Sampson, Esq.,
Counsellor at Law,
Fulton Street, New York.

Endorsement—"25 Jany., 1820—Thos. Addis Emmet, Albany—enclosing Chancellor's opinion. Answered by anticipation".

At the trial of Robert M. Goodwin for killing James Stoughton in New York during the winter of 1818 Mr. Emmet delivered the argument on an indictment of manslaughter. The trial took place at the Court of General Sessions of the Place, held in and for the body of the City and County of New York in February, 1820. (See Sampson's Reports.) The writer has a full report of this trial as made by Mr. Sampson and published in book form. For a copy of Mr. Emmet's argument, see Appendix, Note XIX.

Very few letters written by Mr. Emmet to his friends in Ireland have been found, and only an occasional rought draft seems to have been preserved. The following, however, is of the greatest interest, as in it Mr. Emmet not only gives a very clear statement of his own prospects, but also a graphic pic-

ture of each member of his family. It is written to his brother-in-law, Mr. John Patten, who was then residing in Dublin.

New York, July 29th, 1820.

My Dear John,

It is so long since you have heard from me, and so very long since you have written to me, that you will probably be somewhat surprised at the receipt of this letter. But I am extremely unwilling that any indolence or punctiliousness should stop our intercourse. Your sister cannot but be very desirous to hear of you and from you, although she has for many years totally given up all letter writing; and if you can judge me rightly, you will be convinced that no one can take a warmer interest in your welfare than I do. I then commence a new score with you, in the hope that if you will not pay off your old epistolary arrears, you will at least not contract new debts of that nature.

Do, then, write us all you can about yourself, and as much as you please about the other members of the family. As to my own affairs in Ireland, I confess I am very anxious to see the state of them clearly. The practice of my profession has enabled me to live genteelly and respectably, and to educate my children, so far; but as to accumulating property for them, every effort of that kind on my part has been, I fear, frustrated for ever by the dreadful depreciation of land in the neighborhood of this city; and I tremble to think of the situation in which they would be placed if any accident were to happen to me, of which, thank God, there is no present appearance.

But this unfortunate change in the value of what I hoped would have contributed something not inconsiderable to their support hereafter, makes me more desirous to ascertain exactly what is the situation of whatever I might look to in Ireland, and what even might come against it. I owe a large sum to the people in Wexford, which has given me great uneasiness, and it is one of the things nearest my heart to have it paid off with the least possible delay; and I am also indebted to Kitty [his niece, Temple's daughter] some interest money, of which, I am sure, she must want at least a part. If you could let her have something out of the rents it would gratify me exceedingly. Furnish me a statement both of the rents and of your sister's fortune, if any of it remains.

You will be desirous of knowing something of our family and fireside. Your sister has had many years of delicate health and nervous spells and anxious hours, but I am happy to think she is not getting worse and on the whole is, I think, improving.

Robert is married, lives in the house with us, and has two lovely boys. He is settled in the law, and would have a very good practice if the profession could at present be said to afford any. Tom is also a lawyer, and lives with me, though his office is different. As he is a bachelor and with few expenses, he pays his way, and will, I think, do better.

Elizabeth is married to Mr. Le Roy, and in every sense of the word *well*. She has got a fine fellow in mind and disposition, one of the handsomest young men in the city, and perhaps the most respectably connected in it, with every prospect of wealth and happiness, but she is going to settle nearly four hundred miles from us.

Temple is on the ocean in the U. S. Ship Columbus and at present in the Mediterranean. From his roving life you may one day see him, and unless he should materially change, I am sure you will like him.

The rest of the family is still on my hands. John, after spending a year in Italy for his health, is returned home, and with a constitution I hope improved and confirmed. He is studying physic, and has made no inconsiderable progress in chemistry. He is very highly thought of by those who know him, and from the nature of his pursuits and occupations, and his manner of following them, very frequently reminds his mother of you.

The others are fine, valuable and good children, but neither settled nor as far as I can see on the high road to it. The girls are accomplished and well informed, and as

they would adorn, so I hope they will be happy in any situation. Your sister joins in warmest love to you. Believe me, dear John, most affectionately yours,

THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

Mr. Emmet was said to possess great natural mechanical skill together with the art of acquiring a knowledge of detail. The planning of a house with every convenience, and supervising its construction, was a most congenial occupation to him. His eldest son Robert, in writing (December 17th, 1821), to his sister Mrs. Le Roy, who lived in St. Lawrence Co., N. Y., refers to this talent possessed by his father. Some members of the family had been on a visit to Mrs. Le Roy and Robert writes:

We have been entertained since their arrival with minute accounts of everything relating to St. Lawrence Co:, more particularly Potsdam, and still more particularly your own establishment. Papa, I'll venture to say, knows the arrangement of your house and the geography of the farm, as well as you do. He has a peculiar happy knack of becoming acquainted with the construction of houses from description, and you may suppose he never rested until he learned the length, breadth and height of every room, closet and entry in yours.

The summer residence of the Emmet family was situated on the old Middle Road, at about what is now West Fifty-fourth Street and Fifth Avenue. This was a country road running up to Harlem and branching from the Bloomingdale Road at or near the present junction of Twenty-second Street and Broadway; higher up, above Forty-second Street, the Boston Post Road passed off from it in the direction of the East River. The road in front of the house corresponded to a portion of Fifth Avenue and the grounds to the late site of St. Luke's Hospital and the present Harvard clubhouse. The house itself stood on the north side of Fifty-fourth Street, about fifty yards from the present sidewalk of the avenue. Years afterwards, when the city authorities were opening Fifty-fourth Street, the house, which projected somewhat on the line, was set afire by careless blasting and destroyed.

For a long period the family resided during the winter on the southwest corner of Pine and Nassau Streets, where they occupied two adjoining houses, the lower story of the inside one being used for the law offices of Mr. Emmet and his sons. These two houses, with the Presbyterian Church,* on the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets, and its churchyard occupied the entire side of the block from Wall Street to Pine.

The family subsequently lived in John, Fair, Warren, Cortlandt, White, Hudson and at No. 30 Beach Street, on St. John's Square, where Mr. T. A. Emmet subsequently died. But the place on the Middle Road was the headquarters where the family frequently remained throughout the year and where the sons and daughters grew up. The recollection of this place was associated throughout life in the mind of every member of the household with the dearest remembrance of a period which constituted the happiest portion of their lives. Every member of the family was accomplished. All had the brightest dis-

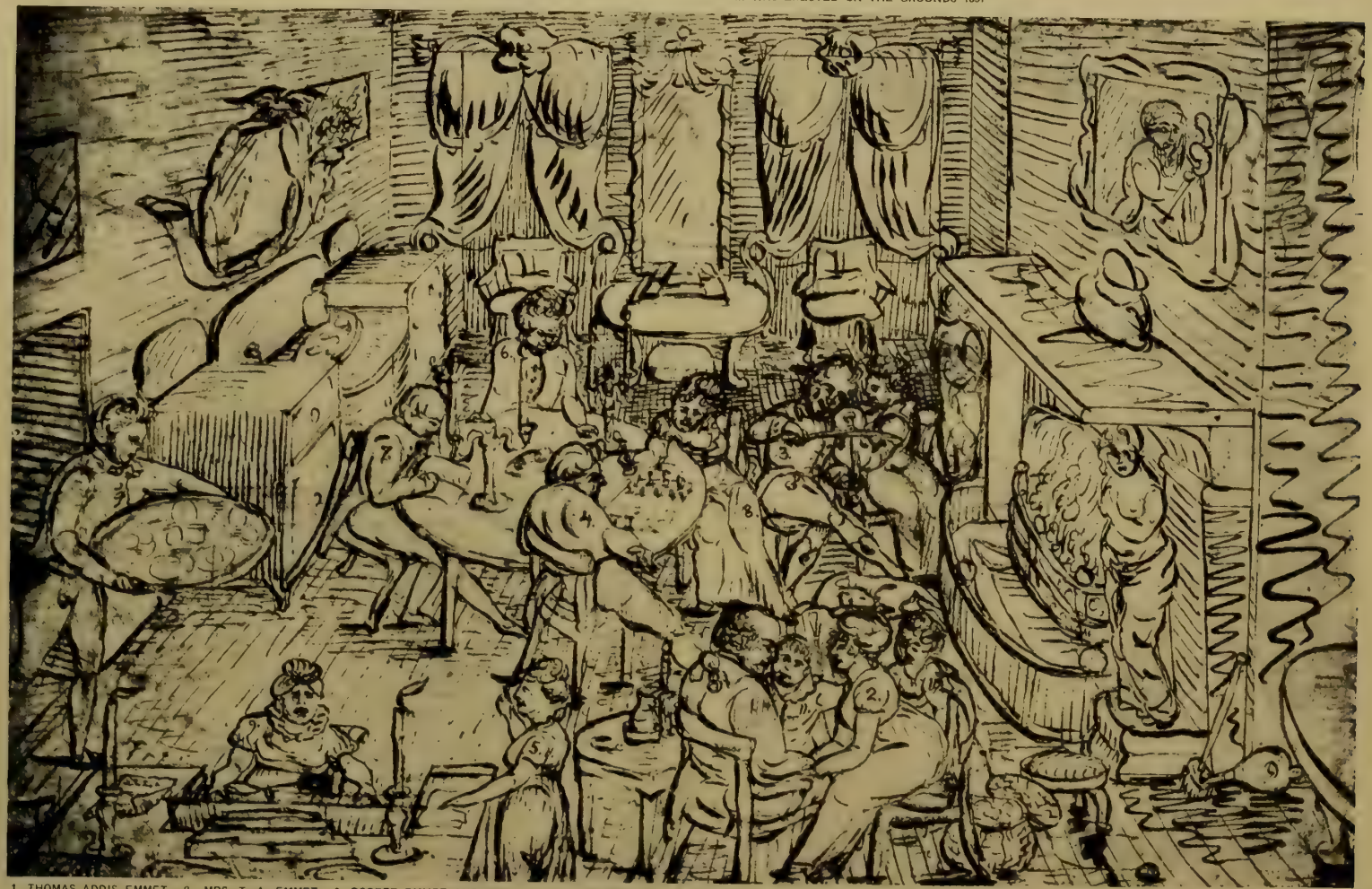
*This church was afterwards moved up to Eighth Street, opposite Lafayette Place, and was for years St. Ann's Catholic Church (now in East Twelfth Street), becoming subsequently in turn an Episcopal church, a synagogue, and a German theatre. It was purchased by Stewart for his carpet annex and finally removed for Wanamaker's new building.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

MRS. JANE PATTEN EMMET

From an oil portrait by Miss Elizabeth Emmet, [Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy] while a pupil of Robert Fulton

AN EVENING AT HOME"—DRAWN BY JOHN PATTEN EMMET, OCT. 29, 1818, AT THE COUNTRY HOUSE OF T. A. EMMET THEN SITUATED ON THE "MIDDLE ROAD," NOW FIFTH AVENUE. THE HOUSE WAS DESTROYED ON OPENING FIFTY-FOURTH ST.—ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL WAS ERECTED ON THE GROUNDS 1857



1. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET 2. MRS. T. A. EMMET 3. ROBERT EMMET AND WIFE 4. T. A. EMMET, JR. 5. ELIZABETH EMMET 6. TEMPLE EMMET 7. JOHN PATTEN EMMET 8. JANE ERIN EMMET 9. MARGARET EMMET 10. MARY ANN EMMET 11. WILLIAM C. EMMET.

"AN EVENING AT HOME," FROM A PEN DRAWING BY DR. JOHN PATTEN EMMET

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

positions, with an endless store of wit, which naturally attracted kindred spirits about them to add to the common stock of fun and frolic. The first break in this most united family was made, in 1819, by the marriage of Elizabeth to Mr. Wm. H. Le Roy, who settled on a large stock farm near Potsdam, St. Lawrence County, N. Y.*

The final separation and breaking up of the family circle, however, did not take place until Dr. John P. Emmet, the father of the writer, left for Charleston, S. C., to begin the practice of medicine. It is true that some of the old spirit was still kept alive until after the marriage of Jane, or Jeannette as she was called in early life, to Bache McEvers, but it was only a shadow of the past.

The pen-drawing made by Dr. J. P. Emmet in 1818 of "An Evening at Home", and which is here reproduced, is a faithful but grotesque representation of the family assembled in the parlor of the old house on the Middle Road. And while it is executed in his usual spirit of caricature, the likenesses have been sufficiently preserved to render it easy to identify each individual.

It is of particular interest as showing Mr. Emmet passing a free evening with his family. It shows him as one of a special group consisting of his wife, with her basket of stockings to be darned, showing that it was probably Saturday night, and the younger children, while by his interest in all the fun going on the father seems the youngest of the party. Webb, in his sketch, states:

> Mr. Emmet was six feet tall and stooped somewhat; his face wore a sedate, calm look; he was near-sighted and used an eye-glass frequently. Pleasant and playful in his family circle, abroad he was courteous and polished, dignified and self-respecting, without anything approaching to arrogance or self-sufficiency.

We have reached a time in the history of the family when its different members begin to scatter from the homestead, the sisters to marry and the brothers to start in life for themselves. A more united family than this one could not be conceived and as only one break has yet taken place, it would be most fitting to give an insight into their life as pictured by themselves in their letters to their absent sister, Mrs. Le Roy.

These letters will be presented chronologically and they are given as the reflection of Mr. Emmet's life. The first letter is from Mr. Robert Emmet, the eldest son, to his sister, Mrs. Le Roy:

New York, Aug. 25th, 1821.

My Dear Elizabeth,

I had intended to defer writing my first letter to you for another week, but the pathetic appeal which you made to the family in "Sundry Epistles" and which came pouring in on us today has induced me to believe that you will probably derive more cordial balm from my letter now than at a later day. You must not think of my making such a fuss about this that it is the only one I mean to write to you; on the contrary, although I know I cannot be as frequent a correspondent, as indeed any other member of the

*The correspondence between Mrs. Le Roy and her family in New York was preserved by her until a short time before her death, when, unfortunately, she destroyed a large portion of it. The loss of these letters proved a serious one, as we are almost entirely indebted to the contents of those which were preserved and passed into the writer's possession some years ago, for our knowledge of the domestic life of the family during a long period.

family, I intend to favor you every now and then, especially when I have any grievance to egg me on, and I have taken it into my head that much comfort results from giving vent to one's pangs on paper. Perhaps it may be some relief to the lowness of spirits, of which you complain, to learn that things are sometimes desperately uncomfortable with us, and that an experiment is now making in the house, the object of which seems to be, to ascertain at what point in the Thermometer of comforts and discomforts family matters will rest when nothing is attended to by anybody. This will no doubt result in a prodigious discovery, like some of the labor saving machines which have been nibbling at poor papa's brains for years past, but in the mean time we may rise unrefreshed from many a half broiled chicken and cup of sham coffee. Long habit, they say, reconciles us to the worst evils, and I can see thro' the vista of time a sufficiently long continuance of the present blissful state of domestic arrangements to wean us most effectually from all preconceived notions of the "fitness of things" as applied to breakfast, dinner, and supper, and convince us of the sublime truth contained in the distich "man wants but little here below" with the addition "nor cares he of what kind".

As for mama, she has been so long out of the habit of attending to anything in the house that it is hardly to be expected she should take to it "like a baby to the breast" at this time of need, and I must say that both Jane and Mary Ann betray the most genteel repugnance to those duties that have now seriously devolved upon them. Indeed, for several days past that unlucky wight Barney has been our Maître d'Hotel, and like Shacabac, Bluebeard's Major-domo, has been proportionately frisky on the strength of his uncontroverted superintendence over closet and pantry. Fortunately John and Temple, to use their own expression, have "wooled him" occasionally or I have no doubt the boy would have lost his senses from a consciousness of his unlimited power, for truly, "the issue of hunger and thirst" have been in his hands. On our return from Long Branch, where we had been, as Falstaff says, "taking our ease in our inn", we found them all in the delectable state of insensibility as to the good things of this life. The scriptures say—"let tomorrow provide for itself", but they improve wonderfully upon this fear-composing maxim, letting even the blessed day, whose sun was then shining upon them, do itself the same selfish service. Every tumbler and wine glass in the house was "blear-eyed", every knife and fork clothed in a suit of rusty (not russet) brown and every silver spoon counterfeited vile pewter for very shame, and when our necessities compelled us to invoke any of the domestics, they opened their mouths, scratched their heads and almost cried "anan", like John Lump in the play.

You may fancy, my dear Elizabeth, how bitterly we are forced to contrast those halcyon days when you looked after these matters, with the present tragic-comic state of things. I must say it, who should not, Rosina is now the only chieftain fit to rule the destinies of the kitchen and house closets, and it seems to be the general wish of the household that she should be installed the President of Pantries and Chief Captain of Closets. Having as you know a happy turn that way, she has most willingly submitted to have those honors buckled on her back. You may anticipate something like a reform when I tell you that the first vigorous measure of her administration was causing all the knives and forks to be plunged up to their handles in mother earth, to divest them more rapidly and effectually of their emblematic incrustations. I am afraid, however, that Rosina's salutary exertions must from her employment, be "like angels' visits, few and far between", and altho' we may occasionally, by way of a jubilee, have a cup of tea made with boiling water and a broiled chicken for breakfast unornamented with parts of its plumage dripping like feathers out of an oil bottle, we may as well make up our minds to live pretty much at sixes and sevens. An ass once quarrelled with his thistle for being covered with dust which he had kicked up himself and it choked him, the moral, slender as it is, may apply to our case. You will say I ought to be in a good humor after venting my complaints so freely, and I believe it has had that effect. I feel much relieved and if you can read my account of the "miseries of Rockfield" [the name of the place] with as much fun as I take in describing them, the end of my letter is ac-

complished. At the same time, they present a subject for serious lamentations as well as joking, and if you will rub the girls up for their negligence, this doleful Jeremiad will not in another point of view, have been written in vain. I believe Rosina wrote to you yesterday and she urged me most pathetically to do the same and most pathetically I may say have I done it. It would delight me very much to be able to visit you before the end of the summer and I am not entirely without hopes, but they are slight.

Remember me to William and Margaret and kiss Jane for me among the rest. You must also present my best respects (to say no more) to Mrs. Clarkson, who I am told is as lovely as ever and believe me, my dear Elizabeth, most sincerely and

affectionately yours,

R. Emmet.

Mrs. Wm. H. Le Roy,
Potsdam, N. Y.

The next letter is from T. A. Emmet, Jr., and is also written to Mrs. Le Roy at Potsdam. A very amusing account is given here of how their brother John was instrumental in procuring an invitation for an entertainment to which the family had not been invited.

New York, Sept. 15th, 1821.

My Dear Elizabeth:

Until I learned it from your last letter to mama I had not the slightest idea that you had reason to complain at not receiving letters. On the contrary I thought from the number that usually went in from the country that, as a farmer's wife, you would hardly have time to read them. I saw the girls writing so many that I feared it would not hold out and therefore intended to keep myself for the purpose of "snowing brown", and you see it is good *foolscap*. Another reason for my not writing sooner was that I thought there was nothing about which I could write a letter that would make it acceptable as one from any of the girls; family concerns are almost the only theme and of these I know but little. I go to town early (when I can get breakfast) and come out late, as I have my grey horse still which has turned out much better than ever I anticipated. Tell Margaret I have heard from a young man who has been up there (not Selden) that she has already made herself famous for her riding. He told me that she rode twenty miles in one day and did not mind it in the least, if so her riding faculties must have been born with her, as I am sure it was not from practice down here that she acquired such skill. The same person also told me of a young doctor who was smitten by her. She must send a description of him to us that we may know how to treat him *when occasion requires*. I have already heard he is remarkably fond of Blackberries, from which I judge him to be of meek disposition.

Mr. Selden* spent so short a time with you that he was unable to give us much satisfactory information about your family concerns. I can well conceive how great the change is, and you must think yourself lucky in having Mrs. Clarkson in the same house, not only for her company, but to put you in the way of doing many things about which you would otherwise have been at a loss. Mr. Selden said he ate some of Margaret's pound cake. I hope Margaret takes care to have some with her when she goes riding with the Doctor, to give him when he stops under a Blackberry bush and to let him know it was her making. Pound cake and blackberries must be so agreeable together, that if she plies the Doctor with enough he cannot but yield to her.

I have spent such an idle summer in the evenings and been so busy in the daytime, during Mr. Selden's absence, that I had almost made up my mind not to be examined

*Mr. Dudley Selden was a prominent lawyer and noted afterwards as an authority in connection with real estate titles in the neighborhood of Harlem. He was associated in business for some years with Mr. Thomas A. Emmet, Jr., and held an intimate relation with the family until his death.

next Term and of course not to go to Utica in October, and in that case I would not see you this winter; but from your last letter you seem to expect it so much and my desire to see you all (including the Doctor) is so great that I believe I will run the risk of an examination and be with you about the end of October.

Within the last week we have had so much fun on the Middle Road that I don't know when it will end. The effects of it have already spread five miles around us, and has made Mrs. D. [David] Colden (resolving not to be outdone) ask us all for a downright frolic to her house this evening. We mustered up fourteen and we are engaged Monday night to go to Mrs. Schmidt's.* A wedding at Beinhawer's (*Pine auger's*) has been the cause of it all. Miss Louise to Mr. Twizler or Mitzler, I don't know which. The whole affair was kept so secret that we did not hear of it 'till the night on which it was to take place. We were so vexed at not being asked that we determined to get in if possible and accordingly John and Mr. Selden disguised themselves for the purpose of getting admission. John took the character of a poor Italian who had just come to the country and Mr. Selden was an old, fat, red faced Methodist preacher. He had on a pair of Papa's breeches and waist coat (stuffed with pillows), a pair of the cook's black woolen stockings full of holes, a large night cap under his hat and a pair of spectacles on, these with Arthur's old black coat gave him just the cut of a Methodist. Mr. Powell† and Mr. Wilson‡ (who spent that night with us) could not make out who either of them were. They both left our house to attack the Bridal party, and the girls all hid themselves at the other side of the stone fence. John went right in and asked in broken English for a drink of water, which was given to him by the old lady in great fright. They then came out, and, as we had agreed beforehand, met us in the road near Pine Auger's house, and we picked a quarrel which soon brought out the whole party on the road; by this means we had a good opportunity of renewing our old acquaintance with Peggy and the rest of them. Peggy invited us in, which we accepted and we were formally introduced to the Groom (a Swiss shoemaker).

John and Selden put on their own clothes and joined us. We made ourselves so agreeable that the next morning Peggy called over to Mr. McEvers and said she wished to see Charles§ in private. This was to know if he would not come that evening and bring the Emmets with him, that she would go and invite us herself if she was not afraid of the dogs. Charles promised to go and bring us with him. She then asked for some white paper to invite some friends up. She told him the party was to be small and he must expect "no greats". We accordingly went, Robert took the flutes and Tambourine as they were disappointed in getting a fiddler.. In the midst of a *waltz* between myself and the bride, to my utmost astonishment, in walks Rosina, with Mrs. Swarthout, Mary Ann, Eliza McEvers and Anna Tom. When the ceremony of introduction was ended we danced a Kentucky Reel, in which Jane and Eliza joined; after that at Peggy's particular request she and Charles and a Milliner from town danced the figure 8. This Milliner's girl was so fat that no hogshead would hold her, and Rosina, in order to make herself agreeable, began to praise her dancing out loud. As soon as she heard this it put such life in her that I am sure she must have lost at least twenty pounds of flesh with all the capers she cut. I was dancing opposite her and of course

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*The wife of the German Consul General, and a half sister of Bache McEvers.

†The Rev. Mr. Powell was an Irishman and an Episcopal clergyman, who for many years was at the head of a boys' boarding-school which was located on the site of the present St. John's Catholic College, Fordham, now within the city limits.

‡Mr. Hugh Wilson was one of the United Irishmen and had been confined in Fort George with Mr. Emmet. After his release he settled and married in St. Catherine's, one of the Danish West India Islands. He died after his wife, and, not having been successful in life, left the care of his two sons to Mr. Emmet, his only friend. In 1827 these children arrived in New York, but Mr. Emmet having died in the meantime, his son, T. A. Emmet, took charge of Edward J. Wilson, while Hugh Wilson, the younger boy, went to live with Mr. Bache McEvers. Edward Wilson became a successful lawyer and died unmarried about 1859. Hugh Wilson became a farmer, married and had a family.

§Charles was the brother of Bache McEvers. The McEvers' country place was nearly opposite but more to the south. It afterwards became part of the Hamersley estate and the site of the Colford Jones house on the corner of Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Swarthout and Miss Eliza McEvers were sisters. Miss Mary Ann Emmet afterwards became Mrs. Edward B. Graves, and Miss Anna Tom the wife of T. A. Emmet, Jr.

left nothing undone in the way of steps Flatbrest ever taught me. We even made the old women get up and waltz, who did it very well. I, being the only one who could waltz, was nearly killed as I had to go the rounds with them all. They leaned back, could do no steps and never got tired. I asked Peggy more than a dozen times while I was waltzing with her, if she was not tired, to which she always answered *no*. I was at last obliged to tell her *I was,* and make her sit down.

After our girls went home we began playing the country plays which are filled with kissing, *languishing, pouting, making love bridges, and journeys to London, &c.;* and thus spent the evening until two o'clock, about which time we thought the Groom had not much desire to detain us longer, especially Selden, who made a *dead set* at his wife, and did nothing but kiss her. They gave us fine wedding cake, gingerbread and crullers, with a decanter of wine and plenty of pump water, which we drank dry.

I have briefly given you the outlines of our entertainment, but have no doubt you will have a much better and more particular description from the girls, but the fact is no description can be given equal to it. It has set us all *wild and languishing and pouting,* as is now all the fashion and as I said before, Mrs. Colden is determined not to be outdone by the Pine Augers.

Give my love to Le Roy. Margaret has so much from the Doctor that I suppose she will take none from me. If nothing happens I shall certainly be with you in October, when I hope to have a great deal of pleasure with little Jane. I should be sorry if all her good looks were acquired without the help of a little of my dancing.

Yours affectionately,

T. A. Emmet, Jr.

Mrs. W. H. Le Roy,
Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

Sunday, New York, Sept. 15th, 1821.

My dear Elizabeth:

Tho' I have written so many letters to you which still remain unanswered I cannot give up the fight without one struggle more to rouse your feelings of shame at least if not of affection, and have therefore notwithstanding my great disappointment in not receiving a letter from you last night, seated myself to write to you. You would hardly guess where and how I have spent the evening since I last wrote to you,—dancing at Miss Bienshaws' wedding. You know the enmity that has existed between us for so long, and how warmly the boys always took their part, and it is quite a triumph to them that we should have honoured Peggy with our company. The reason of our so doing, is, that we heard the youngest one, Bache's friend, was to be married and the boys and Mr. Selden, who was here, determined to have a farewell dance with her. But fearing they would not be admitted in their proper garb John and Mr. Selden with our help, disguised themselves, in some things Temple [Lieut. U. S. Navy] brought home, so well that it was impossible to recognize them. We concealed ourselves in the bushes by their fence and heard John carry on a very amusing dialogue with old Mrs. Bienshaws, he speaking between Italian and English and she answering in Dutch. We had great difficulty to keep from being heard for the scene was so ludicrous that it was impossible not to laugh. But John on coming near Peggy could not resist his inclination to let her know him, and whispered "the iron bound bucket", her famous song, in her ear, and she knew his voice but did not betray them to the old people, but gave them an invitation to come in and dance at the wedding. The rest of the boys and Charles [McEvers] passing just then by chance, they were invited and entered with Robert at their head, all playing as finely as possible on tambourines, violin, flute, &c. They staid very late teaching the girls waltzing, cotillions, and made themselves so agreeable that they were each given a piece of cake for us to dream upon and were informed that the bride saw company next evening and were begged to come. Peggy said it was to be "no greats"—and bring their music. They were too glad of their invitation to refuse, and we took our station as we had the night before, but growing less cautious, and afraid of losing anything that was to be

seen, we left our ambush and ventured inside the fence. Then we were soon spyed by Mr. Selden who instantly shut the shutters, probably because he had his arms around the bride's waist at the time, and we were returning home disconsolate when we were met by old Bienshaws, "to whom I obnoxiously made my approaches", as the song says, to apologize for intruding on his premises, but he was so civil and begged and entreated that on such an occasion we should condescend to go and see the dancing, that we had even to submit, and spurred on by Mrs. Swartwout, who is staying with Mrs. McEvers, and who is as full of fun as she can be, we took courage and went in, so many of us that we almost filled the house to overflowing. It would have been worth travelling from Potsdam to see Robert's face when Rosina was handed in by old Bienshaws, with all ceremony in his plush velvet breeches. We sent her first to see how she would be received and indeed the boys looks, between consternation and fun, were not far inferior to Robert's when we entered. McEvers and Emmets by the dozen, and such an evening I never spent, I was in a spasm to keep from laughing out the whole time. You know Rosina's benignant look at all times, but she was too amusing that night. She admired everything so audibly that she kept them in an ecstasy of joy. You may know the embroidered pictures we have heard so much of. Rosina would not be persuaded it was anything but an oil painting and Robert had to drop the flute two or three times from fits of laughing. I have not room to tell all that went on, but I hope some of the others will, for the manners were a perfect comedy, and the expressions have furnished the Middle Road with "stamp" for ever. I should not have been so diffuse in my description, but that any frolic in which we were engaged I am sure will interest you, and this was one worth recording and I know will suit Mr. Le Roy's taste. Bache returned last night from Lebanon in time to accompany us to a party at Mrs. David Colden's in the country, who, hearing how gay we were, was determined not to be put down by us. Her party, however, was not nearly so pleasant as our own neighbourly hops. We thought a great deal of our sleigh ride with Rosina in the winter to the same place, for the night was very cold and the house also. But I suppose you do not mind a cold night now, for we hear you had frost. How does Margaret stand that, for I know she is a decided enemy to cold, but I dare say she keeps herself warm by backgammon or some other quiet game with some of her friends. We are invited to a little dance at Mrs. Schmidt's on the Bloomingdale to-morrow. She and Helen Bache [afterwards Mrs. Patterson] have paid us several visits and seem very sociably disposed. I think there is no doubt from the little I saw of Bache last night that he is engaged, or at least very much in love with some one, tho' he does not allow that it is Miss Kane. You never saw anyone grow so suddenly thin as he has done, which we presume is love. I have now told you all the news I have to tell, and as I have yet to write to Margaret I will not make it longer than I can help. Margaret has given me a lovely description of little Jane, kiss her for me and keep her as fat as you can. I one day anticipate some pleasure, and more trouble, in teaching her the catechism.

I hope my letters do not all face the fiery ordeal of Mr. Le Roy's criticising eye, for as he will not favor me with a letter it is not fair he should have the benefit of mine. Give my love to him, and that of all the family and for yourself. Katherine* sends her love to you and a kiss for her little god-daughter.

I am, dearest Elizabeth, your most
Sincerely attached sister,
JEANNETTE E. EMMET.

The following letter to Mrs. Le Roy is from her brother Robert, and is very characteristic of his humorous style in writing:

NEW YORK, Sept. 16th, 1821.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

I have received your first letter, and rejoice that my attempt at the ludicrous, though

*Katherine, the daughter of Christopher Temple Emmet, then on a visit to her relatives in this country.

upon so tender a subject as housekeeping, should have the desired effect. I certainly did intend it as a kind of antidote to low spirits, resulting from a too vivid conception of the pleasures which we enjoy without your participation and if the picture I sketched of our domestic arrangements, or rather derangements, was overcharged, the exaggeration was perhaps necessary to counteract a certain mist, which, when we look back upon things, that we feel attached to, and have left, interposes to shut every disagreeable object out of view, while it serves as a medium that magnifies and brightens those that have given us pleasure. It is but justice to the girls to say that they have improved and although we shall never be famous for systematic housekeeping, I have no doubt we shall, with a few occasional skirmishes at breakfast, get along "tolerable clever", as they say in the country parts—no particular allusion to Potsdam. The description you give of the profusion of good things which bounteous nature yields you, reminds me of an old pastoral, I believe Shenstone's, which begins "my banks are burdened with bees", you may say with equal beauty of alliteration "my pantries are pampered with pies". You should have added as an inducement to Rosina to visit you that you would give her

A cup of flowers and a Kirtle
Embroidered all with leaves of Myrtle.

But I suppose the delights which Potsdam affords are not as good subjects for an eclogue as for a bill of fare. Poetry is no doubt delightful, but is particularly good upon a full stomach, and if it were necessary to choose between Potsdam and Parnassus, I think the account you give of cream, butter, eggs, &c., would throw the seat of muses into the background.

By way of diversifying life with a little vulgar plurality, we all "bore down" upon the Bienhauser establishment the other night. The occasion was a wedding between a great tall German shoemaker and one of the daughters. We paraded before the door with "pipe and tabor", when the groom came out and invited us with "shentle-mens, vont you take a valk in, you please". "Certainly Sir, Certainly Sir", said John, so in we marched and completely identified ourselves with the company present. In a short time, to my utter consternation, what should I see but Rosina sailing in under old B's wing, and with her Mrs. Swartwout, Jane, Eliza, and Mary McEvers. They went away in about an hour, after partaking of the refreshments, and we remained there till two o'clock in the morning. But as I have no doubt some of the rest of the family will give you a particular detail of the event, I shall say no more about it except that I had a full surfeit of the boasted attractions of the daughters, who—

Show to most advantage in a moderate perspective as clumsy awkward things.

My dear Elizabeth, I hardly know what to say to you, being in a peculiarly dull mood this evening. We all go on in the same way, pretty humdrum with occasional frolics. We had a very pleasant one at Mrs. David Colden's last evening and tomorrow we are to have a blow out at Mrs. Schmidt's. Temple is as gay as if he never saw Mary Norton and spits tobacco most lustily. John is as argumentative as ever and thrives upon his vegetable diet, tho' like the children of Israel in the desert, he longs sometimes after the flesh pots of Egypt while demolishing a dish of egg plant or horse beans. Tom is, I believe, in love, or pretending so to be, with a Miss Isaphine Lawrence. By the bye there is a great deal of ingenuity in that name; her father's name is Isaac and being determined to call her after him they coined the above cognomen; Icicle would have been more apropos. Tell Margaret I hope she may not be too much bothered between Dr. McChesney, Mr. Ives and Jake Vanderhauvel. I hope William's appetite is as good as ever. It would be a pity if he did not do justice to the fruits of his own care and labour, and I have no doubt working at the stumps must send him in pretty sharp set. How I should like to have the cutting of a sirloin for him one of these autumn days; perhaps I may, as I have serious thoughts of going to Utica next month, in which case you will certainly see me unless a wolf eats me by the way.

Rosina has written to you by this mail and I suppose told you all about the children.

Tom is getting quite well; Bob the other day found one of Temple's tobacco quids lying on the stoop and pointing to it, with much disgust, said "papa Temple do", as for Dick, he is certainly old Esop, or Rabelais, or some other old wit come back to pay the world a visit, born over again. Dick never cries, but sits alone all day laughing at everything that passes before him.

I anticipate great satisfaction in seeing all my predictions about little Jane realized; indeed Margaret gives a flourishing account of her, but I am sure a true one. Remember me to William and Margaret and believe me, dear Elizabeth, most sincerely yours,

ROBERT EMMET.

Mr. Robert Emmet writes again on October 21st, 1821:

Rosina and I move into town tomorrow to take a short spell at house-keeping before the rest of the family break up their quarters in the country. As usual at this season of the year there is the most riotous frolicking there every evening. Selden says we are all sold to the Devil, and that every night we bring him in a profit on his bargain. Tom will give you a full account of our carrying on.

About a hundred yards or so higher up and on the opposite of the way lived Mr. and Mrs. Charles McEvers, the parents of Bache and Charles, Jr., and beyond on the North River and Bloomingdale Road resided Mr. Schmidt, the Prussian Consul-General, who married Eliza, Bache's half-sister. These and other families in the neighborhood formed a most congenial circle. The family letters of this period, as we have seen, are filled with accounts of frolics of all kinds, of fancy balls and musical entertainments, for nearly every member of the family had a good voice and all had received more or less of a musical education.

In masquerading or playing practical jokes no one was more prominent than John, having always a ready supporter in his sister Jeannette, or Jane, and a Miss Anna Tom, a frequent visitor and a stepdaughter of Dr. Macneven. Miss Tom afterwards married T. A. Emmet, Jr. The consequences of these frolics did not seem to concern them, and although under other circumstances one might have judged them more seriously, their neighbors evidently accepted their deviltry as a matter of course. If there existed any bad feeling the ground for complaint seemed to rest with those who were not asked to participate.

The writer recalls a very amusing account given him by his father of a scene at the wedding of his brother Tom to Miss Anna Tom, which took place March 4th, 1823. Shortly before the supper hour Dr. Emmet and Mr. Charles McEvers had occasion to go into the dining-room—possibly the punch-bowl was in their charge. The Doctor, being very active and slight, bantered Mr. McEvers, who was not agile or a lightweight, to follow him and vault across the supper-table. Dr. Emmet got over safely, as he had expected to do; but Mr. McEvers was not so fortunate; his hands slipped in some way and he fell, upsetting the two large tables where their leaves joined together, thus bringing down upon him a host of ices, etc., and deluging himself with the contents of a large punch-bowl, which put out the candles, leaving the room in total darkness. The Doctor escaped quickly, and was one of the first of the guests who, attracted by the noise, rushed to the scene of havoc, and with a

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

JOHN PATTEN EMMET, M. D.
Drawn by Miss Jane Macneven, shortly before his death

splendid exhibition of astonishment, expressed his sympathy, which added no little to Mr. McEvers's state of speechless indignation. The incident and Mr. McEvers's forlorn condition caused a good laugh, which was compensation enough for the less elaborate supper which was served later.

The following letters give an insight into the fashionable life of New York in which the younger members of the Emmet family were active participants:

NEW YORK, April 26th, 1822.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH:

You may perceive in the expectation of having a good deal to say to you and no lack of subject, I have begun my letter on the largest sheet of paper I could find, and intend to take it very coolly and rest myself after my fatigue of yesterday. Of course Margaret, who had the first writing, told you as much as she could get into her letter, of our party and my news will be second hand; it was very pleasant and not the least stiff. Rosina and Robey sung together by way of introduction to Mr. Philip* and he seemed very much pleased with them both. Indeed I never heard Rosina sing so well; Robert has been bringing her voice in training and has succeeded very well. It has lost that harshness it always had and she has more command over it.

Peggy Douglass also favoured us with Rob's wife, which caused great laughing among the gentlemen when she came to her "wee bit mon". She hesitated a long time when we asked her, and said she was strangely altered, that she had lost her confidence and could not raise her voice before the smallest company, while Harriet said "Margaret was seized with a nervous timidity lately which really alarmed her" and Peggy of course overhearing thought it incumbent upon her to look more nervous than ever. Alexander Le Roy came with them and was their devoted, but denies anything between himself and Peggy on account of her being so much older than himself, but I think he and Harriet look very tenderly at each other. We had also the Misses ——— here, who said we must consider it as a farewell visit, for they were going to France in a few days and never intend returning. They look uglier than ever, and seem out of spirits at the idea of leaving America. All the Low establishment and Miss Van Rensselaer were here and looked very well. Miss Van Rensselaer's present admirer is James Jones, a cousin of Isaac. They say he has been three times up to Albany to see her, but I don't know what success he will meet with her. Julia Livingston and her brother Morgan I must also mention. Patterson was her devoted all the evening, and they say he is courting very hard, but she does not encourage him. Morgan, I suppose you have heard from Margaret, is thought to be engaged to Emily Prime, but as they go to the country in a few days I suppose all conjectures will cease till next winter. Eliza McEvers was flourishing about as gay as you can think, and tried hard to bring the beaux about her, but I think Mary will be more of a belle when she comes out, for she was very much thought of last night. Sally Ogden also looked very pretty indeed, and Henry White was as attentive as possible. There were of course many others, but I have only mentioned those of whom there is some report, but I think I have said quite enough about them, as I must leave something for Rosina. We had a perfect inundation of beaux and they all seemed pleased, for they staid very late.

I do not wonder that you cannot make much sense of the harmony, for I was a long time understanding it myself. It was so troublesome a job that I did not undertake it. You must call upon Margaret to explain it, for I confess myself unequal to the task.

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*In a letter of an earlier date the circumstance is stated—"Mr. Philip, the M.P., who is traveling in this country, brought a letter of introduction to Papa". He was probably about returning and was entertained while the family was yet in town. On his return he wrote a book giving an account of his journey of several months from Boston to Washington and a trip to Niagara Falls. His book was not written in so lively a style as even to call for a second edition, but it contained the observation that *"New York had a great deal of weather, but no climate"*. Certainly a very jocular remark for a staid Englishman, as true to nature to-day as it was a century ago.

Mrs. Edgar* is better and none of her family apprehend any danger from her sickness. Tho' I think it will make her health very delicate for a long time. I have not heard of Cornelia Le Roy being taken ill again and I thing it is a mistake. She is at present up at the Manor and able to walk out, but she is still very weak. The doctor says tho' she has lingered much longer than he expected, she can never recover, for her whole body is in a very bad state. They are going to France in the fall.

I suppose you will be glad to hear that Mary Seton is at last married. She was married last night, but I have not heard anything of her arrangements, and I can tell you nothing more about her. I received your message, but it did not give me satisfaction, for I would rather it was not true. We heard from John the other day. He was in Charleston and quite well, but does not talk of returning. I am afraid this will be late for the steamboat if I do not close, so I can write no more today. Answer this as soon as you conveniently can.

Give my love to Mr. Le Roy and kiss my dear little godchild. Papa, Mama, and all send their love.

believe me most affectionately yours,

JANE EMMET.

It is true that the Lewises intend going to France in June, but I think they may change their minds before then.

*Mrs. Wm. Edgar was the sister of Wm. H. Le Roy and lived on the northwest corner of Wall and William Streets.

When a nation is to be governed contrary to its interest and inclination, and when the union of the people would render such a government impracticable, the sense of common interest, and the wish of common liberty must be counteracted by creating or strengthening divided interests and hostile feelings.

T. A. Emmet.

Whether England was ruled by a king, by a parliament or by a protector; whether her government was a government of prerogative or of privilege, founded in right or usurpation, her conduct to Ireland was the same, unvaried in the despotic principles from which it followed, varied only by the different notions of expediency which her rulers entertained..

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXVIII

Letters relating to the domestic and social life of the Emmet family—Letter from Mr. Emmet to Mr. Lawless at St. Louis—Fate of the Blennerhassett family—Letter to Judge Smith Thompson—Mr. Hall's acount of Mr. Emmet's practice in the U. S. Supreme Court—Some account of his cotemporaries—Mr. Emmet's rebuke to Mr. Pinkney of Maryland—Account of a ball given in the country house on the "Old Middle Road".

N February 25th, 1821, Miss Mary Anne Emmet wrote to her sister:—

We have been very gay since Hannah [Ogden] arrived. Mrs. Waddington had a very pleasant party to which only young ladies were invited in the daughter's name; there was a splendid supper & everything in great style. Our next frolic was at the masquerade when we all went in loose black calico dresses and large bérêts of the same. After we got into the room Tom and Anna, William and Mr. and Mrs. Selden slipped off their dominoes, and came out in new characters. Anna and Mrs. Selden as French flower girls, dressed very prettily; they worked at the dresses almost all the night before that they might surprise us.

Tom and Selden, as an old Dutchman and woman. Tom as the wife was most excellent, he looked the character to admiration, and had so much spirit. William [Emmet, a younger brother] kept me in a roar the whole evening as a raw Yankee boy; he was really too good. I want him to go to Mrs. Howland's in the same way, but they think it ought to be something handsome at a private house, and he thinks of dressing as an old-fashioned lady; he will do either well, for he has so much fun when he chooses. There were not a great many ladies at the Masquerade, at least they will not acknowledge it, having been rather an unlawful proceeding, but I have since heard that half the ladies in town were there. We had great fun, though it was so mixed that we were obliged to keep rather quiet.

We had a most delightful romp at Anna's the night before last. Miss Temple [daughter of Judge Temple of Vt.] had returned from Washington and about one o'clock agreed to come and spend the evening; and as she was to go away the next morning we set to work and invited fifteen or twenty gentlemen and the McEvers. And except at Rosina's [Mrs. Robt. Emmet] last night I never spent a much gayer evening. We kept it up until two o'clock and Rosina was so inspired that she had the same beaux asked and the Calenders, Masons, McEvers, Hosacks and young Mrs. Hosack; the girls came in the greatest spirits and went on like the very Devil. Some gentleman was telling

William this morning that he heard another beau saying that he wished there were Emmets enough to give such parties every night in the week.*

MR. EMMET TO MRS. LE ROY

NEW YORK, SEPT. 1st, 1821.

MY DEAREST ELIZABETH:

This morning's boat brought a number of letters from Potsdam, and among the rest Margaret's and yours to me. Thanking Margaret for hers, I must pass her by for the present, as she has already got a letter from me, and address this to you. The condition attending on our separation prevented my saying anything on your future destiny and expectations, but I anticipated the regrets you expressed at leaving the paternal roof, they therefore neither surprise nor grieve me. The female heart that would not strongly feel and regret those past attachments, would have a cold and dreary prospect as to future affections, and would want the foundations on which to rear a solid structure of happinesss in her new situation. But altho' it is to be desired that those regrets should exist, they are not to be encouraged, and I am afraid you have carried them a little too far, when they induce Le Roy to talk of returning to New York.

You must turn your face to the future with a strong desire of finding happiness, and a firm conviction that it is in your power to find it, both for yourself and your husband, under the roof that now covers you. There is no hardship in the lot that separates you from us, for it is that of hundreds of thousands, it is incident to our state of society and the extension of the human family. Have your own father and mother been exempt from it? You were too young to recollect the firmness with which your mother bore her separation from relatives as near and dear, if not as numerous, as those you left behind and under circumstances how different.

The first step of her separation made her the inmate of a prison, for a period to which conjecture could put no limits. The prospect of life, which alone her mind could contemplate beyond the bars of that prison was a doubtful struggle with poverty in the midst of strangers. Remember and compare the circumstances attendant on your separation from your friends and return devout and humble thanks to God for the bounty and mercy of his dispensations. You have quit your father's house to place yourself at the head of your own; to take possession of property, which your own prudence and good conduct may contribute to make a source of ease and affluence to yourself and Le Roy, at least of independence to your family be it ever so numerous. You may and ought to think of us indeed; but time will discipline your mind to do so without regret. It is not with you as with your mother and me, who scarcely ever wish to think of Ireland, and those we left there, because those recollections infallibly mix themselves with very painful emotions. You will naturally feel the want of society for some time, but habit will remove that want, or rather occupation and an active life. Busy yourself with your household, relish the fatigue of that business, and in the exercise of your accomplishments and recourse to your books, &c., the want of society will be scarcely felt. But remember above all things, your occupations and accomplishments should be principally di-

*It is evident that the members of recent days have retained somewhat of the old spirit. In a newspaper account of the wedding festivities following the marriage of Mr. C. Temple Emmet with Miss Alida Chanler at Rokeby, the country-place of the bride's family, the following appeared in the issue of the New York *Sun* for November 1st, 1896: "The wedding of Miss Alida Chanler and Mr. C. Temple Emmet was a very interesting affair, with an old-fashioned flavor about it that was most charming from its genuineness in these days when old times, old places, and old furniture are reproduced in most excellent imitations, which have everything that is desirable about them except antiquity. Rokeby was formerly the country-seat of the late William B. Astor, and neither the building nor its furnishings have been greatly changed since it passed into the hands of his great-grandchildren. It is situated on the most beautiful part of the Hudson, and the grand old trees which have waved over four generations of the same family, gave an air of picturesque maturity to the scene which nothing else can impart.

"Another element of cheerfulness at Tuesday's wedding was the presence of many members of the Emmet family, who have been known through all the generations that the Rokeby trees have outlived as the most genial, whole-hearted, entertaining people in the world. It used to be said in the days when they were leaders in the world of fashion that the presence of an Emmet or a McEvers secured the success of a dinner or a dance, and it is not likely that the family's representatives in the present day fall much behind their forefathers."

rected to making yourself and your home acceptable to your husband, for that is the secret of both your happiness. Life will not be pleasant to him if home is not, and if it be not pleasant to him, it cannot be to you. I intended to write a great deal more, but I am interrupted and must conclude, with my love to Margaret, Le Roy, and little Jane.

Your most affectionate father,

T. A. EMMET.

Mrs. Le Roy, Potsdam, N. Y.

MR. EMMET TO MR. LAWLESS.

NEW YORK, Dec. 18th, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR:

Although the sitting of our Courts and the pressure of some other business obliged me to delay answering your letter and indeed to postpone it to the present time, yet I assure you the receipt of it gave me very great pleasure. I sincerely congratulate Mrs. Stokes on her victory, but independent of that I most cordially felicitate you on your triumph. She has reason to rejoice that Justice has prevailed in her individual case, but you may not only be glad, but proud that you made justice prevail, and while you protected the friendless, established a character for yourself, which, I trust, will procure you, not only reputation, but more solid and lasting rewards in professional eminence and emoluments. Irishmen, you know, are proverbially vainglorious and arrogant, may I then take the privilege of national boasting and say "meliori ex luto, nobis finxit præcordia Titan." I was conscious that when I solicited your services for Mrs. Stokes, I was about placing you in a situation where you would not be surpassed and where, while you gratified the best feelings of your heart you would display the best faculties of your head, and I was therefore desirous you should undertake it. It is an observation which I have often made and always with pride, that combinations of wealth and fraud and power and influence, that make head against everything else, cower beneath the talents of a lawyer pleading the cause of oppressed weakness, and surely that is enough to redeem the profession from the multitude of commonplace taunts and slanders to which it has been subject. It is but justice to the world also to add that the lawyer who boldly takes his stand and pleads that cause with energy and zeal has nothing to dread from the after efforts of the wealth and power he has chastised and rebuked—except in enslaved countries, where he defends rights and freedom against the tyranny of governments—for there the public voice is nothing, and he can derive no support from public approbation.

You say you intend to publish the case—you certainly will gratify me very much by contriving to send me a copy. From different hints in your letter I perceive that you are far from pleased with the location you have made. I wish your circumstances had enabled you to bear the delay and run the risks of your profession in one of the older States, where the manners of social life and the more abundant stock of information would be more congenial to your habits. But, perhaps even in one of them you might have experienced not much less disappointment, as the resources of Paris and Dublin are not as yet abundantly scattered through the United States, but I hope the worst is passed with you. The probation you have undergone should have familiarized you to the uncourtliness of the inhabitants of the newly settled country and if you are arrived at the happy point of making more than you spend, the charms of accumulation which reconcile men to live in climates of pestilence, must surely soothe you to look forbearingly on the disagreements in the character or manners of those you meet, which every year I think must lessen. If the accumulation of wealth be the best cure for your malady, I sincerely hope it may be administered to you in large doses. Present my best respects and congratulations to your client, Mrs. Stokes, and believe me.

My dear Sir,

L. Lawless, Esq.,
Counsellor at Law,
St. Louis, Missouri.

Very truly your friend
and humble servant,
THOS. ADDIS EMMET.

Cause of Goitre

The following letter, written by Mr. Emmet to Mr. Le Roy, is of interest, as it is written on a medical subject, the effect of impure water as a cause of goitre:

New York, Jan. 1st, 1822.

My Dear Le Roy:

I begin the year by addressing my compliments to you and Elizabeth and adding to them the heartfelt and paternal prayer to God, that you may enjoy together many happy returns of this season and always with increasing prosperity. Probably this letter will find you on a Party of pleasure,—for I presume, inexperienced as Elizabeth must still be, yet her winter arrangements are all completed, and you are at liberty to avail yourselves of the snow, in visiting your friends. With us down here, we have had some cold weather, and occasionally some snow that has scarcely laid upon the ground, so that the visitors of to-day have the streets dry and clean for their perambulation.

I was a good deal surprised to learn by one of Elizabeth's letters that St. Lawrence County, as well as Canada, is subject to a disorder that is usually considered as belonging to close valleys of mountainous countries, I mean the Goitres. This is an additional proof of what the most candid physicians have acknowledged, that we know little or nothing of their cause. They are frequently, and it would seem foolishly attributed to the use of snow water. But our very ignorance of what produces them imposes on us the necessity of using many precautions that, if the truth were known would perhaps be found useless. As their existence in our country has set me thinking of them I have therefore determined to suggest one or two things to your consideration. The water has been more frequently than anything else, accused of causing the disorder; it may be so, tho' we do not know how. I therefore thought of advising you to a regulation, which I remember was adopted with excellent effect in a part of Ireland where I lived when a boy, and where the water was not considered wholesome. Simply to boil all that was intended for drinking and letting it cool. If it held any stony matter in solution, what some say is the cause of the swelled neck, it will precipitate that on cooling. If the properties of the snow can have any effect they must be removed by boiling, which certainly brings all waters as near as possible to an equality. I remember that in the place I alluded to, a kettle of boiling water was brought into the parlour every evening and put under the sideboard to cool and no one was permitted to use drinking water except out of it; the kettle was entirely appropriated to that purpose. I mentioned this to Mr. Ogden, and he told me Dr. North, who was a very eminent man and Physician General to the Army in Canada, gave the same advice to Judge Ogden's family in Quebec. The water may not be as pleasant as from your crystal springs, but it will certainly be wholesome.

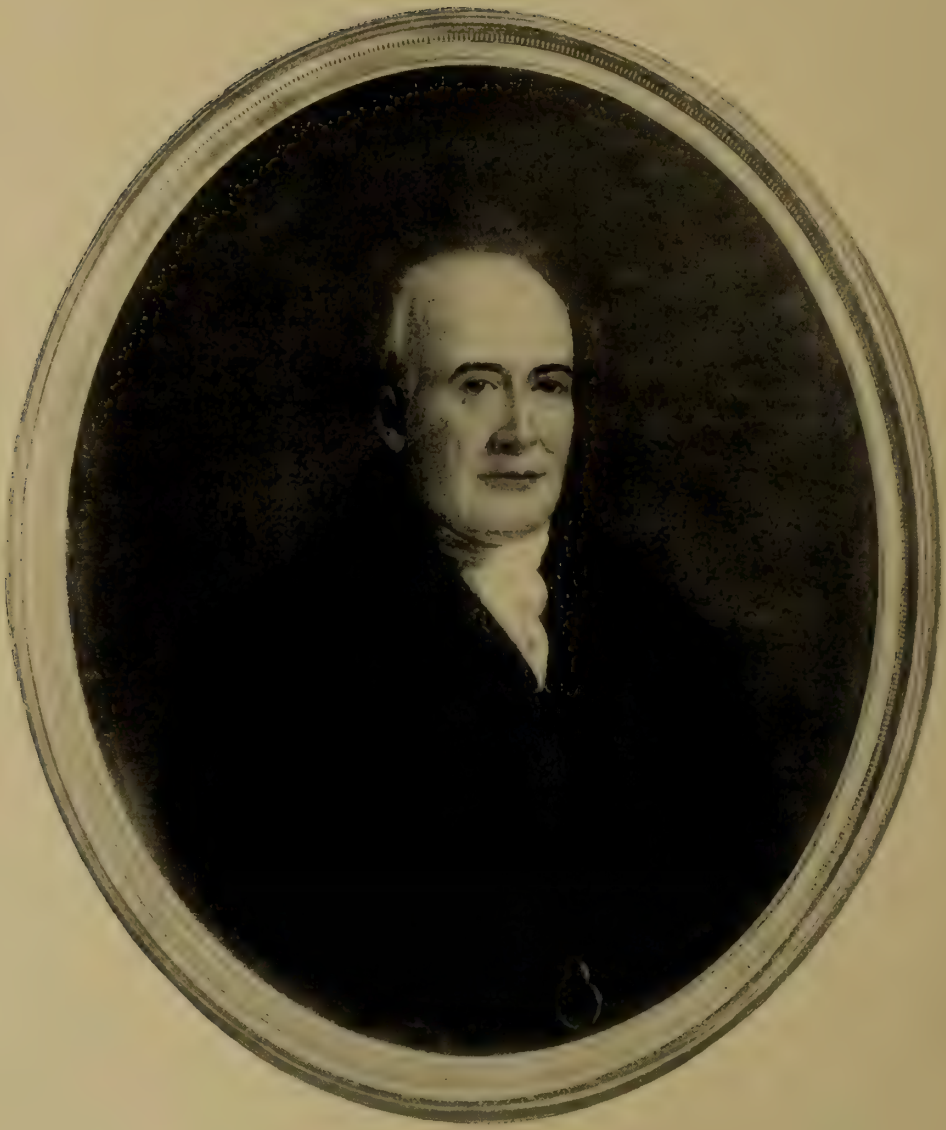
My next precaution is for the ladies to expose their necks as little as possible to extreme cold. I can very well conceive that men are less liable to the disorder than women, because their necks are covered with their shirts and neck cloths; and I think, invariably in the winter, a lady with you should cover the upper part of her neck very warmly. These Elizabeth will say are very foolish precautions, but they can do no harm, and if they prevent an unsightly swelling in her or little Jane, they will certainly do good.

My paper tells me I have prosed too long, and have omitted acknowledging your last letter. Again God bless you both and your little one and believe me my dear Le Roy, Mrs. Emmet joining me in best wishes,—Yours most affectionately,

Thos. Addis Emmet.

Wm. H. Le Roy, Esqr.,
Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

The next letter, written by Mr. Emmet, is to his youngest daughter, Mary Anne, who afterwards married Edward Boonen Graves, a merchant of New



REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET
Painted by Miss Elizabeth Emmet while a pupil of Fulton

York. This daughter and the youngest son, William Colville Emmet, were born in this country.

ALBANY, FEBRUARY 17th, 1822.

MY DEAR MARY ANNE:

Some few days ago, I received your letter and as it was the first I ever received from you, it was greeted with a welcome. The former instances of expectations raised and disappointed had led me to suppose that this would pass over, as my former absences from home, with good intentions on your part, but marred by delay in respecting them.

However, I am glad you have so agreeably disappointed me and particularly as your motive for being prompt, was to convey to me the agreeable intelligence of Jane's improving health. The many assurances I have received on that point, have removed every uneasiness and I expect when I return to see her not only restored, but improved in health and looks. I find by your mother's letter that Balls are not going out of fashion, nor young people getting tired of dancing. I supposed you contrived to be of the Party on Wednesday last and readily filled Jane's place. But you must take care, or we must for you, not to let your love of pleasure bring you too into a fit of sickness.

Judge Ogden I saw for only a few moments and had only a passing conversation with him. I suppose you have learned a great deal more about Elizabeth than I did and her family establishment. She has not yet answered my letter from here, so that I am indebted to casual mention of her from New York for most of what I know.

It is probable you may have had another visit from one of her St. Lawrence friends, as I learned Mr. Vanderkennel passed thro' this town on his way to New York. Little Jane, I presume, is destined to be the Belle of the North from what I hear of her black eyes and intelligent countenance. If as a girl she is equal to Dick as a boy, I shall be satisfied. Dear little fellow his birthday will come around in a few days, and in spite of his grandmother's dislike of keeping such anniversaries, will I suppose be celebrated with great festivity and pomp in New York. He ought to be able to walk by then. Do Tom and Bob ever think of their grandpapa, or wish him back? They are surrounded by so many seeking favors, that I suppose his caresses are forgotten. I take for granted Margaret and you have made it a point to see Miss Ogden and that she has been invited to the house. Does she come up to your expectations of a St. Lawrence education? I suppose *The Pirate* has entirely supplanted *The Spy* with all fashionable leaders. It is a pity that the imagination will scarcely supply a name of greater villainy for the next Novel. I hear, however, that it is a first rate performance and abounds with interest.

Tho' I did not recommend Marshall's Life of Washington, it is a book for your particular study, yet I hope you are in a course of regular reading, of more utility and instruction than even the Waverley Novels.

Your mother says you have a diligent turn of mind, and if you follow its bent you will find the advantages through life.

For notwithstanding the outcry raised against learned ladies, and not unjustly as learned ladies are for the most part ostentatious pedants, yet a well informed and well educated woman everywhere receives the tribute of respect, to which is added more or less of admiration and love, as the beauties of her person, or softer qualities of her mind enhance the acquirements of her understanding. If you think nature has made you tolerable in personal appearance, it is the better worth your while to labor for the cultivation of your mind. Adieu, give my love to the girls, &c., and believe me, dear Mary Anne, your truly affectionate father, T. A. E.

Miss M. A. Emmet,
Nassau St., New York.

The following letter by Mr. Emmet, is, chronologically, the latest written by him to any member of the family, which has come under my observation, although others exist but have not been available.

New York, March 1st, 1822.

My dear Elizabeth:

Altho' in my last letter to Le Roy I mentioned that I should not remain long enough in Albany to receive a second letter from you, I did not intend to leave it without answering yours. But the pressure of bringing matters to a conclusion before my departure, compelled me to postpone my letter 'till my return home, which took place yesterday, in good health and not much fatigued by the journey, tho' the roads were not in the best order. If I am to judge of the number of pens I have seen in motion on your account since my arrival, I presume you are likely to be kept in the same regular and constant employment of correspondence that has kept you to the top of your speed for some time past. It is not to increase your difficulty that I write, but to give you a fresh proof of my affection, and to assure you that provided I am regularly informed of the health and happiness of Le Roy, yourself and little Jane, I shall not be offended at your neglecting me in the regular order of your correspondence. Punctuality in that respect is often very inconvenient to myself and I can well conceive how it must be with you matched as you are with fearful odds. Jane does appear to be re-established, but her illness was severe and lasting; particularly the weakness of her limbs continued so as to be some cause of alarm. She seems now, however, to be perfectly restored and was dancing a little the night before last. Her illness has deprived her of much enjoyment of this gay winter, when it seems extravagance is pushed beyond all former example in this city. The girls undoubtedly informed you of the superb doings of the Misses Douglass. They are going to-night to the Misses Kimbles, where it is said Simon has got instructions to prepare a more splendid supper than has been given anywhere this winter. When I say *they*, I mean Rosina and Margaret, for Jane is too much on the invalid list to venture to such a Party, and Mary Anne has not so entirely shaken off all authority. We have for a week past, as I understand, been in the midst of Spring, but it is so unseasonable that we can not but dread another visit from winter. This your Northerns object to and prefer the steady continuance of cold while it lasts, but for my part I consider it a picture of this world's felicity,—in momentary enjoyments dashed by severe adversity, and as I can not mend it, I endeavour to enjoy the blessing while it lasts, basking in the sun and genial warmth and housing and protecting myself against the storm when its turn comes.

As to domestic news, you have so many correspondences that they certainly have left nothing untold. I was happy to find your mother so well on my return and having comforted herself for my absence by mixing more than usual with the family. Jeannette's illness, by bringing the two more together and showing each the affection and interest really entertained for her by the other, did some good and your mother's attention to her made her more frequently below stairs than she had been for some time before. The rest of the family I found as I might have expected. I will say nothing of the little boys, for I suspect you are not without jealousy of their engrossing all the affection of which you wish to preserve a portion for your little Jane. But don't be uneasy. Your Mother and I have room enough in our hearts for many more such objects of love, and if it be with you, as it seems to be with Rosina, it will be occupied. God bless you my dear Elizabeth. Give my love to Le Roy and a kiss, as a pledge of affectionate remembrance, to little Jane.

Your truly affectionate father,

T. A. Emmet.

Mrs. Le Roy,
Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

Mr. Blennerhassett had struggled on for years in the attempt to revive his fortune on a plantation in the Mississippi Territory, but, "misfortune having marked him for her own", he at length was forced to realize on his property there. His purpose was to return to Ireland, with the hope of gaining some property to which he had a claim. He consequently sailed for Ireland in

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Mrs. Jane Patten Emmet, enlarged from a daguerreotype in a ring, taken in 1840

1822, leaving his family in New York with but a small provision for their future. Mrs. Blennerhassett writes to her husband from Flatbush, Long Island, July 29th, 1822,* and, after detailing her difficulties, she says:

My dear kind friends, the Emmets, have been my greatest support. Could I tell you all the affectionate kindness they have lavished on us, you would scarcely credit *even me.* Mrs. Emmet was not in town when I first arrived but came in next day to see me. We cried together a long time, and Mr. Emmet said we were so foolish he must leave us. I went out with them to the country where I spent three days. I did not wish to stay so long, but Lewis was with me, and so delighted with the beautiful place and all the attention he received, that I wished to indulge him, besides I found Mrs. Emmet's advice and consolation acting powerfully in restoring me to some tranquillity; for never in my life have I been so completely wretched as since I parted with you. She would not hear of my doing anything in the way of gaining a livelihood while any prospect remained of your preferment, but cheered me with hopes of your success.

They were then preparing to go on a visit to Potsdam, to their daughter, but Harman has seen them since and told them of my present plan, which they highly approve. . . . To tell you how I love this family would be impossible. It grieves me, therefore, to say that I think that they are somewhat embarrassed, at present, in their circumstances. They lost their fine son, Temple, last autumn, who died of the yellow fever on board of the *Macedonian.*†

The letter which will now be given records Mrs. Emmet's visit to her daughter at Potsdam, an event which doubtless created no little stir in the household, as she seldom was known to leave her house. The reference made in this letter to the epidemic of yellow fever, which was then devastating the city, is also of interest.

ALBANY, AUGUST 31st, 1822.

MY DEAR ELIZABETH,

I have seated myself to write, in the midst of every kind of noise and confusion at Shumer's Mansion House, and without anything to tell you and because it will be some time before I can write to you again if I miss this post-day, and I suppose you have some anxiety to know how we got on. Our sail down the rapids was very pleasant tho' the first day I did not enjoy it much for I was really out of sorts at parting with my friend Mary, and Mr. Selden could only console himself, for the separation, by wearing her night cap which I hope she perceived, as he put it on before we were out of sight. I need not tell you of how many a long look I took at Potsdam as we were leaving it. You know how sorry I was to go, so I shall not enlarge on it. We reached Montreal Sunday night, but too late for the steamboat for St. John's, so that we were obliged to spend two days there. Mama was glad of it, as she was very much fatigued with being two days on the water, but I would much rather for myself have avoided meeting anyone.

We met with a great deal of kindness and attention from Mr. and Mrs. Charles

*From the Blennerhassett Papers.

†The suffering endured by the members of the unfortunate Blennerhassett family cannot be here traced. Poverty and privation at length terminated their ill-starred lives. Harman, the second son, remained in New York and endeavored to gain a livelihood as an instructor of Latin. In a short time, however, his mind became impaired, and for years, as a harmless wanderer, he was a familiar object in the streets of the city. He was cared for until his death, in 1854, through the liberality of Judge Robert Emmet. Shortly before his death he seemed, in some lucid moment, to have realized his dependent condition, and without the knowldge of his friend he sought admission to some public institution, where he died. His remains were placed in Mr. T. A. Emmet's vault in the Second Street Marble Cemetery, where they still rest.

The writer acquired the following from an autograph catalogue:—

"Mr. H. Blennerhassett, the bearer of this note, is a young gentleman, in whose welfare I take a great interest. He is well connected, well brought up and I hope and believe well conducted. Circumstances render him at present desirous of giving instruction in the Latin language and I believe he will be found competent to perform what he may be willing to undertake.

"New York, June 7th, 1822. "THOS. ADDIS EMMET."

Ogden. They took us to several nunneries and all that was worth seeing in the city, and pressed us so much to go and spend the evening with them, and promised that we should meet no one, that Mama consented to go. We came away, however, in about an hour, for I grew very sick, and was afraid of one of my old attacks. I was well enough to come on the next evening and had got here feeling pretty well, but my hand was a little unsteady as you may perceive by my writing. We shall not be able to go on until Monday as Mr. Selden has business in Saratoga which will detain him 'till then. I am very anxious to get home, tho' I dread it when I think of it, for the accounts we receive of the fever are most distressing and tho' our office is moved to Broadway, above Walker Street, we are still uneasy that the Boys should have to go even there. The city is entirely fenced in from river to river, below St. Paul's Church and you may suppose when that is the case it is time to fear. The steamboats stop at Bloomingdale,* so that we will not go near the city. I dare say you will hear all I can tell you as soon in the papers, but we can think or speak of nothing else, and while my mind is running on it my pen naturally takes the same course, so you must excuse me if I write old news. I am sorry that I began my letter on the wrong side as you will have some difficulty in making it out and if I had more paper I should have written you another, but you write your letters so often in this manner yourself that I am in hopes it will seem quite natural to you as if it were written properly. As I have nothing new to write to you, and as my head is aching I can not write you a long letter to-day, but I shall endeavor to be more entertaining the next time. Give my best love to Mary and tell her I shall think her very unkind indeed if she does not fulfil her promise, and write to me next week. I hope Mr. Ogden did not detain her at home, and that you have her with you; I do not know what you would do without her. I have felt my own spirits very much from the want of her good company to cheer them up. We have just received a letter from Robert, they are still all well at home, but he writes in very low spirits, and reading his letter has made me less capable of continuing mine than I was before.

Give my love to Mr. Le Roy, and remind him he owes me a letter. Papa & Mama send their love to all and a kiss to dear little Jane.

Believe me yours most affectionately,

JEANNETTE EMMET.

After the last letter a longer interval than usual was found to exist in the correspondence with Mrs. Le Roy, and from some cause a number of letters were missing for a period extending over a year. Mr. John D. Crimmins has kindly furnished a copy of this letter from his collection, and it is the only one found of this date.

NEW YORK, JULY 29th, 1823.

HON'BLE SMITH THOMPSON, &c., &c., &c.,

DEAR SIR:

Let me in the first place take this opportunity of expressing the great pleasure I feel at your resuming a Judicial Station. That you would accept that, to which you have been appointed, was the original expectation, and certainly the wish of all the Members of our Barr—& nothing but the conviction of your having determined to decline it, would have induced any of them to utter sentiments in favor of others. Your change of resolution has, however, given very general satisfaction, & I sincerely hope will be productive to yourself of long continued gratification & enjoyment. Perhaps with those expressions of my feelings I ought to close this letter but I have a strong desire (if it would not be regarded as an impertinent intrusion) to touch upon another subject. You will, I dare say, at once conjecture I allude to the Secretaryship of the Navy; & my well known intimacy & friendship with Mr. Colden will lead you to think of him—if so, you will have divined my meaning.

*Manhattanville.

Recollecting that he was designated by many for that office on the first news of Judge Livingston's death, & the presumption of your filling the vacancy, I this morning sought & had a conversation with him on the subject, when I learned to my surprise and regret, that altho' he would be extremely flattered & gratified with the appointment, yet pride or delicacy had prevented his taking any steps for obtaining it. I, therefore, determined, after satisfying myself of his private wishes, to hazard this letter, but without any intention of improperly intermeddling with matters of so delicate a nature. Of his competency & qualifications I ought to say nothing to you, for you know them as well & can appreciate them better than myself. But this I undertake to assure you with confidence that his appointment would be very popular, & give general satisfaction here.

If you think that this letter, or any part of its contents, could be made in any way to promote his interests, you would only coincide with my wishes, by using it as you may think best calculated for that purpose.

I have the honor to be, with very sincere respect & esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

Address:

Hon'ble Smith Thompson,* &c., &c., &c.

Endorsement,

July 20th, 1823.

Thos. Addis Emmet, Esq.

Private

(*Note in pencil*)

Secy of U. S. Navy,

Justice, etc., etc.

Among the family letters of this period we find one from Miss Emmet to her sister, Mrs. Le Roy.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9th, 1823.

Your letters, my dear Elizabeth, always welcome, was doubly so the last one I received, as it was something like a fortnight on the road, or else you were awfully astray in the date as yours and the postmark differed five or six days—a trifle you will say. I am sorry, however, unintentionally that I should have caused so much trouble to our friend as you say. I dare say he wished me and my letters to the deuce, a thousand times, before an accident of the kind had happened and I am glad you found out the contents without speaking to me, as I have not the slightest recollection of them except as a matter of course they must have been flat and flatter still by the fuss. I believe I told you in my last that we were all going to the christening and between dissipation and bad weather we staid the remainder of the week in town. Mama went with us as we would not all desert her, although for years she has not been so well as for this some time past. We yet make no calculations upon that part of the winter we are to spend in town, if any, but as there are three of us one can always play the rustic while the others are vagabondizing, as the exquisites term it. I wish when we all live in the country we could only plant ourselves together and be independent of the world, as we were last winter.

Indeed I have lived so long out of the *beau monde* that I would dearly love to be up to my elbows in your sausage meat sentimental; and would forego willingly all parties, however pleasant, if I could only get beside you, with dear little Jane and Herman on my knee, for ever so short a time. But distance and independence are marplots to my airy castle, and I must only hope next winter you will turn your horses' heads this way and make up for our present separation. I feel as if I was traveling fast to the blues so will turn over a new leaf and choose a new subject that you may think not I am growing

*Smith Thompson was chief justice of the Supreme Court of New York, Secretary of the Navy 1818-23, and associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court 1823-1843.

melancholy from a country life. I must tell you we have the house very comfortable indeed, the hall is so warm from heated air, Papa's old hobby, that we keep a large collection of plants in it. One parlour has a very open stove, which warms it almost too much and is very cheerful, and the other which we use as an eating room is warmed from below also. I believe on recollection I have told you all this before, but no matter, I am scarce of subject to-day. Do you know Eliza McEvers is engaged to Allen Livingston, a brother of Mary? He is gone to France for his health, I hope not the Livingston malady, and will return in May. They say he is a fine young man, but a great whip and not over-fond of work if he should find it necessary to follow a profession. Whether he has fortune enough to live without one I do not know. There is nothing more new that I can think of to-day. Mary Anne is waiting for me to try on a dress for her. We have been in a sad dilemma about preserve making this fall, for the sentimental Lucy, thinking some one was going to attack her at night, jumped out of the window intending to hang by the sill until all was quiet, but it unfortunately gave way and she fell down in a paved yard and broke her knee pan. She is getting well, but is not well enough to work. Did you ever fit in your white dresses? Brown silks are the rage now, and I have got a very handsome one. The girls have also browns trimmed with purple, which look very gay and handsome. If you want to be fashionable dash down to church some day with white feathers in your black hat and astonish the natives as well as the Castle. It is the decided winter hat, and you ought to edge it with gold cord or steel beads. Love to all the children and Le Roy. I mean to excuse pens for I have vowed not to write again until they are mended. Yours ever,

MARGARET EMMET.

I forgot to ask you whether you had the Waddington visitors with you yet? Sarah Seton was out here yesterday and said her sister had a most pressing invitation from you and that she only waited for her clothes which are going up to her. Are they more friendly with the Islanders than at first? In a letter from Mary she said that far from being an acquisition to their society they took from the pleasure of going to Elersie. I am writing in the dark and with a most unhappy pen, so make all reasonable excuses.

M. EMMET.

In a letter written by Miss Margaret Emmet to Mrs. Le Roy, on February 24th, 1824, we find reference to the renewal of an old acquaintance between Mr. Emmet and Lafayette, whom he had known socially in Paris before the French Revolution. It is thus described:

Papa writes from Albany in good spirits and says the Marquis Lafayette did him the honor of sending word that he intended waiting on him, which for the Nation's Guest was kind to a degree and one of the first visits Papa had in view was to the Marquis, if the old gentleman had not been too quick for him. They must have been like two pots of honey meeting, for the General is inconceivably kind in his manners and I think Papa is formed on the same model.

Mr. A. Oakey Hall concludes his account of Mr. Emmet's professional work by citing a noted case, recorded as Gibbons versus Ogden, 1824.

The United States Supreme Court reports also show that he was retained in it for many memorable cases. The most memorable one was the leading constitutional controversy of Gibbons v. Ogden, 9 Wheaton, page 1, which is regarded in our national jurisprudence as a milestone on the highway of constitutional lore. Respondent Ogden had been an assignee of Robert Fulton's steam plant, and of an exclusive privilege by act of the New York legislature of navigating the waters appertaining to the Hudson River

and to those portions of the bays around the lower harbor which were in the jurisdiction of New York State. Appellant Gibbons had in the State courts sought an injunction against Ogden's assertion of his exclusive navigation privileges from the State—that he denominated an unconstitutional monopoly. And in support of his right to conduct a steam ferry through New York waters to a point in New Jersey, he set up a United States navigating license to himself under due Federal statutory authority. The State courts, in giving to Ogden—Robert Fulton's assignee—the full benefit of his legislatively awarded monopoly, brought Gibbons as appellant to the Washington court. The conflict between State rights and a paramount Federal jurisdiction of navigable waters produced widespread interest. Newspaper and legal gossip divided in opinion. But the larger number of disputants viewed with alarm any monopoly of the then new but rapidly growing transit by steamboat. In the February term of 1824 the controversy reached the tribunal over which the great John Marshall presided, and of which Joseph Story was a junior member in company with Smith Thompson of New York, whose commission was then only a year old. Their elder associates were Bushrod Washington of Virginia, who held commission from the administration of his great namesake; William Johnson, of South Carolina, Thomas Todd, of Kentucky, and Gabriel Duval, of Maryland—all of whom had been law students when the Federal Constitution went first on trial. Gibbons had retained Daniel Webster and William Wirt, and the legal rank of Thomas Addis Emmet at that time may be well estimated, when the State of New York, whose legislative rights were in question by the controversy, retained him against those eminent jurists as aid to the private counsel of Ogden, who was the afterward eminent Chief-Justice Thomas J. Oakley of New York City. There was an immense audience of congressmen, lawyers and laymen assembled when the four eminent counsel took seats, after all below the Bench, had in standing greeted the full Bench, for the popular interest in the great legal battle had then become climacteric. The scene when the argument opened would have formed on canvas a rare historical picture, with the strong Washingtonian countenance of Chief-Justice Marshall in the foreground, and with the eagle-eyed Webster, whose laurels of the great Dartmouth College case still adorned his Jove-like forehead; with the handsome and graceful Attorney-General Wirt, wearing literary honors as author of "The British Spy," and the biography of Patrick Henry, and also professional fame first won in the Burr treason trial; with Thomas J. Oakley, a facial combination of hawk and owl; and with the Milesian bearing of Emmet, all as middle figures in the picture. The report of the argument and of the opinions of Marshall and Johnson, that begin the ninth volume of Wheaton's Reports, constitutes the longest entry on the reports of the Court up to that date, and spreads over a score of pages. Mr. Webster's argument is a marvel of arrangement, and constitutes a very ladder of logic, each round leading to the next, until these finally reach an apex of eloquent defense of the Federal Constitution as possessing supreme jurisdiction over the navigable waters and commerce of the United States. It was not ornate, he was leaving that to Wirt, but he held up his client's license to traverse Federal waters as the paramount factor in the controversy. Oakley followed with plausible pleas for coincidence of State sovereignty with Federal safeguards. Emmet succeeded him, leaving Wirt to answer their joint argument. Emmet's address, after a reader had grasped Webster's exposition of the controlling power of the Federal Constitution, reads speciously, but the reader can not fail to extol its admirable rhetoric and classic style. It will impress the student as even more ornate than the closing argument of Wirt, which aimed to shade logic with style. The episodes and the closing paragraphs in the arguments of each combatant glow with fancy and illustration.

Webster's constitutional views won upon Marshall's massive intellect, and he delivered an opinion that has long been monumental in jurisprudential regions, holding with Justice Johnson, who also prepared an opinion that is only a foil to that one by the Chief Justice. The Court decided that the grant by the New York legislature was unconstitutional and void, and that Gibbons, the appellant, had by virtue of his Federal license, and

by the operation of the Federal Constitution, the freest right to navigate the New York and all other waters. The opinion was the first strong national blow judiciously delivered at the potency of States rights when in conflict with Federal authority.

Although unsuccessful, Mr. Emmet's legal prestige was improved, and for three years longer he maintained supremacy at the Washington and Eastern bars. In the autumn of 1827 his fee-book showed him in receipt of the annual income of fifteen thousand dollars, equivalent in purchasing power to double that amount now-a-days.

Mr. Hall gives the following account of a difficulty in the U. S. Supreme Court between Mr. Emmet and Mr. Pinkney of Maryland. Finding it difficult to reply to Mr. Emmet's argument, Mr. Pinkney had referred to him as an alien. Mr. Charles G. Haines, an intimate friend of Mr. Emmet's, who was present at the time, has given a detailed version of this affair in his ample sketch of Mr. Emmet, which follows the account of his death in this work.

Mr. Emmet was remarkable for display of courtesy to Bench and Bar, and slow to anger. On one occasion early in his career, he and William Pinkney were opponents in the Supreme Court at Washington in a case that the latter had greatly at heart, and Mr. Pinkney appears to have traveled out of the merits to indulge in personal references to his opponent, with a view perhaps—as are often forensic tactics—of irritating and weakening reply. The incident, however, seemed to have operated as a hone for sharpening his intellect without ruffling his temper. When the argument ended he said to the Court, "Perhaps I ought to notice the remarks of the opposite counsel, but they belonged to a species of warfare in which I have had the good fortune to have found no experience. I am willing to leave my adversary whatever advantage he may gain from display of his talent in that direction. When I came to this country I came as a friendless stranger, but I am proud to say that from the Bar generally, and from the Bench universally I have experienced nothing but politeness and even kindness. I have been accustomed to admire and even reverence the learning and eloquence of the gentleman, and he was the last man from whom I should have expected personal observations of the kind in question. The learned gentleman had once filled the highest office his country could bestow at the Court of St. James—as a subject of which I was born—but I am sure he did not acquire his breeding in that school." Court and Bar looked delighted, for William Pinkney's manner was often overbearing. But in Wheaton's Life of Pinkney appears a report of the apology that the latter immediately tendered, viz.: "The manner of the gentleman in reply reproaches me by its forbearance and urbanity, and hastens the repentance which reflection would have produced. I offer him a cheerful atonement. Cheerful because it puts me to rights with myself, and because tendered to an interesting stranger whom adversity has tried, and affliction [evidently referring to the execution of his brother Robert] struck severely to the heart; to an exile whom any country might be proud to receive, and every man of generous temper would be ashamed to offend." Perhaps at this atonement Mr. Emmet may have felt what Frederic R. Coudert expressed when, having been roughly treated by an adversary's speech, and the latter having regretfully apologized, Mr. Coudert observed, "I now rejoice at the incident because of the charming recompense."

In concluding this portion of our subject we reproduce a letter from Miss Mary Anne Emmet containing a very interesting account of a ball in the old country-house on the Middle Road, which was doubtless given for her. This

is the last of the series of family letters in which any reference is made to social matters:

New York, October 30th, 1825.

I feel, my dear Elizabeth, as if I had really neglected you for this some time past in allowing the troubles of company to interfere with my regularity in writing, but in my last letter I told you how hurried we were between visiting, seeing company and writing invitations for the ball which is safely over and that I might not be able to write until we were more quiet. Friday was the eventful evening, and if we may take the assurance of all our friends, and the proof that others gave of staying till four in the morning it went off handsomely and gaily. We had the carpet up in one room and as soon as the rooms got very crowded had the other raised as we had made due preparation for it. We had the rooms well lighted, as that adds so much to the liveliness of a ball; and altho' in the country, our friends paid us the compliment of turning out in a new finery many of them. We transformed Papa's study into a card room for gentlemen and the other front room into a kind of withdrawing room where there stood a large bowl of whiskey punch and where in the end of the evening there was a substantial supper laid for the gentlemen, such as jellied turkey, patties and all the necessary et ceteras for a good supper. Simon was our head man so we had none of the trouble of preparing refreshments except to tell him some few good things we wanted and he arranged everything as handsomely as we could wish. We sent out from four to five hundred invitations, but there are so many families in mourning and many not yet in town, that we had not more than one hundred and fifty there, but that filled our rooms most plentifully and the civility was paid to those who were not there. As luck would have it, it stormed and rained most tremendously all the day before so that one lady said we were the pity of the town from the appearance of the weather and the disappointments we would have. But the sun rose on Friday most brilliantly and I think I never saw a more lovely moonlight night than it proved to be. Among the lions of the evening we had no less a personage than a viscount, and an English sprig of nobility for the young ladies to set their caps for. He is a very unaffected young man and seems delighted with New York, but sails for England this week, so there an end of Lord Falkland. I am glad to hear you are fattening, as well as the baby, for I thought you wanted it when I left you. My friend Edwards has not availed himself of your introductory letter yet and I have not seen him although Jane saw company two days and I sent him an invitation for Friday evening. I suppose he was better engaged, for the Ogdens were here and said he got the note. Your things I will send by Harriet Ogden, who was here that evening and said she would take charge of them. The curtain pins I had bought before your letter arrived telling me not to do it. I got them cheap and am going to send everything in a small box, which will prevent their being an inconvenience to them. You will see Harriet Ogden returned as free as a young lady need be and more so than befits parting lovers, but I suppose she has had constant consolation while absent. Tell Mary I owe her a scrap of doleful intelligence for the one she sent me in your last letter, which by the bye I got with one a week older. I am in hopes she did it only to try me, as she did once before, for I should really be sorry to think I had taken a last look at my friend Charnock, but he is such an unsettled creature there is no knowing where his home will be or hope of leaving him where we found him.

I had almost forgotten to give a piece which I dare say will surprise you, it is that Selden is to be married to Miss Packard in January. How long the engagement has been I don't know, for I only heard it the other day, but I understand she is very consumptive. I have not seen her although we called and invited her. There are no other new engagements that I know of to tell you. Eliza McEvers has set out full sail this winter to look for a new admirer and is full of spirits and full of airs. She put all her fascinations in requisition to catch "my lord," but he says his heart is a perfect cullender, which gave her no hopes, as it admitted the powers of many others besides herself, and when he goes

she will find some other flower. Kiss the darling little ones for me. I hope you still keep your plan of coming down this winter in view. Give my love to Le Roy and Mary [Ogden] if she is with you.

Yours ever,

MARGARET EMMET.

Mrs. Wm. H. Leroy,
Potsdam, N. Y.

That revolution which gave liberty to England seemed to increase the disposition as it increased the power to oppress. The English Parliament continued to legislate for Ireland but it ruined her by legislation, it assailed her manufactories and trade, and as it diminished the value, so it, not inconsistently, destroyed the means of life.

T. A. Emmet.

It is idle to dispute about the precise terms and nature of the sovereignty with which he [Henry II] was invested. It is idle to appeal to early charters and to triumph in early parliaments. The appeal is delusive and the triumph is vain.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXXI

Mr. Emmet's early connection with the Catholic Emancipation movement in Ireland—His attitude towards his own work and that of others—His feeling naturally one of charity for all—His knowledge of theology—Incident connected with Mr. Charles O'Conor—His account of the Orangemen's procession in New York and its results—Catholics unjustly treated—Fate of the clergyman who wished to know all about the "bell, book and candlestick"—Emmet's defence of the Irishmen who were unjustly imprisoned and its result—Letter to Mr. Emmet from Richard Lalor Shiel—Mr. Emmet's letter to Rowan—William Charles Macready and the Astor Opera House Riot—Bust of Mr. Emmet—Letter from Macready—Mr. Emmet's last known public act an expression of his legal opinion as to the standing of Rutger's Medical School of Geneva College—Mr. A. Oakey Hall's account of Mr. Emmet's last day before his seizure and death.

UTTON seems to have been the first person of prominence in Ireland to make any movement in favor of Catholic Emancipation and Mr. Emmet was probably the second to do so.

The first mention made of Emmet taking any active part in Irish politics is in Tone's "Journal", where Emmet's introduction to the sub-committee of the Catholics on 15th October, 1792, is recorded. Tone states that he was well received by the members, and richly deserved their admiration. He was the best of all friends of Catholic Emancipation, always excepting Mr. Hutton. From this time Emmet, behind the scenes of Catholic agitation, continued to give his pen to their cause.

This trait in Mr. Emmet's character by which he generously gave the credit to others to which he himself was entitled is fully illustrated in his contributions to "Pieces of Irish History, illustrative of the condition of Catholics in Ireland", published by Dr. Macneven, which have been already given. From this volume we have taken the memoir entitled "Part of an Essay Towards the History of Ireland" from Mr. Emmet's pen, which appears in the beginning of this book, and in which he gives the history of the efforts made in Ireland to obtain a repeal of the Popery Laws, which held three-fourths of the population of Ireland in a grievous state of bondage. He also detailed the movement for organizing the United Irishmen, who included Catholic relief among the objects whose reform they sought. No one was more active or had been more familiar

with every step taken to advance these political movements in Ireland than Thomas Addis Emmet, and yet after having given due credit to others, Mr. Emmet makes not the slightest reference to himself.

Mr. Emmet was throughout life absolutely free from all feeling of bigotry or prejudice towards those who differed from him in religious belief. His course was made all the more prominent in contrast to the marked illiberality shown towards the Catholics both in Ireland and in this country, by many of those occupying the same station of life as his own. He transmitted the same generous and charitable disposition to his children, who were as marked in their liberality as he had been.

But Mr. Emmet did not hold this feeling towards the Catholics simply through a sense of liberality or indifference; he made himself familiar with their tenets as far as he was able, and while he did not fully share their belief, as no Protestant can without being properly informed, he never misunderstood or misrepresented their motives. During a noted ecclesiastical trial in connection with Trinity Church, New York, during the early part of the last century, Mr. Emmet was suddenly called upon to take part, and that without preparation. To the astonishment of all he showed that he possessed a profound knowledge of theology and ecclesiastical law in all detail. The writer was informed of this incident by his uncle, Judge Robert Emmet, who stated that it was generally conceded after the termination of this trial that his father, as a theological scholar, had not an equal in the country. In this respect Mr. Emmet was not unlike his elder brother, Christopher Temple, of whom, as we have seen, Grattan held that "he knew more law than any judge on the bench and more divinity than any bishop in the land."

Several years before the death of the illustrious jurist, Charles O'Conor, he happened to be dining with the writer. During the dinner, on recognizing a silver pitcher from which he was being served, he related to the writer and his family the following anecdote, as he termed it, a portion of the unwritten history of New York:

On the 12th of July, 1824, a procession of Orangemen marched out of the city, with banners flying, and the band playing "Croppies lie down," etc., to the little hamlet of Greenwich village, then in the country between the present site of Jefferson Market and the North River. This village was settled at that time almost exclusively by Irish Catholics, who were chiefly laboring men. Mr. O'Conor stated that these people were obliged to live together to a great extent for their own protection, as a large portion of the New Yorkers were at that time very bitter and prejudiced against all those who differed with them in religious belief.

The Orangemen marched deliberately to this village for the purpose of irritating the inhabitants, and succeeded so well that they received a most humiliating thrashing. As the fugitives were driven into the city, the worthy Sheriff proceeded to swear in a special posse, and on reaching Greenwich every man who could be found was arrested. On the following morning a hundred Irishmen or more were arraigned on the charge of "rioting and disturbing the peace",

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Silver pitcher presented to Thomas Addis Emmet by the Irishmen of Greenwich Village, near New York

with almost a certainty of a conviction before them. During the following September term these men were tried on the charges cited, and the judge, hearing the testimony and not supposing apparently that there could be another side, was about to pass sentence.

Mr. Emmet, who was then living in the country and had not heard of the difficulty, at that moment happened to come into the courtroom. Mr. O'Conor stated that it would be impossible to give any idea of Mr. Emmet's indignation on learning the facts of the case, and that some of these men had been imprisoned for six weeks or more. On the opening in a few moments of another court in the same building he expected to appear in a noted case, but he threw aside his engagement to defend these men. So freely did he speak of the disgraceful state of intolerance which then existed in the city, and of the great injustice suffered in consequence, that the judge, on hearing how matters stood, forthwith discharged the prisoners without even a reprimand being deemed necessary.

Mr. O'Conor went on to say that a few days afterwards it so happened that a clergyman connected with one of the churches of the city gave a thought to his cook's religious status, and then learned that she was a Catholic. Possibly with a special interest in her spiritual welfare, he descended into the kitchen and commenced operations with the inquiry: "Biddy, let me know about your bell, book and candlestick." "Troth an' I will," was her reply; so putting her foot against her broom and breaking off the handle, she seized him by his white cravat and tallied the blows over his head and shoulders with "This is for the bell, this for the book, and this for the candlestick." Finally he managed to escape into the street, with Biddy after him. This publicity placed the laugh against the clergyman, and in a few days the whole incident was illustrated by the issue of a series of caricatures. The clergyman, as an honest man, publicly acknowledged that he had been in the wrong and had deserved his punishment.

In consequence of Mr. Emmet's defence of the men from Greenwich, and because of this incident of Bridget and the clergyman, a truer sense of justice seems to have been aroused in the community and a more charitable tone developed.

As regards the silver pitcher, Mr. O'Conor said that he was at the time an office boy of about twenty years of age, and had just begun to read law during his spare moments. A committee of the Greenwich men waited upon him with the request that he should take charge of some money which had been collected to purchase a testimonial for Mr. Emmet. Under his supervision this silver pitcher was made in New York and presented to Mr. Emmet. The following appropriate inscription was engraved upon it:

Presented to Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., as a slight testimonial of their respect and admiration for the Patriotism and talents displayed in his gratuitous defence of his Exiled Countrymen from the assaults of Irish Orangemen in America, by the Irishmen of the village of Greenwich whose cause and principles he advocated on that occasion in the Court of Sessions of New York for September term 1824.

Mr. Charles G. Haines's memoir of Thomas A. Emmet closes with the following reference to this event described by Mr. Charles O'Conor:

In a recent case in our criminal court for the city of New York, Mr. Emmet has had an opportunity of explaining the broad principles of that grand revolution in which he embarked. The United Irishmen and the Orangemen who had emigrated to this metropolis had a tremendous battle upon the old party grounds. They appeared in our streets in the upper part of the city with their ancient badges of destruction. Terrible assaults and batteries were committed, but no lives lost.

Mr. Emmet appeared in Court as the counsel of his ancient associates, and we may well imagine in what manner he touched on that portion of Irish history that recalled to his mind the days of his suffering, persecution and imprisonment. For two hours he spoke on this topic; and as the younger Lyttleton said, when he first heard Lord Chatham, "he made my blood run cold, and touched the deepest recesses of my heart."

The Irish population had gathered into Court and with silent awe they heard their great countryman pour out his soul on the degradation of the country which they had abandoned. However, both parties did not feel the pride which was manifested by the famous Lord Lovat, when he was tried for his life and found guilty. Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, was then Attorney-General, and conducted the prosecution—the trial having taken place in England, not Scotland. The eloquence of Lord Mansfield requires no eulogium at this late day. He broke forth on this occasion with great power. After he had concluded, Lord Lovat, who was proud to see a Scotchman at the head of the English bar, remarked "that it was worth being executed to hear such a speech from one of his countrymen."

Mr. Haines, however, was unable to appreciate the true merits of the case, but fortunately the judge, as was shown in his ruling and in the unconditional discharge of the prisoners, was fully qualified to do so.

The writer is indebted to Mr. John D. Crimmins for a copy of this letter from his collection:

DUBLIN, AUGUST 26th, 1826.

Sir:

The letter of your old friend and compatriot, Hamilton Rowan, which will be delivered to you by Mr. Macready will account for the liberty which I take in writing to you.

I should not have presumed to do so, if Mr. Rowan had not insisted on it, and assured me that you would not consider it overweening or intrusive upon my part. He suggested to me that it was not impossible that my name should have met your eye, and that you might not disapprove of the course which I have taken in our struggle for liberty in Ireland. I have ventured to act upon that possibility, and at Mr. Rowan's instance, beg to assure you that the gentleman whom he has introduced to you is not undeserving of the acquaintance of Mr. Emmet:—in other words that he is a man of accomplished manners, and of great personal worth, and that he possesses the highest talents in an art, which its connexion with eloquence must have taught you to value.

Shortly after I had been called to the Irish Bar circumstances which I shall not weary you by explaining, induced me to write for the stage. My knowledge of Mr. Macready commenced at that period. I have since exclusively addicted myself to the wiser if not the more agreeable pursuits of that profession of which you are an ornament, but my intimacy with Mr. Macready has not been interrupted, and until I have ceased to prize accomplished manners, unblemished honor, and great abilities, my regard and respect for him will never sustain a diminution.

I am not acquainted with your literary predilections, but I have good warrant for

introducing an actor to you. Cicero was the friend of Roscius and you will not want a precedent for any services which it may be in your power to confer upon him.

I have the honour to be (with that feeling of melancholy attachment which every good Irishman should entertain for your name),

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

R. Sheil.

Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq.,
New York.

During the latter years of Mr. Emmet's life he devoted himself almost exclusively to the duties of his profession and to a most united and affectionate family. His life was otherwise uneventful, and with the exception of the following characteristic letter written to his old friend and political *confrère*, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, no others have been preserved but those referring to business matters.

New York, 8th January, 1827.

My dear old Friend:

For, as I am feeling the advances of age, I presume you have not remained in *statu quo* for the last twenty-five years. I received your letter by Mr. Macready and thank you for it. Many circumstances prevented my answering it until now, which it is impossible to detail on paper, but be assured, no difference or coldness of feeling towards you had any share in causing the delay.

Mr. Macready is a gentleman whose talents and worth have gained him very high consideration here, and who has entirely justified the warm recommendations he was the bearer of from Europe.*

I dare not write to you about Ireland, though probably if we were together we would talk of little else.

I remember the days when I fancied letters might be intercepted. If such a thing could happen now, a letter from T. A. E. to A. H. R., filled with Irish politics, would be a *bonne bouche* for a Secretary. America is not what you saw it, nor even what your sanguine mind could anticipate. It has shot up in strength and prosperity beyond the most visionary calculation. It has great destinies, and I have no doubt will ameliorate the condition of man throughout the world. When you were here party raged with a fiend-like violence, which may lead you to misjudge of what you may occasionally see within an American newspaper, should you ever look into one. Whether the demon be absolutely and for ever laid, I cannot undertake to say; but there is at present no more party controversy than ought to be expected, and perhaps ought to exist in so free a country; and sure I am it does not interfere with general welfare and happiness; indeed I think it never can—their roots are stuck so deep.

Of myself and family I need only say we are extremely well. I have succeeded better than I thought possible when I set foot on this shore. I still enjoy my health and faculties. The companion of my youth and of my sufferings does the same. We are surrounded by eight children and twelve grandchildren, with the prospect of steady

*Mr. William Charles Macready was a well-known English actor of great talent, whose private life was without blemish. He visited the United States in 1826, 1843 and 1848. His last appearance on the stage in this country was May 10th, 1849, as *Macbeth*, at the Astor Place Opera House, on the evening of the noted Forrest-Macready riot. The country had been for some time in the midst of the turmoil engendered by the "Know-Nothing Party" in its efforts to rouse the passions and prejudices of the native-born against the Catholics and all those of foreign birth. Edwin Forrest, the actor, was a rival, and for some fancied slight availed himself of the "Know-Nothing" excitement, and with the aid of his friends started the riot which resulted in the death of a number of innocent persons, who were shot down by the troops called out to quell it. Mr. Macready was at the time a guest of the writer's uncle, Judge Robert Emmet, who then resided at No. 64 Clinton Place (Eighth Street). Mr. Macready was finally smuggled out of the theatre to a conveyance waiting in the neighborhood, one of Judge Emmet's sons, Mr. Richard S. Emmet, driving him out of town to New Rochelle, where he took a train to Boston, arriving in time to catch a steamer by which he returned home. History repeats itself.

and progressive increase in the American ratio. I pray God you have had your share in the happiness of this life.

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

To Archd. H. Rowan, Esqr.

This letter, written less than a year before his death, was in all probability the last that Mr. Emmet addressed to anyone in Ireland.

In a letter in the writer's possession, written June 17th, 1827, by Prof. John Patten Emmet to his sister from the University of Virginia, Dr. Emmet, who had been constantly engaged in writing a new course of lectures for the following session, as he had been changed from professor of natural science to that of chemistry and *Materia Medica* in connection with the School of Medicine, complains of his weary and monotonous life. But he mentions incidentally a bust of his father which he had taken during his last visit to New York, the last likeness of Mr. Emmet as he appeared at the time of his death.

Hitherto I have toiled like the Irishman in the bottomless Sedan chair, and "if it were not for the honor of it I would as soon be walking".

In the way of recreation I am still limited, the fiddle causes despondency and Satan [his violoncello] smothers despair and fury amid its roar.—I have the bust mounted on one of my tables with the crooked corner of the mouth to the leeward, and I feel sincerely gratified in recognizing its familiar features. It is indeed an excellent likeness and I value it more than all I possess.

A copy of this bust was used afterwards as the model for that placed by the legal profession in the City Hall.

The following letter written by Mr. Macready, and from the Crimmins collection, is of great interest from his reference to Mr. Emmet and in showing his relation with the family:—

CITY HOTEL, NEW YORK.

MY DEAR SIR:—

When last I left this city, I calculated securely on offering in person to yourself and your revered father my parting good wishes and adieus. The disappointment of that expectation I feel a real deprivation; and with this assurance you will readily believe, that I set no uncommon value on the expressions of your regard. They will often recur to me among the happiest of my American recollections, and I must always hope for occasions to evince with what delight I accept the title of "your friend".

Whilst I have a shelf to bear, or even a pocket to contain the volume, your gift, I shall keep it in remembrance of you and him, whose disinterestedness, philanthropy and enthusiasm have often been the subject of my conversation and thoughts in our common country. It is with veneration, and let me be allowed to speak the language of my heart, with affection, that I think of him; and if I do lament the extremities into which his sensibility to his country's sufferings goaded him, the loss of such a man to Ireland is not among the least of the causes of my regret. I wished to write to him farewell, since I could not have the honor of shaking hands with him, but I am diffident of my right to intrude upon him. Will you offer him my most respectful and affectionate regards?—I think in vain to find the words that will interpret my feelings.

I am obliged, in all the confusion of departure, to check my pen, but unless you take measure to prevent me I shall resume it in occasional memoranda of myself from Europe.

My wife and sister unite with me in every kind wish to you and yours, and with

every thought of good that ever was crowded within that melancholy word, farewell, I remain in truth,

My dear sir,
Your attached and grateful friend,
W. C. Macready.

July 15, 1827.
Robert Emmet, Esq.,
30 Beach St.,
Hudson Square.

This letter is an important one in settling the place of Macready's birth, on the score of which he was driven from the Opera House by the Know-Nothing mob. In his "Incidents of My Life" the author has stated:

When Mr. Macready first visited the United States in 1826, he brought a letter of introduction to my grandfather, Thomas Addis Emmet, from Archibald Rowan, his old political friend of 1798, and he continued to keep up the same friendly relation with the family throughout his life. He is always termed an English actor, but I believe in private life he must have been an Irishman, both by birth and sympathy, or he would not have been a warm personal friend of Rowan, nor would he have kept up through life his relation with the Emmet family.

To the best of the writer's knowledge this is the only evidence to show that William Charles Macready was an Irishman by birth and sympathy.

This is the latest recorded mention of Mr. Emmet, with the exception of a reference by Mrs. Tucker, in a letter written to her uncle, Judge St. George Tucker, of Williamsburg, Va., while on a visit to New York with Dr. Emmet and his bride. Mrs. Tucker wrote July, 1827:

My beloved Byrd was received with open arms by Dr. Emmet's family, and their reception of me was that of a near relative. They are indeed a most charming family, all accomplished and intelligent, but unaffected and plain in their manners, and a more united and affectionate family I have never known. . . . The old gentleman (Mr. Emmet) is very mild and affectionate in his manners and very agreeable in conversation; his wife is much younger.

There had been a disagreement for some time between the authorities of the two Medical Schools, then in New York and for some reason now unknown, Mr. Emmet as counsel issued the following notice in the newspapers and in the form of a broadside, twelve days before his death.

To The Public

As attempts have been made to throw doubt upon the vitality of the degrees of Rutger's Medical Faculty of the Geneva College, it is deemed sufficient to submit to the public the following opinion of eminent counsel.

David Hosack, M. D.,
President of the Faculty.

We have deliberately examined the charter of Geneva College and the acts relating to the differing colleges in this State, and have no hesitation in saying that diplomas granted by Geneva College to those who shall study Medicine with the Rutger's Medical Faculty of that college are good, effectual and valid in every purpose for which a Medical degree is legally requisite, and equally as to that of any other Medical College in this State.

Thomas Addis Emmet
Josiah Ogden Hoffman

At the close of his article on Mr. Emmet Mr. A. Oakey Hall wrote:

On November 12 of that year he entered a New York court-room apparently in full health and spirits, to conduct a trial, but suddenly his transcribing pen fell from his hand, for—as an eloquent medical lecturer once observed to his students—"beside every worker with his brain walks in close company an unseen spirit armed with a javelin, ready at any moment to strike, and the popular name of that attendant spirit is 'apoplexy.'" The metaphorical stroke reached Emmet, while Court, Bar and auditors became absorbed in the most anxious interest for the fate of the eminent citizen with seven years of the Biblical span of life yet spared to him; but on the following night he expired. The notes of testimony* which he had taken on that fatal day are yet preserved by one of his descendants who followed his great-grandfather's profession. These were a full and accurate transcript of what had occured up to the moment when the fatal clot invaded his perhaps too active brain. Thus he literally died in harness, after having on the Sunday previous ejaculated the supplication in the litany service,—"From battle, murder, and sudden death good Lord deliver us."

*Mr. Hall had certainly seen this manuscript in 1895. But unfortunately it was carefully laid aside and no one of the present generation can recall ever having heard of it. One of the newspaper accounts of the day in describing the removal of Mr. Emmet to this house mentions that this paper was taken to the house and delivered to some member of the family.

In the year 1778 the wretchedness of Ireland appeared for the first time to interest the British Parliament. But it was not the justice or generosity of that Parliament which the wretchedness of Ireland had moved. It had alarmed its fears.

T. A. Emmet.

For himself he sought no prominence, no popular applause; he shrunk from observation where his merits, in spite of his retiring habits, forced themselves into notice. No man could say that Emmet was ambitious.

R. R. Madden.

Chapter XXX

"New York Evening Post" account of Mr. Emmet's last successful case—Postscript in "New York American" for the following day, with the first announcement of Mr. Emmet's seizure—The "New York Evening Post" publishes his death notice and arrangement for his funeral—"New York American" contains the first sketch of his life, generally reprinted throughout the country, and announces Mr. Emmet's death—Biographical sketch from the "New York Evening Post"—Account given the writer by Dr. Francis, of his course of treatment—Milder measures might have allowed a reaction and prolonged his life—Meeting and action of the Common Council of New York—List of members—Proceedings of the Medical Schools—"New York Courier" gives the arrangement for funeral honors—Proceedings of the Court of General Sessions.

THE "New York Evening Post" for November 3, 1827, contained the following account of Mr. Emmet's last case:

Jackson in the trial of the Astor land claim in the Circuit Court on the demise of Fowler *vs.* Carver in this Court had just been concluded. As reported in the "Evening Post", November 13, 1827:—This case involves the title to certain lands confiscated to the State, as the property of Roger Morris and Mary his wife, in 1779. Some time since Astor purchased of the heirs of Colonel Morris, their claim to this property. This claim was founded on a marriage settlement said to have been executed in 1754, conveying a life estate in the property to Morris and his wife, and after their death the remainder to the children of that marriage and their heirs.

The deed being produced, it appears that the property was vested in two trustees for the heirs, and that Morris and his wife were entitled by it to sell of the property to the amount of £3,000. It was shown that previous to this marriage the fee simple vested in Mrs. Morris, and that afterwards three deeds had been made of certain portions of the property, but not to the amount of £3,000. Several ancient residents on the premises testified that they never heard of the marriage settlement until the purchase by Astor, and that they held their lands under Roger and Mary Morris, and subsequently under the State. Colonel Barclay and Judge [Egbert] Benson testified that the marriage settlement was spoken of familiarly in the family and the latter had seen it in 1784 in possession of Governor Livingston, one of the witnesses to the deed. Livingston made oath before a magistrate in 1784 of its execution by all the signing parties. In the same year Joanna Philips, one of the trustees, petitioned the Legislature for a compensation to the heirs, but a committee reported that if her statement was correct there was a remedy at law.

The cause was summed up by Messrs. Van Buren and Webster for the plaintiffs, and Messrs. D. B. Ogden and Emmet for the defendant. It was committed to the jury

about 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon, after an able charge from Judge Thompson, and this morning they came into court, with a general verdict in favor of Mr. Astor.

In the course of the trial several exceptions were taken to the opinions of the judge, which are yet to be decided in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The "New York American", for Wednesday evening, November 14th, 1827, contained the following postscript, which was the first intimation given the public of Mr. Emmet's sudden illness:

Two o'clock P. M.—We have merely time to state, that the venerable Thomas Addis Emmet, so long known, and so highly admired for his genius and eloquence, was this morning taken with a paralytic affection, which is considered as threatening his life, while attending in the Circuit Court, as counsel in the trial of one of the ejectment suits brought against the Trustees of the Sailors' Snug Harbor. In consequence of an event so lamentable, the Court forthwith adjourned.

The "New York Evening Post" for Thursday, November 15th, 1827, contained among its list of deaths the announcement:

Last evening, Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., aged 65 years. His friends and those of his family, and the members of the Bar, are respectfully invited to attend his funeral to-morrow at TWELVE O'CLOCK noon precisely, without further invitation, from his late residence No. 30 Beach street, Hudson Square.

The following appeared as an editorial in the "New York American", November 15, 1827:

DEATH OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

It was our melancholy duty to announce yesterday that Mr. Emmet, while engaged in his professional duties in the Circuit Court, was struck with apoplexy; and the forebodings which were then uttered as to the result are realized,—for he is no more; he expired last night about half-past ten o'clock. The high standing of this gentleman, at the bar, his talents and character, the circumstances of his life and those of his death, combine to take him out of the ordinary routine, and require something more at the hand of a public journalist, than the brief notice which daily records in these columns that man is mortal.

Of the early life and history of Mr. Emmet before he came to the United States, it is not our purpose to speak; neither is it for *us* to allude to any acts of his *political* career after he came here. Beneath the pall which now enshrouds his cold remains, we will see only the man of genius, the eloquent advocate, the enlightened and polished gentleman, the devoted and affectionate father, husband, friend—snatched too soon, and in the fulness of his fame and usefulness from a community that he adored and served,—from a family that he dearly loved. From the first moment of Mr. Emmet's admission to the bar of New York, he took a leading place. To great fervor of mind and manner united with a ready and emphatic elocution, Mr. Emmet added the advantages of a fine education, of varied and extensive literary acquirements, and of the most untiring industry and perseverance. He was to the day of his death an eminent example of a conscientious and indefatigable counsellor, who thinks nothing is done for his client, while anything remains to be done. He was, indeed, hardly more remarkable for his eloquence, real as that was, than for the other, perhaps as uncommon, and certainly as useful, characteristic.

Of his eloquence at the bar, we should say fervor was the most striking quality—a fervor not less of matter than of manner. He was copious, from a just reliance upon his accumulated stores of literature, which afforded the utmost variety of illustration and argument, and he was confident, though eminently courteous, in his manner and tone,

VIEW OF ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL, FROM THE PARK.

DRAWN AND ENGRAVED FOR

THE NEW-YORK MIRROR.

1829.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

because he always understood his cause, and entered upon it with the zeal of conviction.

The circumstances of this distinguished man's death, are in themselves singularly affecting. He had been constantly and most arduously employed for some weeks in causes of the greatest importance. He had prepared himself in them with his usual labor and research; and as lately as Monday last, he made in the Astor cause a speech, which, perhaps, no one of his earlier efforts surpassed.—Without allowing himself any respite, after this effort, he forthwith, though now verging, we presume, upon seventy years, entered upon the important contested claim of the Sailors' Snug Harbor. In attendance upon this cause, it was yesterday, that the hand of death was laid upon him. In a full court, it was suddenly perceived that Mr. Emmet had drooped upon the table. The Attorney-General who was sitting near, addressed him, but finding him speechless, the alarm was immediately communicated to the court—which thereupon forthwith adjourned—medical aid was sent for, and every application which skill, prompted by strong personal attachment, could suggest was soon made, but made in vain.

The blood flowed indeed from the arms and the temples; but sense, consciousness and intelligence had fled forever. The scene presented in the court-room, as this sad truth became apparent, must have been heartrending. The oldest members of the bar were in tears and sobbing aloud around their fallen and late mighty compeer; the family of the dying man were collecting about him in all the agonies of hope struggling against despair—while he, whose voice had so lately filled the hall—whose immortal mind had held in breathless suspense the feelings of admiring crowds, lay bleeding, speechless and unconscious before them.

He was removed in a litter about 3 o'clock, to his own house, where he died. Yet is there in the manner of this death something glorious and consolatory. It recalls the great *Chatham,* struck down among his peers, or the warrior perishing upon the field of his fame. The spirit—the immortal mind—has worn out its feebler and more worthless tenement—and returned to the God who gave it—unbroken by decay—and who can lament such an issue to such a life? Better, oh! better it is for such

. . . . to perish 'mid the shock,
Than linger piece-meal on the rock.

Of the domestic virtues and affections of the deceased, it becomes not a newspaper to speak—they are too sacred for the public eye. The bleeding hearts of those he has left behind him are the most affecting witnesses of how much and how justly he was beloved—how deeply, how enduringly he will be lamented.

It is mentioned as a striking circumstance, that the day of Mr. Emmet's death was the 24th anniversary of that upon which he had filed the declaration of his intention to become an American citizen.*

The "New York Evening Post" on Thursday, November 15, 1827, published the following:

Thomas Addis Emmet.—Yesterday this distinguished counsellor, while engaged in trying a cause in the United States Circuit Court was suddenly struck with apoplexy. After remaining for about two hours in a state of insensibility, he was removed to his house, where he expired last night, between 11 and 12 o'clock. On the opening of the Court, this morning, Mr. D. B. Ogden very feelingly announced the melancholy event, and the Court immediately adjourned. The members of the bar were then called to order, and the venerable Judge Benson being present, was appointed Chairman, and the Chancellor, also present, was appointed Secretary.

It was on motion resolved, that a general meeting of the profession be held on

*Macneven referred to this article in his "Address to the Bar". It was reprinted in full in "The Albany Argus and City Gazette" on Tuesday morning, Nov. 20, 1827.

Friday (to-morrow) morning at 10 o'clock, in the Supreme Court Room, for the purpose of testifying their respect for the memory of their esteemed deceased brother.

The character and outlines of the life of the great man whose thread of earthly existence has been thus suddenly snapt short, will in a short time be given from the pen of an old and intimate friend, one competent to render justice to the memory of the lamented deceased whose qualifications as a learned jurist, and erudite scholar, were rarely equalled. He had a mind deeply imbued with that degree of refinement which a long and familiar acquaintance with *belles lettres* only can confer; and which, on suitable occasions, sparkled from his lips, and illustrated and adorned his argument by apt and happy quotations from the ancient classics. Nor was he scarcely more remarkable for his capacious intellect than the amiable and benevolent qualities of the heart. His loss will be long and deeply deplored by all who had the opportunity of being personally acquainted with him.

P. S.—We are told that yesterday was the anniversary of Mr. Emmet's arrival in this country, 24 years ago; a singular coincidence.

Evidently the burden of Mr. Emmet's business had increased greatly for some time before his death, and he must have disregarded many warnings which his medical training in early life should have taught him could not be ignored with impunity. Mr. Haines in his memoir has written:—

Early in November, 1827, Emmet had been much engaged in the defence of Lieutenant Percival on a charge of extortion, and also in a cause of unusual importance, generally called the great Astor case, involving the right of Mr. Astor to lands in Putnam county, to the amount of perhaps eight hundred thousand dollars. In the former case he defended his client with all his accustomed vigour and ability, and the result was a verdict of acquittal. In the latter, on Monday, the 12th, he addressed the jury in a style of animated eloquence, of prompt and overwhelming retort, and of powerful argument, which was said by many of his audience to have even surpassed his earlier efforts. On Wednesday, the 14th, while attending the trial of another cause of importance (the case of the Sailors' Snug Harbour) in which he was counsel, in the United States Circuit Court, he was seized with an apoplectic fit; and on being carried home he expired in the course of the following night, being in the 64th year of his age. He had made no exertion in particular that day, but had taken notes of the testimony through the morning; and on examination these notes were found to be a full and accurate transcript of what occurred up to the very moment when the pen fell from his hand on his being seized with the fit. The scene in the court-room was in the highest degree impressive. Every individual present—the court, the bar, the audience, all were absorbed in the most anxious interest for the fate of this eminent man. The court was instantly adjourned.

In 1855 the writer obtained a full description of the treatment administered to Mr. Emmet by Dr. John W. Francis, the first physician to arrive, and whose office was in Chambers Street, just back of the City Hall. The writer also recalls hearing a statement made by his uncle, Mr. T. A. Emmet, Jr., that on coming downstairs to attend to some law business, about seven o'clock on the morning of his father's death, he met his father then going to bed, after having been up all night. Four hours later, at eleven o'clock, the old gentleman was in court.

Dr. Francis's statement showed that the course of treatment followed, according to the practice of the day, was at least heroic, for he opened a vein in both arms and at both ankles until, as the Doctor expressed it, "the blood ran all over the floor without his coming to!" From the son's account and

the consequent probability of exhaustion, the loss of blood certainly did no good, while without the excessive bleeding he might possibly have been revived by rest and the judicious use of stimulants and counter-irritation.

IN COMMON COUNCIL—SPECIAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 15, 1827.

PRESENT

The Hon'ble William Paulding, *Mayor, President*
Richard Riker, Esquire, *Recorder*

Aldermen	*Assistants.*
John Gates Cebra	Thomas Bolton
Samuel Gifford, Jun'r	Wm. W. Mott
Campbell P. White	Samuel Stevens
John Agnew	Isaac Brown
Anthony Lamb	John Shepherd, Jun'r
John Lozier	James Lynch
Jameson Cox	William S. Coe
Stuart F. Randolph	Thomas T. Woodruff
Jacob B. Taylor	John R. Peters
Gideon Ostrander	Abraham M. Valentine
Lemuel Pittman	Jeremiah Dodge
Effingham Schiefflin	Henry Storms

The reading of the minutes of the last meeting was dispensed with.

His Honor the Mayor informed the Board that he had at the request of several members called the meeting in consequence of the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Esquire, and to give to the Board an opportunity of paying such marks of respect to the memory of their much lamented and highly respected Fellow-Citizen as they should judge proper and expedient.—Whereupon

The Recorder presented the following Preamble and Resolutions which were unanimously adopted:—

When in the course of Divine Providence, individuals who have been held in high and deserving esteem by their fellow-citizens are removed from this state of mortal existence, it is becoming and useful to testify by public expression a sense of that esteem.

It is becoming as a reward of merit, it is useful as an incentive to a faithful discharge of duties.

The death of the deeply lamented Thomas Addis Emmet furnishes, in the opinion of this Board, such an occasion for the expression of public sentiment. He has long filled, in the eye of this community, a distinguished station. His talents have shed a lustre over our country—his virtues were a model for imitation, and endeared him wherever he was known.

This Common Council, sincerely sympathizing with his family and with the public at large, and as a tribute of respect to his memory.

RESOLVED, That this Board attend the funeral ceremonies of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, this day at twelve o'clock.

RESOLVED, That the members of this Board wear the usual badge of mourning for the space of thirty days.

J. NORTON, Clerk.

This above was copied from "Minutes of the Common Council, Vol. LXII, Sept. 24, 1827 to Jan. 14, 1828, City Library", to be had at City Hall, New York.

At a special meeting of the board of professors of the Medical Faculty of Geneva College, held at the College on Thursday evening, the 15th of November instant, Professor Francis, having communicated the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Counsellor of this Board, and formerly a member of the Medical profession.

On motion—Resolved, That the professors of this college deeply sympathize with the family of Mr. Emmet on the loss they have sustained in the death of an inestimable husband and father; and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to his bereaved relatives.

Resolved, That this Board will unite with the Bar and with the public in testifying their respect for the memory of the distinguished individual whose loss is so deeply and justly regretted.

Resolved, That the professors will suspend their respective lectures on the 16th inst., and will attend the obsequies of the illustrious deceased.

By order, { David Hosack, M. D., Pres. of the Med. Faculty.
{ Valentine Mott, M. D., Dean.

The following are among the newspaper accounts of the funeral honors paid Mr. Emmet:

"New York Courier," 15th November, 1827.

With sentiments of deep and unfeigned regret we state that this venerable and distinguished citizen was seized with apoplexy yesterday, while engaged in his professional duties in the Circuit Court in the City Hall. Such was the sensation produced by this melancholy occurrence, that the court immediately adjourned. We can not but fear that the voice which so often and so eloquently has pleaded the cause of the injured and oppressed—the mind that has rendered plain and clear the most intricate and abstruse questions of law—the heart that has beaten with a fervid pulse for the cause and principles of his adopted country, will be lost to us for ever. We were informed at his house as late as ten o'clock last evening that he was then alive, but no hope was entertained of his recovery.

"New York Courier," 16th November, 1827.

Thomas Addis Emmet.—Our fears of yesterday were too well founded—the great advocate and estimable man is no more. He has descended to the tomb in the fulness of years and the maturity of honours. The speaking eye is closed in darkness—the eloquent tongue is silent—and the generous heart is now but cold clay. To one whose life was marked by such beauty and purity as his, death, even when he comes with such appalling suddenness, comes not on an unprepared subject. He had so lived that he feared not to die; and while we mourn the loss of so estimable a man, regret is chastened by the well-founded belief that he has passed from this to a better and happier state of being.

Few men of brilliant talents can pass through a conflicting professional life without exciting envy and enmity; fewer still, how pure soever in character, can escape the breath of suspicion and misrepresentation. In this the lamented Emmet was peculiarly fortunate; his enemies were few indeed, and envy, despairing of reaching the elevation on which he stood, looked elsewhere for an object. No whisper was ever heard against the purity of his character.

He kept the whiteness of his soul unsullied and added to brilliancy of genius, uprightness of purpose and generosity of heart.

Such was Thomas Addis Emmet, and as such we consign him to his honoured grave.

At a court of general sessions held at the City Hall of the city of New York, in and for the city and county of New York, on the 16th day of November, 1827:

Present—Richard Riker, Recorder; Jacob B. Taylor, Gideon Ostrander, and Campbell P. White, Esqrs., Aldermen.

Upon the opening of the court, the Recorder stated, that it had been announced to the presiding magistrates that THOMAS ADDIS EMMET expired on the evening of the 14th instant, and would be buried this day at twelve o'clock.

The following order was forthwith directed to be entered upon the minutes of the court:

That the Judges of this court now and here will attend the funeral of Thomas Addis Emmet, for the purpose of paying the last tribute of respect to one who, by uniting the greatest abilities with the most unsullied integrity, has for more than twenty years thrown a lustre upon the New York Bar. The Judges now present most deeply deplore his death, and will unite with their associate justices, and other public functionaries, and with their fellow-citzens, in testifying their regard for the deceased, their admiration of his talents, and their approbation of his virtues.

The learned Counsel whose death is thus lamented by the court has discharged, in their fullest extent, all the duties of public and of private life; and by his great attainments and excellent qualities has reflected equal honour upon the country of his birth and the country of his adoption.

FROM THE "COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER", 15TH NOVEMBER, 1827.

Death of Mr. Emmet.—It is with feelings of the deepest regret that we record the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., who has so long stood in the front rank of eminent American jurists and whose gigantic legal mind shed lustre over the bar of New York. There was something very solemn and deeply affecting in the suddenness and manner of his death. He may be said to have died on the field of his victories and well-earned renown.

He was closely confined in court during the trial of the Astor cause, in which, on Monday last, he summed up in behalf of the plaintiff in a masterly and elaborate address. The trial of the "Sailors' Snug Harbour" cases ensued, in which he was also engaged. We learn that for two nights he had scarcely taken any repose, and there is no doubt that such intense and unremitted mental occupation produced the shock which has terminated his valuable life. He was sitting in court yesterday, in the forenoon, in apparent health, and was conversing only a few moments before the event. He was observed to lean forward with his head resting on his hand, or on the table, and when spoken to was found to be entirely insensible. When this was ascertained the court immediately adjourned. Messengers were despatched for the members of his family and physicans, who speedily arrived. Bleeding was resorted to, but without producing any apparent effect. A litter was prepared for his removal, on which he was carried to his house in Hudson-square.* The Court of Chancery, which was sitting at the same time, was also immediately adjourned. The melancholy event produced a profound and solemn sensation in the crowd who assembled round the court-room, in which his friends and the medical gentlemen called in were employing their ineffectual efforts on his behalf. We believe that Mr. Emmet remained in a state of insensibility from the moment of the attack until he expired last night at a few minutes after eleven.

There are few of our citizens who have not witnessed, at some time, the displays of argumentative and impassioned oratory which flowed from the lips of this great lawyer. His vigour seemed to remain unimpaired to the last, and he has died in the fulness of his fame and at the height of his profession. We will not do injustice to his memory by a feeble attempt to characterise the style of his eloquence. This task will no doubt be performed by some of his able compeers on whom it will devolve.

On the opening of the court this morning, Mr. David B. Ogden very feelingly announced the melancholy event, and the court immediately adjourned. The members of the bar who were present, including his honor, the Chancellor, were then called to order,

*Mr. Emmet's residence, to the right and south side of the Square, is now shut off by a tree in the park. That the houses were all alike is shown by those on each side of the church.

and the venerable Judge [Egbert] Benson being present was appointed chairman, and the Chancellor, also present, was appointed secretary.

It was a motion resolved that a general meeting of the people be held on Friday (tomorrow) morning at ten o'clock, in the Supreme Court room, for the purpose of testifying their respect for the memory of their eminent deceased brother.

They [the Catholics of Ireland] were nearly three-fourths of the population, and instead of enjoying the estates of their forefathers, they scarcely possess one-fifth of the landed property of the kingdom. To this state they had been reduced by various causes which might have been forgotten in the lapse of years, but that one still remained in the code called the Popery Laws. *T. A. Emmet.*

The Dissenters, who were originally settled for the most part in Ulster . . . being most engaged in manufacturies and trade, did not feel dependence on England as essential to their existence or happiness, but they felt the commercial restrictions to which it gave rise as injurious to their prosperity and pursuits . . . the predilection for their native country being therefore checked by no extraneous causes, they gradually ceased to consider themselves in any other light than Irishmen. They became anxious for Ireland's welfare and sensible to its wrongs.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXXI

Meeting of the Bar of New York as reported by the "Evening Post"—Decision that a monument be erected—Order of procession to the funeral—An inclement day with rain and hail—Many thus prevented from attending the largest funeral ever known in New York—The only instance where the corporation of the City of New York, with every official, attended as a body the funeral of any private individual—Editorial from New York "Enquirer"—Editorial from the "The Truth Teller"—Announcement that De Witt Clinton, the Governor of the State, had complied with the request of the New York Bar to prepare and deliver an eulogy on Mr. Emmet at his earliest convenience—Full account of the funeral as reported in the New York "Evening Post", accompanied with a sketch of Mr. Emmet's career—Meeting of the Irish people to consider plans and means for erecting a monument to Mr. Emmet's memory and services—Dr. Macneven's remarks on the occasion.

HE "Evening Post" for Friday, November 16, contains an account of a public meeting held in Albany, N. Y., in relation to Mr. Emmet's death:

MEETING OF THE BAR—Agreeable to previous notice a numerous meeting of the Members of the Bar was convened this morning, and on motion, Judge Benson was chosen president, and the attorney-general, secretary, and four resolutions were passed. The substance of the resolutions was as follows:

1st.—That a marble monument be erected in honor of the deceased.

2d.—That a committee be appointed to select some suitable person to prepare a memoir of the deceased, and also to deliver an eulogium as an incentive to the junior members of the bar.

3rd.—That the usual badge of mourning be worn for thirty days.

4th.—That a copy of these resolutions be presented to the afflicted family.

On motion of Mr. Hoffman the bar formed a procession and proceeded to the house of the deceased.

The following account of the funeral procession and the previous proceedings of the Bar, Bench, Common Council and College of Physicians are taken from the New York "Commercial Advertiser" for November 16th, 1827:

The procession was formed by the committee at the City Hall in the following order and proceeded to the late dwelling of Mr. Emmet. But so great was the

number that only a portion left the ranks and the same order was preserved until it was changed at the church after the funeral.

High Constable.
Governor and Chancellor.
Former Chancellor.
Present and former Judges of the Supreme Court.
Judges of the United States Court.
First Judges of Common Pleas and former Recorders.
Present and former Attorney-Generals.
Clerk of County and Clerk of Oyer and Terminer.
Clerks of U. S. Courts and U. S. Marshals.
Clerks of the Supreme Court and Register in Chancery and Surrogate.
District Attorney and U. S. District Attorney.
Members of the Bar.
Students at Law.
Sheriff.
Mayor and Recorder.
Members of the Common Council.
Members of the Common Council elect.
The College Physicians, Members of the Medical Profession and Medical Students in a body.

A shower of rain and hail prevented many from attending, who were desirous of showing their respect to the deceased.

It is noteworthy that, to the best of the writer's knowledge, this is the only instance of the corporation of the City of New York attending the funeral of a private individual in its official capacity.

All business was suspended throughout the city, and the flag of every vessel in the harbor remained at half mast during the funeral. If a great calamity had befallen the city it could not have called forth a greater demonstration of sorrow, apparently from all in every walk of life.

The "New York Enquirer", for Friday, November 16, 1827, printed the following:

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, ESQ.

We have to report what our readers already know too well, that this distinguished individual is no more. From the statement in the papers of Wednesday, the public mind was prepared for such a result. He lingered from the morning of that day, under a paralytic attack, without, so we understand, any recurrences of his senses, or any great suffering, until the same evening, when he expired. Mr. Emmet was attacked in Court, while engaged as counsel in the "Snug Harbor Cause," and fell gently on the table. His illness was not immediately discovered. When observed (by the Attorney-General) he was removed into a contiguous apartment and the proper scientific means resorted to. The Court immediately adjourned. Mr. Emmet, in the course of the day, was removed to his own house, where he expired at 11 o'clock.

It is impossible to think of this gentleman's death without a sentiment of deep regret. None, who have ever had the honour of his acquaintance will refuse to bear a willing and eager testimony to his amiable temper, his inflexible integrity, his ardent friendship, his fine companionable qualities, his conversational power, and his universal benevolence. In private life he was the centre about which clustered and

clung the affections of a large and respectable family. No one could be more warmly loved, and no one more deservedly and sincerely honoured. In public life his qualities were of the most brilliant character. As an orator, he was, if not the first, at least among the first in the country. As an advocate he had no equal. Mr. Emmet had not been originally intended for the Bar. Like the present Lord Stowell and Sir Edward Coke, he came to the profession at an age comparatively advanced. But he brought to it an intellect which great observation of the world had sharpened, and which long and diligent study had enriched. His mind, naturally capacious and comprehensive, had gathered together information of every kind, from every quarter, and he would have been eminent for his large general knowledge, even if he had not been more renowned as an advocate and a lawyer. The most striking of his faculties was quickness of perception, and to this was joined a surprising steadiness and power of attention. He saw the truth at a glance, and had what is rarely combined with that faculty, the art of stripping that truth of all its disguises and intricacies, and presenting it clearly and forcibly to others. His logical powers partook of a strong intellect, reasoning with good sense and honest feeling, on the materials before it. In passages of a more declamatory cast, he manifested none of the verbose and affected imagery of a rhetorician, but was at once simple, nervous, original and energetic. His occasional appeals to the passions of a Jury, were singularly solemn and affecting. And it was his distinguished merit to preserve, on all occasions, the most perfect good faith to his client, his conscience, and the court.

There is no man whose loss will be more perceptible (or more regretted) at the Bar. He was, by the consent of his colleagues, *facile princeps*. Such an abstraction of such a lawyer—so suddenly—in the very midst of his professional pursuits, and immediately after one of his most elaborate and most able pleadings, comes upon the mind with a strange and melancholy force. We think of it with sorrow, but that sorrow is mitigated by the conviction that it is unalloyed by the slightest feeling of regret for any occurrence of his life—a fame, which neither envy nor calumny ever dared to sully.

It is a curious coincidence that Mr. Emmet declared his intention to become an American citizen on the 14th of November, and it was on the 14th of November that he died.* He was an Irishman by birth. He was one of those high-hearted patriots, who in the dark hour of his country's peril, was neither awed by the menaces of his oppressors, nor enfeebled by the suffering of the oppressed. When Ireland was one vast sea of discord, where despotism and rebellion waged a fierce and fearful battle—where patriotism was defeated by treachery, and power strengthened by submission; when the firmest no longer dared to resist and the sanguine had ceased to hope; it was then that he pursued an intrepid march in his country's cause, through temptations and through threats, through "good report and evil report," till, in labouring for the freedom of his country, he sacrificed his own. We have no room to dwell upon his magnanimity while in prison, nor to detail his suffering while in exile.

He came to the United States, at that time the only asylum for the proscribed, and condemned and banished patriots of the old world. It was a fortunate vessel that brought him to our shores. He came to honour and to be honoured. How he has lived since the day of his landing, how he has deported himself as a citizen, and as an advocate may be learned from the universal sorrow which is felt at this sudden bereavement. Like that of some of the venerable fathers of our Revolution, his death has thrown a feeling of grief over the whole city.

In order to testify the public respect for Mr. Emmet the following arrangement of the funeral procession has been made by a committee. The citizens are requested

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*Chapter XXIV contains an interesting account of the record book, showing that Mr. Emmet made his declaration on the third day after his arrival in this country.

to meet this day at three o'clock at the City Hall. The procession will move from there to Grace church.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

High Constable.
Present and former Judges of the Supreme Court.
Judges of the U. S. Courts.
First Judge of Common Pleas and former Recorders.
Present and former Attorney-Generals.
Clerk of County and Clerk of Oyer and Terminer.
Clerk of U. S. Courts and U. S. Marshal.
Clerk of Supreme Court and Register in Chancery.
District Attorney and U. S. District Attorney.
Members of the Bar.
Students of Law.
Sheriff.
Mayor and Recorder.
Members of the Common Council.
Members of the Common Council elect.

This paper also announced—

Browerre has a most faithful original bust of Mr. Emmet; nothing can be more spirited, natural and correct. This notice will come with effect at a time when many desire to have some memento of a lost and valued friend.

This was a copy of the bust made by Dr. John P. Emmet. The original has already been referred to and will be again.

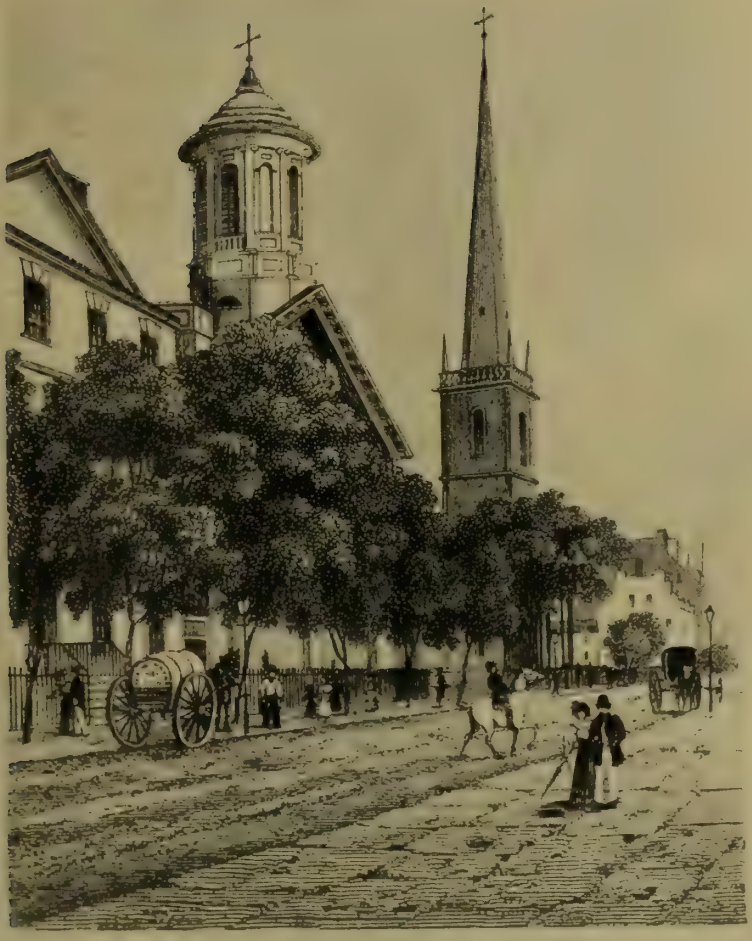
From the "Commercial Advertiser" for Saturday (Evening), November 17:

Funeral of Mr. Emmet—When this paper went to press yesterday, the funeral procession of the late Thomas Addis Emmet was entering Grace Church. The procession was very numerous, notwithstanding the storm of rain mingled with hail. In moving from the late residence of Mr. E. the procession advanced through Beach Street towards Broadway, where it was met by an immense assemblage of individuals anxious to perform the last honors to the eminent deceased. Every window and avenue was filled with spectators. The flags on the public offices of the city were displayed at half mast and there seemed to be but one expression of unaffected sorrow pervading the city.

The solemn services of the Church were read in a deeply impressive manner by the Rev. Dr. Wainwright. The anthem beginning—"I heard a voice" &c, was sung by a full choir, accompanied by the rich and full-toned organ of that church, with good effect. As the plaintive and melting tones died away upon the ear, every head was bowed, every eye suffused, and every heart melted in unison. The service ended, the remains, as we mentioned in anticipation last evening, were conveyed to the burial grounds attached to St. Mark's Church, attended by great numbers of his friends and there interred.

After giving the list of pall bearers, and the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Bar, which will be given hereafter, the editorial proceeds with its account of Mr. Emmet's life:

It is not, perhaps, generally known that Mr. Emmet was originally bred to the profession of medicine. He was the son of Dr. Emmet, an eminent professor of medicine in Dublin, and for many years held the high appointment of State Physician.



GRACE & TRINITY CHURCHES

BROADWAY.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Mr. E. was (with two brothers) educated in the University of Dublin (Trinity College) where he took the degree of M.A. after which he proceeded to the College of Edinburgh for the study of medicine, and took a degree there of M.D.

He then proceeded to the Continent, and visited most of the courts of Europe, during which his elder brother, Temple Emmet, died* at an early age after distinguishing himself at the head of the Irish bar as one of the most eloquent men of his day.

The death of this gentleman gave a new direction to the pursuits of Mr. Emmet; and after returning from the Continent he entered in the Middle Temple as a student of law, where he continued the usual number of terms, and was then (1790) called to the Irish bar.

Here he soon rivalled the high reputation of his deceased brother, and became an eminent practitioner.

Feeling, with many others of his countrymen, the political evils under which Ireland had for so long a period been suffering, he associated his talents with those who were desirous of effecting a revolution in his country, and a separation from England. The high reputation of his integrity, zeal and abilities soon rendered his conduct in this political struggle an object of extreme jealousy and alarm to the Irish Government:—and on the 12th of March, 1798, he with several others (alike engaged) were arrested and confined in different gaols throughout the kingdom—and, after some time he, with others, was transferred to Fort George in Scotland, until enlarged in 1802, on condition of transporting themselves to some country not at war with Great Britain.

Mr. Emmet as well as several others of his associates chose to emigrate to this country, most congenial with their political opinions, and accordingly (after spending a short time in France) he sailed for this country in the year 1804, and arrived in New York in the latter part of that year.

After his admission to the bar in this State, in which, we understand, the general rule of the court was dispensed with, Mr. Emmet rapidly rose in the profession, and, indeed, almost immediately took that stand which his talents entitled him to occupy, and which he maintained while he lived. His first distinguished effort was in the defence of some fugitive slaves, in which his enthusiastic manner and energetic eloquence commanded the admiration of all who heard him. On the death of Matthias B. Hildreth, Esq., the Attorney-General of this State, Mr. Emmet was appointed his successor, on the 12th of August, 1812. After holding this office for a short period, less, we believe, than a year, he resigned it, and did not during the residue of his life seek or occupy any public station.

From that period to the time of his death, he was unremittingly in laborious and important business. His industry was indefatigable; and while he always mastered the minutest detail of every cause, his genius, with the mental resources of general knowledge, on which he could always draw for illustration, irradiated even the most dull and uninviting topics. His name belongs to the history of his country, and his memory will always be cherished in that which adopted him, and claims his legal reputation as part of the inheritance of her national glory.

The "Truth Teller", New York, November 17, 1827, contains the following, as a portion of an editorial, written on the death of Mr. Emmet:

A scene, as melancholy and distressing, as it was unexpected, occurred Wednesday forenoon at the City Hall, during the session of the United States Court. This distinguished patriot and amiable citizen, while attending as counsellor in the important case of Sailors' Snug Harbour, was suddenly struck with a paralytic affection, which instantly deprived him of the use of his faculties. . . . At eleven o'clock

*This is not correct as Dr. Emmet was several years in practice before the death of his brother.

of the same evening, this good, this virtuous, this patriotic individual breathed his last! Thus in the fulness of his fame, at the height of his profession, and beloved by all, has our Bar been deprived of its brightest ornament,—America of one of her noblest citizens—and Irishmen of one of their best friends, by the unrelenting hand of Death. His sudden demise has thrown a gloom over the city, and has excited sentiments of sorrow and regret that will be re-echoed from all parts of the Union. In Ireland—the country of his birth—that country for which he suffered so many persecutions, similar sentiments will pervade the hearts of every one, when the sad and melancholy intelligence reaches it. Ireland, and Irishmen, indeed owe him much. In the language of a contemporary well may we say—he was one of those high-minded patriots, who in the dark hour of his country's peril, was neither awed by the menaces of his oppressor, nor enfeebled by the suffering of the oppressed.

When Ireland was one vast sea of discord, where patriotism was defeated by treachery, and power strengthened by submission; when the firmest no longer dared to resist, and the sanguine had ceased to hope, it was then that he pursued an intrepid march in his country's cause, through temptations and through threats, through good report and evil report, till in labouring for the freedom of his country, he sacrificed his own.

He eventually came to this country—at the time the only asylum for the proscribed, and condemned, and banished patriots of the old world. How he has lived since the day of his landing—how he has deported himself as a citizen, and an advocate, may be learned from the sorrow which is felt at this sudden bereavement.

The following account of the funeral procession and interment is taken from "The Morning Courier", 17th November, 1827:

Between the hours of 11 and 12 o'clock, on the 16th instant, there was an immense crowd of people assembled in Hudson-square. The universal sensation of grief which the death of Mr. Emmet excited shows the high respect and veneration in which he was generally held.

At one o'clock the procession began to move.

[Then follow the names and titles of the several legal and public functionaries given in the preceding notice.]

The procession advanced through Beach Street towards Broadway, where it was met by an immense assemblage of individuals anxious to perform the last honours to the eminent deceased. Every window and avenue was filled with spectators, and notwithstanding the coldness and disagreeableness of the day we believe there has been seldom witnessed in this city a more numerous or more respectable funeral.

About half past one o'clock the procession arrived at Grace Church. The funeral service was here read in a most impressive manner by the officiating clergyman. The melodies and solemn sound of the organ, the delightful and awe-inspiring music of "I heard a voice" &c, and the melancholy occasion of the assembly evidently affected every person present.

Hence the procession moved to St. Mark's Church graveyard, where the body of the much lamented Thomas Addis Emmet was interred.

From the New York "Evening Post", 17th November, 1827:

We learn that Governor Clinton has complied with the wishes of the committee of the bar, and accepted of their invitation to pronounce the eulogy on Mr. Emmet, in conformity to the resolution of the bar of this city, adopted on the 16th instant.*

This issue of the same paper contained an account of the funeral as follows:

We mentioned yesterday that a meeting of the bar of New York was held that

*No eulogy was delivered for the Bar Association, as Mr. Clinton died a few weeks after he accepted, and no one else was appointed. Mr. Sampson was to have prepared a memoir of Mr. Emmet, but he also died before he had succeeded in collecting any material. Dr. Mitchell delivered the only address at the request of the authorities at the City Hall.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

ST. MARK'S CHURCH, "IN THE BOWERIE"

morning to testify the respect of the profession for the memory of Mr. Emmet. The distinguished reputation of the deceased, the awful and sudden visitation by which he has been struck down in the midst of us, and the reverence universally paid to his private worth, made the meeting a crowded and affecting one. The following is a copy of the resolution proposed by Mr. Ogden and unanimously adopted.

1. Resolved, That a marble monument be erected in some suitable part of the city, in memory of the talents and character of Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq.

2. Resolved, That a memoir of the life of Mr. Emmet be prepared, and a funeral oration delivered in testimony of his virtues, and as an incentive to the junior members of the bar.

3. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to carry into effect the above resolution, and that a copy of the work be presented to his family, with an assurance to them, of our condolence on the afflicting dispensation, with which they have been visited.

4. Resolved, That this meeting do adjourn, to attend the funeral of Mr. Emmet, and that the gentlemen of the bar do wear the usual badges of mourning for thirty-one days.

After the resolutions were passed, the meeting was addressed by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Clark, who severally enlarged upon the eminent talents and virtues of the deceased. Mr. Sampson then briefly, but in an eloquent and affecting manner, addressed the chair. Of this address he has politely furnished us with the following copy:

"Sir—I do not rise to eulogize my friend. The name of Emmet belongs to history, and history will claim it. She has already prepared a niche for him beside the side of those illustrious brothers of a gifted family who descended long before him to their early graves.

"He was the friend of my younger days, and the object of my constant admiration, and I might speak of those days and tell of the trophies he had won before his sun had reached half its meridian of splendour. I might say how he lived in the hearts of millions in another land, but this would be to break in idly upon the sanctity of this solemn and affecting scene. Far better is his praise shown forth here at this moment by this assembly of all the aged and the young of that honourable calling of which he was so bright an ornament. Where years, and station, and dignity of worth bow down their heads, bend their looks to earth and think it not stooping when they do him reverence. What individual praise can equal this, what words, what human tongue can speak so movingly? And when the historian shall trace back that life which was dedicated to virtue and to honour, and would give some notion of those winning and endearing attributes that graced his loftier qualities, let him describe if he can this scene: let him tell not only how he lived, but how he died in the field of his renown, in the exercise of his great powers which failed him not till the hand of the Almighty, in the middle of his earthly glory, beckoned him to His presence: how he expired by the side of his faithful colleagues, and sunk into the arms of those honourable competitors upon whom he had so lately bestowed the meed of generous applause: how the death stroke that silenced evermore his eloquent tongue praised theirs also: how manhood's cheeks were wet with tender tears: how awful justice in the judgment seat held in her breath a while: how the hand long used to hold her balance in its steady grasp, laid it for a time aside lest it might tremble and falter in its office. Nor let the faithful historian fail to state in justice to a great community, to a people in whose laws is inscribed, and in whose manners and whose hearts is seated, the ennobling and exalted virtue of hospitality; how with a characteristic magnanimity and with one universal and spontaneous voice they honoured this beloved brother of adoption, whose excellence after four and twenty years of probation, they justly challenged as belonging to themselves. Long may it

be the proud and high prerogative of this great and happy nation, to receive into its bosom and draw to itself as to a free and happy haven the wealth and strength and intellectual treasures of less happy climes. Long may this pre-eminence endure, that in it the injured and oppressed may find a home, and the great and good man friends and brothers.

"I said I did not rise to eulogize my friend; but peculiarly as I stood related to him whom we all mourn, and with him to the many who will honour those who honour him, I thought it might not be, I hope it was not, unbecoming to express the feelings of, let me be allowed to call it gratitude, which pressed upon my heart."

A vote was then taken that a committee should be appointed to regulate the procession of the members of the bar in the funeral, and that they should proceed to the late residence of Mr. Emmet, after which the meeting adjourned until 11 o'clock. Between the hours of 11 and 1 o'clock, a large crowd assembled in Hudson square, and at 1 o'clock the procession began to move in the following order:

The Clergy.

Pall Bearers. The Coffin. Pall Bearers.

Friends of the deceased. Friends of the deceased.

Relatives of deceased.
Dr. Macnevin and Son.
High Constable.
Governor and Chancellor.
Former Chancellor.
Present and former Judges of the Supreme Court.
Judges of the United States Courts.
First Judge of Common Pleas and former Recorders.
Present and Former Attorney-Generals.
Clerk of County and Clerk of Oyer and Terminer.
Clerks of United States Courts and United States Marshal.
Clerks of Supreme Court and Register in Chancery and Surrogate.
District Attorney and United States District Attorney.
Members of the Bar.
Students of Law.
Sheriff.
Mayor and Recorder.
Members of Common Council.
Members of Common Council elect.
Citizens, two by two.

The official portion of the procession preserved its order throughout, after leaving Grace Church. But an addition to the procession soon formed in the side streets and as it got into line the citizen portion gradually extended from curb to curb. Apparently every man in the city and every Irishman accompanied by a son turned out to show their respect, but comparatively few individuals saw the head of the procession. They were kept for hours standing in line before they passed St. Mark's Church, with uncovered heads, and long after the body had been deposited in the vault.

The following are the names of the Pall Bearers:—His Excellency De Witt Clinton, Governor of the State of New York; Chancellors Kent and Jones; Judges Betts and Thompson; Nathan Sanford, and Martin Van Buren, Esqs., United States Senators; Messrs. William Sampson, John Chambers, Robert Swanton, D. B. Ogden, C. D. Colden, J. O. Hoffman, and Sam'l Boyd.

The procession in passing through Beach Street towards Broadway was joined

by multitudes of our citizens drawn together by the common sorrow of the loss of such a man. The streets were thronged and the windows filled with spectators as it proceeded. Arriving at Grace Church the funeral service was read by the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, after which the procession moved to St. Mark's Church-yard, where the body of the deceased was interred.

Here followed a sketch of Mr. Emmet's life by the editor of "The Post". The New York "Albion", 17th November, 1827, contained the following:

The melancholy death of this excellent man and distinguished advocate has been announced to this community, and excited a sympathy as honourable to its possessors as it was justly merited by the eminent virtues of him whose sudden and appalling demise all hearts deplore.

When an individual in ordinary life, whatever may be the purity of his character and the general elevation of his views, is snatched away from us, the loss penetrates the hearts of friends, and perhaps destroys for ever all the blessed and soothing joys, and all the affectionate endearment of the social circle in which he moved; but society feels not the event that has occurred, and the great machine rolls on with the regularity of undisturbed and noiseless progression. But when a man like Thomas Addis Emmet, whose name is engraved on the imperishable tablets of history, whose genius and whose eloquence have received the unbought tribute of both hemispheres, whose public and private course, whether as a patriot or a father, was a combination of unspotted honour, of the gentlest and kindest affections, and the warmest charity, the simple beauty of whose life was a commentary on what man may be in this transitory world, when such a man is struck down into the remorseless grave, the blood rushes back to the fountain of the heart, and we are lost in wonder as we contemplate the strange and unaccountable Providence which has hurried him so suddenly away. Emmet passed from before our eyes like a bright vision, he stood but now in the glorious panoply of talent and eloquence in the very hall of judgment, pursuing the noble career he had embraced with an ardour and devotion rarely witnessed at any time, but almost never at his period of life.

We heard his last effort, which, like the increasing splendour of the sun as it sinks to rest, seemed to grow yet more radiant with feeling and energy and all the attributes of genius, and in another moment, the heart that was ever filled with the noblest sentiments and the colossal mind which could patiently examine the arcana of practice, unravel the knotted combination of falsehood, or comprehend within its grasp the profoundest questions of government and politics, were palsied by the cold hand of relentless death! It is a consolation to those who loved him that he died in the full possession of his unrivalled faculties, and rich in the affections of all those who ever approached him.

To this community which he has so long served, his loss is a severe one; but to the brethren of the bar, perhaps his loss is irreparable. The amenity of his manners, the urbanity of his deportment, the excellence of his heart, and the kindness to the younger members of the profession, all rendered him a model for imitation, and are for ever engraven on the hearts of those with whom he was associated. Of that bar he might well be called the father, "et decus et tutamen"; perhaps we may say without offence to those who survive him, that whether we regard the virtues of the heart, the high sense of honour which characterized every action of his life, or the displays of his forensic talent, he has not left his superior behind him.

Mr. Emmet was born at Cork, April 24th, 1761—his father was a physician of great practice and reputation, and resided at Dublin, and Mr. E. after receiving a most liberal education devoted himself to the study of medicine. After passing some time at Edinburgh, he visited the schools of the Continent, and returned to Dublin having made all the acquisitions, which unremitted labour and a vigorous mind could

achieve at that period of life. We believe, however, that Mr. Emmet practised but little. The death of an elder brother, who even in this talented family was pre-eminent, changed his determination, and gave a direction to his future fortunes and laid the foundation for his future fame. Dr. Emmet wished him to embrace the profession of his devoted brother, and he immediately entered into its studies with an ardour proportioned to his future success. Called to the bar, he was immediately distinguished among his contemporaries and might have looked to the highest honours of his profession, had he squared his politics with his interests. Becoming the associate and friend of Curran, O'Connor, Grattan and Keogh, he espoused the cause of Ireland—a cause which at last brought his brother to the scaffold; and he was one (chief director) of the executive committee of United Irishmen in the memorable rising of 1798—and actively engaged in the organization of that society and its plans for revolutionizing Ireland.

Such was then his reputation at the bar, that he was invited to the important office of defending Archibald Hamilton Rowan; when he declined from the best motives, and yielded that task to the firmness and fearless devotion of Curran. He was soon called to experience the fate of his client—and with Macneven and many others he was imprisoned in the jail of Dublin, on a charge of high treason. After remaining here for some months without any overt act charged against him, overtures were made by the Government to him and the other prisoners to detail the plan of their intended revolution, and the names of those implicated in it, as the price of their release. The proposition was rejected with indignation as a reflection on their honour. Dr. Macneven and Mr. Emmet were the committee who received the offer. The prisoners were then removed to Fort George in Scotland and thus bonds which bound Mr. Emmet to a father, a gallant brother, and affectionate sister were severed forever. After two years more of lingering captivity, Mr. Emmet was released.

In 1804 he found a resting place in New York and soon won his way, and helped by his matchless eloquence, to add another triumph to the university of Irish talent. He first distinguished himself here in defending some fugitive slaves, and astonished his audience by the ardour of his enthusiasm and the novel excellence of his manner. He held for a short time in 1812 and '13, the office of Attorney-General of this State, but soon resigned the appointment, and never afterward sought or occupied a public station.

Simple and unostentatious in private life Mr. Emmet devoted his whole soul to his profession. Midnight orgies never followed the severe labours of the forum, and no client ever complained that the merits of his case had not been perceived and sustained. His knowledge was profound, his researches to his last moment unremitting, he possessed a mind of extraordinary comprehension and the strongest and most extensive powers of analysis—he enjoyed the secret of identifying himself with his case and adding a sort of professional interest to his professional obligation. Endowed with a brilliant imagination, fortified with accurate and discriminating views of English history, enriched with all the fruits of various knowledge and blessed with a noble enthusiasm, he appeared at the bar, the very model of a learned, accomplished, and eloquent lawyer.

To the Memory of T. A. Emmet.

The sun was low in the evening sky,
  Not a mist nor a cloud was before him;
And he ting'd the hills with so rich a dye
That had it not been for Him on high,
  The heart would have knelt to adore him.

On the orb of light as I stood to gaze,
With a sense of suppress'd devotion
I thought of Him who had lit his rays,
When sudden he sank and quenched his blaze,
In the waves of the Western Ocean.

Thus—Erin! thou, from thy isle of green,
With a sigh for his tearful story,
Tho' mountains of billows roll between,
In a burst of sorrow hast lately seen
The Patriot's setting glory.

His heart—his arm were once thine own,
When Liberty's trump was sounded;
But he found thee chained to a tyrant's throne
And he wept to leave thee thus alone,
Thy brightest hopes confounded.

He left the shores of the sea-green Isle,
And the scenes of his youthful pleasures;
But he found a home in the Freeman's smile
And he soothed his cares, and he shar'd a while
The Freeman's hallow'd treasures.

And now he is gone to a better world,
Where a brother had gone before him,
Despatch'd by oppression's bloody hand,
While he stood the chief of a patriot band
With the banner of Liberty o'er him.

And there he talks of his deeds of fame,
And of Erin's tears and sorrow;
And there he sees the oppressor's name
Obscured in the shades of deathless shame,
In the tyrant's dread to-morrow.

He sees from the high and holy sphere
The land where his form reposes:—
And he reads the hearts that love him here,
And he'll see the hands from year to year,
That shall strew his grave with roses.

"Pierre."

The foregoing verses were printed in the issue of the New York "Truth Teller" for November 17, 1827:

Thomas Addis Emmet.

(From a paper issued in New York, November 17, 1827.)

Fate gave the word, the arrow sped,
And death was on the dart;
The noble blood of Emmet fled
Like lightning from the heart.

And with it fled a stream of fire,
The glowing fire of mind,
Which, while it kindled brighter, higher,
Exalted, cheer'd, refin'd!

In life he ran a noble race—
His country, and her laws
Shone with a more enchanting grace
When Emmet led her cause.
O! there was eloquence of soul
To move the sturdy mind—
To bind it with a firm control,
Or shake it like the wind.

He sleeps among the coffin'd dead,
Beneath St. Mark's lone tomb;
Eternal flowers shall deck his bed,
And verdant laurels bloom.
Death loves a shining mark, 'tis said—
A rich, a golden prize;
And when with Emmet's soul he sped,
Joy sparkled in the skies.

In the New York "Evening Post", Monday, November 19, 1827, appeared the following:

NOTICE.—A meeting will be held of the naturalized citizens, of Irish birth and parentage, at Tammany Hall, on Wednesday evening next, the 21st inst., at 7 o'clock, in relation to their deceased and distinguished countryman, Thomas Addis Emmet.

MONUMENT TO MR. EMMET.

At a meeting of citizens of Irish birth and parentage convened by public advertisement and held at Tammany Hall on the evening of the 21st inst., Dr. George Cuming being called to the chair, and Alderman Campbell P. White appointed secretary,

Dr. Macneven, evidently under the influence of strong feelings, addressed to the meeting the following observations:

"The melancholy occasion which calls us together will be our apology for giving vent to Irish feelings, and assembling in the character of Irishmen at present. We have lost a friend who by his virtues and his genius was an honour to our native country—a country ever dear to our affections, though of late so fallen as scarcely to live in the knowledge of the world, or to honour and reputation, but through its exiles. If it were for nothing else than the reverence we bear our native land we owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of Emmet, for the beneficial influence he has shed upon the Irish character in the United States.

"Twenty years ago, as several here may remember, strong prejudices against the emigrants from Ireland prevailed widely through this city, and even reached some of the best men in the community. But they were prejudices and we had the consolation of seing them gradually give way before the bright example of great personal worth, conciliating manners, and the honourable employment of the highest intellectual powers. One incident of those times is fit to be recalled, as it forcibly exhibits the propriety of conduct which won esteem, and the sense of justice which prompted the eloquent and beautiful effusion contained in "The American" of 15th

of November—a tribute to the memory of our departed friend alike distinguished by good feelings, good taste, and the greatest felicity for expressing them. Deception will often come upon us from without, but the merit that redeems it is our own.

"Through all the city the public press took the same just and generous part; nor is this surprising, though it be praiseworthy. Men whose own vocation consists in the daily exercise of talents, frequently of a high order, could not but experience an instinctive sympathy and fellow feeling towards one whom talents so various and commanding had raised to undisputed eminence.

"For, an honour never conferred here before on a private citizen, our municipal fathers, in their corporate capacity, attended the obsequies of Emmet.

"The Grand Assize of this metropolis of the Union, a body that has rarely convened since the revolution, being assembled to try the validity of Captain Randal's munificent bequest, have it in contemplation to affix a tablet to our countryman's fame on the wall of the court where he fell—heretofore the scene of his usefulness—henceforward of his renown. Nor is it irrelevant for me to remark that his professional career at the New York Bar began in prosecuting a suit against negro slavery, and that its last act was a defence of charity.

"The Judges adjourned from the bench to attend him to his grave.

"The members of the Bar among whom he spent his life, and who must be admitted to be the most discerning judges of his character, of his genius, and of the vastness of his acquirements—the most capable to appreciate his unwearied toil, his urbanity to his compeers, his fidelity to his clients; the members of the Bar resolved with one accord to perpetuate the benefit of so illustrious an example, especially for the sake of junior members, by the erection of a monument. This inspiring incentive is likely to be placed in the daily view of the profession, to rouse the latent energies of genius to noble emulation, to kindle the rivalship of eloquence and proclaim the triumph of science and of labour.

"The Faculty of Physics of Geneva College wears mourning for an early member of the medical profession, and has appointed his distinguished contemporary and friend at the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Mitchell, to pronounce his eulogium.

'By strangers honored, and by strangers mourned.'

"After these kind-hearted, these generous proceedings of the Americans, what shall be the conduct of his fellow-citizens of Irish birth? They will indeed embalm the memory of Emmet in their hearts, but they will also leave behind them a less frail memorial of their esteem. They will erect an Irish monument to an Irish patriot, where, thank God! they have power to do it. And it shall revive, in associated remembrances, the names of many confederates of his sublimest purposes, who now sleep without their fame, whose epitaph is not yet written, but to whom this monument to a brother will be a cenotaph."

The following preamble and resolutions were then unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published.

Whereas, The life of the late Thomas Addis Emmet has been eminently honourable to the character and genius of our native country, and the country of our ancestors; and the deeming of it of service to the best interests of mankind to encourage, by due honours, an undeviating perseverance in the righteous use of the highest faculties, more especially when devoted to the paramount cause of Man's rights and liberties. Therefore

Resolved, That a subscription be opened for erecting a monument to the memory of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, commemorative of his virtues and genius.

Resolved, That in order to extend the right of joining in the subscription to the whole Irish population, no greater sum than three dollars to be received from any person.

Resolved, That our heartful and most grateful thanks are justly due, and hereby

most cordially and respectfully tendered to our American fellow citizens, for their generous and hospitable reception of Irishmen, giving us happiness and a home in the best and freest country in the universe.

Resolved, That the names of the subscribers to the Monument be inscribed upon a scroll of parchment, and deposited in a safe manner under the dome.

GEORGE CUMING, Chairman.
CAMPBELL P. WHITE, Secretary.

From the "Argus and City Gazette" (Albany, N. Y.), Wednesday morning, November 21.

At a meeting of the members of the Bar held in pursuance of public notice, at the Supreme Court Room, in the Capitol, on Monday the 19th of November, 1827, John V. Henry, Esq., was called to the chair, and Judge Duer appointed secretary.

The object of the meeting was briefly stated from the chair, to be the adopting of measures expressive of their regret for the lamented death of Thomas Addis Emmet, so long distinguished and so justly esteemed both for professional eminence and for his amiable character in private life.

Whereupon Abraham Van Vechten, Esq., after a few pertinent and feeling remarks, moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Harmanus Bleecker, Esq., and unanimously adopted, viz:—

Resolved, That the members of this Bar sincerely lament the death of their highly distinguished brother, Thomas Addis Emmet, and to manifest their respect for his memory and eminent talents, agree to wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

On motion of MR. JAMES KING, Esq., seconded by Judge VAN RENSSELAER,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the daily newspapers printed in the city of Albany.*

J. V. HENRY, Chairman.
W. A. DUER, Secretary.

*The same resolutions were printed in the "Albany Daily Advertiser", Tuesday, November 20, 1827.

By the statute for "Better securing the dependency of Ireland", formal renunciation was made of the vile connection between tyrant and slave.

T. A. Emmet.

Religion may be said to have separated Ireland into two people, the Protestants and Catholics; the Protestants were divided into the members of the Church of England and the Dissenters. Both of these had been in their origin foreign colonists.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXXII

A scholarly biographical sketch of Thomas Addis Emmet by William Cullen Bryant, published in the N. Y. "Evening Post"—Probably Mr. Bryant's first contribution after becoming editor—Correspondence of the committee with Governor De Witt Clinton in accordance with the request of the New York Bar to deliver the Emmet eulogy—The Albany "Daily Advocate" prints an account of a meeting held in that city to forward the Emmet Monument movement—The Randall farm and Sailors' Snug Harbor—Mr. Charles King's letter of condolence to the family—Report in the "Evening Post" of the Emmet Monument meeting held in New York and the names of those appointed to solicit subscriptions—A poem from the New York "Evening Post" to Mr. Emmet's memory.

FOR some time before Mr. Emmet's death he had been subjected in the New York "Evening Post" to ill-natured references, frequently of a personal character or bearing on his political course. Under the management of Cobbett, although he himself was an unnaturalized Irishman and had been actively associated with Mr. Emmet in Irish politics abroad, the paper had been inimical to Mr. Emmet from the time of his arrival in this country. But on the death of the chief editor a short time before Mr. Emmet's death the editorship was assumed by William Cullen Bryant and under his management a change took place in the tone of the "Post". In the issue for Wednesday, November 21st, 1827, the following sketch of Thomas Addis Emmet's life appeared as an editorial. It was from the pen of Mr. Bryant and was probably his first article subsequent to taking charge of the paper. Mr. Bryant wrote as follows:

By the death of Mr. Emmet the State of New York has lost one of the most learned lawyers that ever adorned her bar, and an advocate whose powers were unrivalled. Gifted with a mind of uncommon energy, he had cultivated it with singular industry. To a profound knowledge of law as a general science, and of minute acquaintance with the peculiarities of the legal system of Great Britain and our own country, he added a degree of scholastic learning to which few have arrived; he was well versed in classic literature, and he had directed his attention to every source from whence his mind could gather strength or derive improvement. He was educated for the medical profession, received the degree of M.D., and was considered by those who were best enabled to form a just opinion of the extent of his acquire-

ments, one who was destined to rise to the very head of the profession. Though his capacity, intellectual activity, and indefatigable perseverance would have given him proficiency and fame in any profession, yet it must be admitted that his talents were peculiarly fitted for the profession of law; he possessed that quickness of perception, that keen insight into human nature, that knowledge of the human heart, that skill in detecting its windings and developing its operations, and that power of successfully investigating the most intimate of human affairs, which the bar is so well calculated to call forth and to strengthen. The eloquence of Mr. Emmet was of a high order: it displayed all the ardency of feeling for which his countrymen are remarkable, controlled by a sound and discriminating judgment. With an imagination glowing at times with the brightest images of poesy; with a mind ever active, ever on the alert; with extraordinary logical ability, and an admirable command of language; his view of the subject upon which he spoke was always clear and comprehensive; he never left it until he had thoroughly examined and sifted it in all its parts and bearings; the arrangement of his argument was always lucid, and his diction well chosen; his rhetorical figures were often striking, and were generally introduced to give force and effect to his reasoning, not merely to please the ear, or to amuse fancy. His speeches have a solidity, an energy of language and a range of thought about them, which stamp them as the effusions of a man, of vigorous intellect, who feels the importance of his subject, and is fully in earnest with it; who is determined to fight his way to success, and cannot stop to entertain his auditors with his finely turned periods, or the graceful involution of his sentences. The manner of Mr. Emmet was extremely impressive. His voice was deep and well toned; though, in the latter part of his life, owing to the loss of his teeth, his enunciation was, at times, a little indistinct. His gesture was often vehement, but generally judicious and appropriate. Although on many occasions a very impassioned speaker, yet he never fell into that fervid monotony of manner which often characterizes such speakers: his pauses, and the cadences and inflexions of his voice, were proper and effective. Mr. Emmet's forte undoubtedly lay in the production and support of arguments to convince the judgment, which has induced many to regard him as a skilful and powerful reasoner, rather than a very great orator. But Mr. Emmet could touch the sensibilities and stir up the passions when he pleased, and the passages of pure, and even sublime eloquence, which occur in some of his speeches, establish his claim to the reputation of an eminent orator upon a firm and immovable foundation. In the biographical work which is to be written, it is to be hoped that his style of forensic oratory will be made a subject of particular observation and critical remark, and that the author will take pains to cull and collate the best specimens of his argumentive powers, and the most brilliant sallies of his fancy. It is a lamentable fact, that the posthumous fame of a great advocate is often ephemeral, for the want of some judicious and tasteful person, who should collect and arrange the interesting and valuable, but almost forgotten speeches, which he has delivered.

Of Mr. Emmet's character as a man, he was so generally known in this community, that little need be said. One, who had an opportunity of knowing well what he was, can bear witness to the amiability of his disposition, the excellence of his heart, and the highly honorable principles by which he was ever actuated.

"The mourner shall sit on thy tomb."

B.*

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*William Cullen Bryant became connected with the "Evening Post" in 1826 and was not in accord politically with William Coleman, who with the aid of Wm. Cobbett opposed Mr. Emmet whenever he could use his paper for the purpose. At the time of Mr. Emmet's death Mr. Bryant was temporarily in charge of the "Post" and was the author of the article just given and signed "B".

Mr. Bryant became editor of the paper early in December, 1827, and continued in charge until he retired on account of his advanced age, and throughout his life he was a personal friend of the different members of the Emmet family.

As already noticed, the New York "Evening Post", Tuesday, November 27, 1827, announced that Governor Clinton had complied with the wishes of the Committee of the Bar, and accepted their invitation to pronounce the eulogy on Mr. Emmet, in conformity to the resolution of the Bar of New York, adopted on the 16th inst.

The New York "Evening Post", November 29, 1827:

The following is the correspondence between the Committee of the Bar and the Governor, in relation to the eulogy of the late Mr. Emmet and addressed to Wm. Sampson, Esq.:

To His Excellency De Witt Clinton, Governor of the State of New York.

Dear Sir.—The committee for effectuating the resolutions of the Bar in this city in honor of Mr. Emmet, wishing that the fulfilment of their purposes should be attended with a distinction corresponding with that which has been so freely displayed by the community at large, invoke the aid of your talents, character, and station, and request that you will accept of the painful but generous office of pronouncing the eulogy voted by the second resolution; the time and place to be such as shall best suit your own convenience. I am sir, with great consideration, your obedient servant,

William Sampson,
Chairman of the Committee of the Bar.

Albany, 22nd Nov., 1827.

Dear Sir.—I have been honored with a letter from you, as chairman of the Committee of the Bar of New York, requesting me to pronounce an eulogium on the deceased Mr. Emmet, and leaving the time to my convenience. With the latitude allowed me as to time I shall certainly consider it due to the friendship (as ardent as sincere), which I always entertained for that illustrious man, and the high respect which I have cherished for his virtues and talents, to comply with a request which I consider an honor. I regret that my official duties and arrangements will not permit me to perform this sacred duty of friendship until May next.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully, your friend,

De Witt Clinton.

Wm. Sampson, Esq., Chairman &c.

The "Albany Daily Advertiser", for Thursday, November 22, 1827, printed the following:

The names of the gentlemen appointed on the committee to collect subscriptions for a monument to be erected in memory of the late Mr. Emmet, and to provide for a funeral oration and publication of a memoir, are as follows:

David B. Ogden, William Sampson, Peter A. Jay, James J. Roosevelt, Charles Baldwin, James Kent, and C. D. Colden, Esquires.

It is said that one gentleman, not a member of the bar, who was present at the awful event, has already subscribed a sum nearly equivalent to the purpose.

The above was reprinted from the New York "Commercial Advertiser".

The issue of the "Albany Daily Advertiser" of November 30 contains an exact copy of the resolutions passed at the Tammany Hall meeting on November 21st.

The Bar of New York have voted to erect a marble Monument to the memory of T. A. Emmet, Esq., who died last week of apoplexy. A memoir of his life is to be prepared, and a funeral oration delivered in testimony of his virtues and as an incentive to the junior members of the Bar.

Mr. E. came to this country from Ireland in 1804.

The wealthy corporation known to-day as the Sailors' Snug Harbor was founded on a bequest of Randal's farm, which at the time of Mr. Emmet's death was of little value. Captain Randal's will was contested and Mr. Emmet gave his services to the defence as a charity. To gain this suit, and on the same day another in which nearly all the property of John Jacob Astor was involved, he lost his life from excessive work.

One of the first letters of condolence received by the family after Mr. Emmet's death, as has been already stated, was from the eldest son of Rufus King. Social intercourse had existed between the young people of the two families even before Mr. King's death, but his son's expression of sympathy on this occasion engendered a state of good feeling which has remained unbroken.

The following letter was written to Robert Emmet, the eldest son, and was evidently in answer to one written immediately after Mr. Emmet's death:

Monday, 26 Nov., 1827

My Dear Sir:

I have just received your letter of Saturday, and will not disguise from you the gratification it afforded me. To have been the means of administering any, the smallest balm to affliction such as that which has befallen your family, is in itself a most cheering reflection. To be assured by you that in what I did say, *you* were not disappointed nor surprised, is to me at once, the most gratifying and the most delicate acknowledgment that my feelings were justly appreciated.

Permit me to add the hope, that in the graves of those whom Nature never meant for foes, may be buried, as to their survivors, all memory of the adverse circumstances that separated them, and to assure you on my part of the strong desire I shall ever entertain not to impair your kind estimate of me.

I beg you to present my most sincere and respectful condolences to your mother and sisters, and to believe me with great regard—

Your humble servant,

Charles King.

To R. Emmet, Esq.

From the New York "Evening Post", Monday, November 26, 1827:

Monument to Mr. Emmet.

At a meeting of the citizens of Irish birth and parentage, convened by public advertisement, and held at Tammany Hall, on the evening of the 21st inst., Dr. George Cuming, being called to the Chair, and Alderman Campbell P. White, appointed Secretary, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published:

Whereas, The life of the late Thomas Addis Emmet has been eminently honorable to the character and genius of our native country and the country of our ancestors, and deeming it of service to the best interests of mankind to encourage, by due honors, an undeviating perseverance in the righteous use of the highest faculties, more especially when devoted to the paramount cause of man's rights and liberties.

Therefore, *Resolved,* that a subscription be opened for erecting a Monument to the late Thomas Addis Emmet, commemorative of his virtue and genius.

Resolved, That in order to extend the right of joining in the subscription, to the

whole Irish population, no greater sum than three dollars be received from any one person.

Resolved, That our heartfelt and most grateful thanks are justly due, and hereby most cordially and respectfully tendered to our American fellow citizens, for their generous and hospitable reception of Irishmen, giving us happiness and a home in the best and freest country in the universe.

Resolved, That the names of the subscribers to the Monument be inscribed upon a roll of parchment, and deposited in a safe manner under the Dome.

GEORGE CUMING, Chairman.

CAMPBELL P. WHITE, Secretary.

The following gentlemen were then appointed to receive subscriptions in their respective wards:

First Ward.—Thomas Suffern, James McBride, William James, Henry Lowery, Cornelius Heeny.

Second Ward.—James McCurdy, John B. Montgomery, Edward McGaraghan, Lewis Cronly, Robert McKeon, Thomas Toole, Sen'r.

Third Ward.—Campbell P. White, James Magee, Samuel Craig, Edward Innes, George Gallagher.

Fourth Ward.—Dennis H. Doyle, William Agnew, Michael Conrey, William Clancey, John F. Gannon.

Fifth Ward.—William M. Carter, George Bowen, John Thomas, Samuel Brady, John Linn, Harris Blood.

Sixth Ward.—Rev. Edward Mitchell, General Lynch, Dennis McCarthy, John Chambers, Dr. S. Macauley, Dr. G. Cuming, Peter Davey, James Ballagh, James Ryan.

Seventh Ward.—Rev. Dr. Macauley, John Quin, John Ridden, John McGibben, Alexander Carscaddin, Patrick Sullivan, John Shannon, Lawrence Power.

Eighth Ward.—William W. Cowan, James Brown, John Caldwell, Michael Mulden, William Edwards.

Ninth Ward.—John Gibson, Lawrence Murphy, Col. S. E. Fotherall, Nicholas Sackan.

Tenth Ward.—David Atkinson, Bartholomew McGaraghan, Peter Duffy, Tighe Davy, Edward Cooper.

Eleventh Ward.—James Hays, Charles Coles, William Fitzgerald, Rowley Hogan, John Friel.

Twelfth Ward.—James Flanaghan, James Dobbin, Arthur McCarten, Peter McLaughlin, Charles Smyth, James W. Anderson.

Thirteenth Ward.—Francis Henrietta, Owen Connell, Andrew Fallon, Edward Flanagan, Mr. Little.

Fourteenth Ward.—Rev. Dr. Power, Rev. Dr. Feltus, Macneven, Bernard O'Connor, John Largy, Thomas Doyle, Michael Garvey, Mr. Usher.

The Boston "Recorder and Telegraph" for Friday, November 20th, 1827, said:

A bar meeting is called at Albany, to take measures for expressing the regret of the members at the death and memory of Mr. Emmet.

From the New York "Evening Post", December 1st, 1827:

Oh! shed not for Emmet the sorrowing tear!
He sunk in the midst of his glorious career;
When thousands in rapt admiration had hung
On the accents that burst from the eloquent tongue,

And the high halls of justice rung loud with the fame
Of the exiled patriot's far-honored name.
Oh, then came the summons, that moment 'twas given,
That call'd him before the tribunal of Heaven—
From judges of earth to the great Judge above;
Who enthron'd with his attributes, mercy and love,
Stretched forth his hand and severed the tie
That bound that bright spirit too long from the sky.
In an instant it burst from the mansion of clay
And triumphantly rose to the regions of day.
And the last parting beam of his genius was bright,
And glowing, and warm as the noonday of light;
And the flash of that ray still its brilliancy shed
When the light that had caused it forever had fled.
No fading in luster, no dimness was there,
He sank in the pride of his glorious career.
Like the sun, when his splendors are cloudless and high,
Eclipsed at his noon in the midst of the sky,
More dazzling he seems to remember, more bright
Than when slowly declining he sank into night.

MARY.

When England seemed to have added strength to her constitution by setting the House of Hanover on the throne, when her commerce and her arms had exalted her power and resources above every other European State, her policy towards Ireland could only be satisfied by the most unequivocal expression of the most unbounded despotism.

T. A. Emmet.

While the friend of freedom disdains to advocate the cause of the Irish Parliament, he must sympathize in the fate of the Irish people, through all the changes of British policy, still doomed to endure the bitter curse of insult and gloomy horrors of servitude, and still seize every opportunity which the history of that policy presents to illustrate its motives and to reprobate its injustice.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXXIII

Boston meeting in relation to the Emmet Monument—A New York meeting for the same purpose reported by the "Evening Post", with a list of officers—Harvey's Sketch—Meeting called in Philadelphia—Hibernian Relief Society of Boston—From the London "Times"—Letter from Dr. Macneven to Mr. Duponceau relating to Mr. Emmet —Comments on Macneven's letter—The writer's recollection of information obtained from his relatives in relation to Dr. Robert Emmet, T. A. Emmet and others—Report of a meeting held in Philadelphia to advance the movement for the Emmet Monument—A poem from the "Evening Post" to the memory of Mr. Emmet.

N the New York "Evening Post" for December 3d, 1827, was published an account of a meeting held in Boston to forward the movement for erecting the monument to Mr. Emmet's memory.

In New York at a meeting of the several committees appointed to receive subscriptions in their respective wards (held at the Broadway House on the evening of the 30th of Nov.) for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, a man whose virtues and talents will long be remembered and revered, both in his native and adopted country, Rev. Dr. Feltus was called to the chair, and John T. Dolan was appointed secretary.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed, and ordered to be published.

Resolved, That Dennis McCarthy, Esq., be Treasurer to the General Fund.

Resolved, That the chairman of each ward be requested to call together his committees as soon as convenient to carry their object into effect, and that they have power to add to their numbers.

Resolved, That the secretary of this meeting notify the chairman of each committee of the above resolution.

H. L. Feltus, Chairman.

John T. Dolan, Secretary.

The New York "Statesman" for Tuesday, December 4th, 1827, contained this "Sketch of Mr. Emmet":

Seldom has the death of an individual produced as strong a sensation in this country as that of the eminent counsellor and eloquent advocate, who has lately descended to the tomb, respected, beloved, and regretted. He had no enemies. But

his character was not negative; and his virtues created an unusually extensive circle of warm friends. The sympathies of the great and the good hallow his grave. His talents, eloquence and estimable character have called forth eulogies from the ablest pens. Every heart has been anxious to pay a voluntary tribute to his memory. We take great pleasure in presenting to our readers the following concise and eloquent sketch, which was handed to us last evening by a friend, who has often listened with admiration to a voice now mute, and who has drawn a portrait with such strong and vivid lineament, as not to be mistaken by any one that has ever seen the original at the bar.

Mr. Emmet commenced his career at the bar in New York in 1805, and soon rose to eminence in his profession. As a sound lawyer and able advocate he acquired indeed great and merited celebrity. His integrity of heart and irreproachable morals; his age, his past misfortunes, his retired and studious habits, his frankness of mind and his unaffected simplicity of manners, secured him universal respect; while his various talents, his professional abilities and his splendid eloquence rendered him at once the pride and ornament of the bar.

His name and character seemed to be associated with ideas of an elevated and reflective cast; with patriotism and moral courage, with dignity of mind and rectitude of purpose; with the gifts and dispensations of providence, the vicissitudes of life and the instabilities of fortune. He was an exile expatriated but not disgraced, deprest but not broken, venerable in age, illustrious in adversity. He was independent, indeed, but his independence was held by the painful tenure of incessant labour and unremitted exertion. He was ambitious, too; but his ambition was virtue, and its object, the fame of excellence.

His frame was bowed by the pressure of years; but his spirit was erect. The lustre of his eye was lost, and its vision impaired, but the light beamed undiminished. His infirmities were indeed apparent; but they were those of the body, not of the mind. I seldom saw him without reverting in imagination to the melancholy fate and heroic character of his brother; and never listened to him without calling to mind the genius, the eloquence and the sufferings of Ireland.

He came into the profession in the maturity of age and the fulness of his powers, with a mind conversant with its duties and its principles, but unwarped by its subtilties and unsullied by its collisions. He had no incipient, no probationary grade; but over all that was little or derogatory he rose at once and placed himself beside the ablest and most eminent. Nor was he mistaken in the estimate of his powers. Yet he relied not upon that rare and too often imaginary gift of intuition; nor did he depend exclusively upon a more certain resource, the abundance and variety of his previous acquirements. His confidence rested upon his ability to investigate and his power to comprehend.

To a sound understanding, cultivated by liberal studies and improved by experience, he added the most laborious diligence and persevering research. To every important cause, therefore, in which he was engaged, he brought a mind familiar with every principle applicable to its nature and prepared with every argument that could illustrate its merits.

His manner of speaking was original and peculiarly impressive. He was solemn and emphatic beyond any example in forensic eloquence. His age, his person, his voice, even the imperfection of his accent, conspired to render him one of the most interesting speakers at the bar.

But of the style of his elocution, I despair of giving any adequate idea. It is as difficult to describe, as it would have been to excel. His enunciation was deliberate and distinct, his air solemn and didactic. His emphasis was peculiarly strong, and his gesticulation bold and vehement. He possessed great compass of voice and indulged in unusual transitions—descending at times with great effect, from the utmost energy of expression to a low, prolonged and tremulous intonation.

When strongly impressed with the importance as well as the justice of his cause, he seemed to devote to it every faculty of his mind and body. His genius, his judgment, his stores of legal and classical learning, and his inimitable powers of development and illustration were all put in requisition. He exhausted resource of reason, of argument, and of eloquence. He threw into the scale the weight of his individual character; he staked his reputation for integrity; he pledged his faith, his judgment, and the character of his understanding! In these efforts he seldom failed of success, and never of impressing upon the minds of others the conviction of his own sincerity.

Confidence, decision and energy; an ardent love of civil and religious liberty; and an absolute devotion to a sense of duty, constituted the basis of his character: and upon this foundation he reared a column of fame, at once majestic and beautiful, breathing intelligence, excellence and grandeur.

Such is at least my conception of the talents and character of Emmet. He has paid the debt of Nature; but the grateful recollection of his virtues will long survive him; and long, in the language of the Patriot Bard of his native Isle, will his form

"Still lingering, haunt the greenest spot on memory's waste."

J. H.

The above was a newspaper clipping taken from a contemporary scrap book in which some one has added the initials, showing that J. Harvey was the author.

The New York "Evening Post" for December 4th, 1827, contained the following:

The Irishmen and descendants of Irishmen, in Philadelphia, are called upon to join their brethren of New York in expressing respect for the death, and respect for the memory of the late Thomas Addis Emmet.

From the New York "Evening Post", December 10th, 1827:

The Hibernian Relief Society of Boston, at their last monthly meeting, elected William Sampson and Robert Emmet, son of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, honorary members.

The London "Times", for Thursday, December 6th, 1827, contained the following:

In the New York papers of the 16th we find an account of the death of Mr. Emmet, who, since he escaped the fate of his brother, has been a distinguished ornament of the American bar. He was seized with a paralytic affection on the 14th, while attending the Circuit Court in New York, and died on the following day. We subjoin the account of this event, to show the estimation in which the last of the Emmets was held in the country of his exile.

This is followed by a quotation from the New York "American" of November 15th, 1827, which has been given above.

The appended letter from the Crimmins collection was not dated by Dr. Macneven, but bears his endorsement—"Dr. Macneven, 7 Dec.: 1827".

Dear Sir—I have to thank you for your various favours for the settlement of the note to Dalton among others. This was not presented for a couple of days after the time when it was made payable but was discharged as soon as offered, and I heard of no protest, nor was there any that I know of. I read with great pleasure and admiration your discourse on Chief Justice Tilghman. It is a philosophical and eloquent composition and you extricate your hero very dexterously out of his

supineness during the period of the revolution; and he made certainly great amends for it by the subsequent application of the knowledge and habits then acquired.

I find that the demise of the late Mr. Emmet produces a strong sensation in your city as well as here. Indeed such a man can very rarely appear, for many qualifications, mental and physical, that seldom unite, concurred to form his character. He was born with a happy genius, he had no irritability of constitution, but could be roused and animated by the convictions of his reason. His early studies were well directed, as his habits of labour continued unbroken throughout his life. He never had a dyspepsia, nor any of those nervous ailments, either natural or induced, which produce so much listlessness and loss of time in the best disposed and most inclined to work. His moral integrity could not be surpassed, and though no censurer of the faults of others, this was not from indifference, but from constitutional calmness and a command of temper, which this happy temperament rendered easy to practise. We were not relatives as you suppose; but intimate friends for thirty years, without the least coolness for all that time of severe and eventful trials.

Believe me with sincere esteem and respect

Your obed't,
Wm. J. Macneven.

Addressed to
P. S. Duponceau, Esq're,
Philadelphia.

Dr. Macneven was a close observer, and since he surpassed most of his cotemporaries intellectually, he would to a greater extent be able to appreciate Mr. Emmet's worth and character. Their close relationship through a long life and under such varied circumstances, gave the Doctor every opportunity for judging accurately.

Macneven's remark that "such a man can very rarely appear, for many qualifications, mental and physical, that seldom unite, concurred to form his character", cannot be passed without comment, bearing not only on Mr. Emmet individually, but relating equally to the whole family. We have seen Dr. Madden's opinion as given by himself, that this branch of the Emmet family constituted: "the most talented family in every respect that he had ever known". It was more, for every member of the family seemed to have been by nature perfect in character, and they maintained through their lives a degree of perfection, from a moral standpoint, seldom attained by any mortal on earth. And yet they were all absolutely free from what is termed religious influence, as to belief in special dogma. It was natural for them to observe every law of God and man; it was done apparently without effort on their part, as they seemed free from temptation.

The writer has given closer study to the life of his grandfather, Thomas Addis Emmet, than any one else. It has been the application of a lifetime, with advantages no one has possessed in the past or could gain in the future; he has formed the opinion that Mr. Emmet was free from every defect in character, and was as perfect a human being, from a moral and mental standpoint, as lies within the range of human possibility. Dr. Madden also records, as we have seen, the testimony of the Rev. Archibald Douglas, who knew Robert Emmet, that: "so gifted a creature does not appear in a thousand years". The mother spent her life in the obscurity of domestic surroundings

and we have nothing which throws direct light on her character save her letters to her son in Fort George, and particularly the one written after the death of her husband. Yet, no more evidence is needed as to her mental and moral qualities than the result of her training, as shown in the development of her children. The daughter was a remarkable woman as to her intellectual attainments, and she seems to have inherited her mother's character. Temple, the eldest son, died young, but he evidently possessed to the same degree the remarkable intellectuality of the family, and bore the character of a man of eminent worth.

The father was a noted intellectual man and one of great learning, but he was more human and lacked the repose of character and manner which all the other members of the family possessed to a degree that nothing seemed ever to disturb their even tenor. He was irascible, a characteristic none of the others possessed in the slightest degree.

The older members of the family often described to the writer, when a child, the appearance and peculiarities of the old gentleman. He employed a number of men in the cultivation of his garden and the care of the grounds. He spent several hours daily walking about and inspecting the work. He always walked with a long staff about his height, which he grasped in the middle, as was the fashion with many of the day. If while walking, generally with his left arm under the tail of his coat, he saw one of the men apparently neglecting his task, he would, in passing, knock him over with a rap on the side of the head and proceed on his way without a change in his expression or manner. Any other member of the family would have spoken a few words to stimulate the offender to greater effort. It is strange that this token of personal attention was never resented. As a matter of fact it was regarded by the workmen themselves as a joke, for all knew that in adversity they could not apply for relief to a better friend.

To return to the press notices of Mr. Emmet's demise, the Albany "Daily Advertiser" for Monday, December 24, 1827, contained the following:

On Saturday the 8th inst. a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, descendants of Irishmen, was held in the District Court Room, pursuant to notice. William Duane, Esq., was called to the chair, and Messrs. John Horner and William Wilson appointed secretaries.

The meeting was addressed by General Robert Patterson, and pursuant to a resolution offered by him, and adopted, committees were appointed for each ward, to receive the contributions for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of Thomas Addis Emmet. Wm. S. Duane, Esq., has been requested to deliver an eulogium.

From the New York "Evening Post", December 26th, 1827:

The following lines, written in honor of one of Ireland's favorite sons, are from the pen of an unknown correspondent:

EMMET.

We mourn him!—for in reason's art
There is no magic found
To bind and heal the bleeding heart
While memory clings around.

Verses to Mr. Emmet's Memory

We sigh o'er visions passed away,
  We mourn the moments fled—
The hope, the life of youth's sweet day—
  And we must weep the dead!

We mourn him!—for the fearless voice,
  The deep and thrilling tone,
That call'd the spirit to rejoice
  In eloquence—is gone!

The eye, that flashed with holy light,
  The radiance of the mind,
Hath past, like the meteor of the night,
  That leaves no trace behind.

We mourn him, though in strength he died,
  As one who ne'er could yield,
Like warrior in his victor pride
  Upon the laurel'd field.

A glorious meed his genius won—
  To sink untamed, and be
Triumphant to the last, as none
  Can triumph but the free.

And yet we mourn him!—for he came
  O'er ocean's bounding waves
From our green land—her clouded fame—
  Her altars, and her graves.

But still her spirit breathed around—
  In loveliness, the tone
Of her wild song, and sorrows found
  His faithful heart her own.

We mourn him!—though we know that earth
  Claims but her kindred clay—
That these weak bonds of mortal birth
  Must break and fall away:

But that the spirit, far on high,
  Its pure response hath given,
Above yon calm and glorious sky,
  Amid the courts of heaven!

M.

A people owe no obligation whilst force and not choice compels them to submission.
John Locke.

A Statesman . . . is a gift from Heaven; Heaven has not seen fit to bestow that gift upon Ireland; but as God afflicts those whom He loves, Heaven must have loved Ireland dearly.

Attributed to R. E. in Whitty's "Life of Emmet".

Chapter XXXIV

Mr. Emmet's death noticed throughout the country—An extended biographical sketch of Mr. Emmet's life by an anonymous writer, published in Philadelphia—A memorandum given Dr. Madden by Mr. Emmet's son—Offer to Mr. Emmet of solicitor-generalship of Ireland—Comment of Peter Burrowes on Mr. Emmet's career in the United States—C. H. Teeling's reflections on Mr. Emmet's death and course in this country—Dr. Mitchell's discourse.

FTER Mr. Emmet's death the press throughout the country commented to an unusual extent upon his character and his course as a public man. Many of these writers must have known Mr. Emmet personally, and not a few were exiles like himself, who had been more or less associated with him in the Irish troubles of the day. Unfortunately the files of but few newspapers of this period were preserved, and we are thus deprived of much which would have been given as reminiscences, based upon personal observation. The writer has been able to obtain few notices of Mr. Emmet's death from newspapers printed out of the city of New York; the following accidentally came into his hands as a clipping made at the time. It is taken from the Philadelphia "Saturday Evening Post" of December 15th, 1827. Notwithstanding the fact that much to which this article refers has already been considered, it is valuable as a *résumé,* and is as follows:

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

A MAN MISFORTUNE COULD NOT BEND.

Since reason, then, can privilege a tear,
Manhood, uncensured, pay that tribute here
Upon this noble urn.

As the name of Emmet is connected with Irish history, and as he was for many years an ornament to this, his adopted country, the events of his diversified life are worthy of record, and cannot fail to interest.

The Bar of New York have appointed one who is well acquainted with the early history and political career of Mr. Emmet, to compose a memoir of his life. As it will be some time before this work makes its appearance, the following sketch may not be unacceptable to the public.

Thomas Addis Emmet was born at Cork, on the 24th of April, 1764; his father, Dr. Robert Emmet, was a physician of great reputation and extensive practice, and held for some years the situation of "State Physician." He intended to bring up Thomas to his own profession; accordingly when the studies of the University were over, he was sent for his medical education to the celebrated school of Edinburgh. After receiving his degree of M.D. he visited most of the schools and hospitals of the Continent, and returned to his native country, with an intention of commencing the practice of his profession. The death of his elder brother, Temple Emmet, a barrister who had advanced himself to the front ranks of the legal profession, and who was cut off before he had reached the meridian of life, gave a new direction to his future labours—in compliance with the request of his father, and in accordance with his own inclinations, he turned his attention to the study of law*—his assiduity was great, and soon after his call to the Bar he distinguished himself as a profound lawyer and powerful advocate—with his learning, his eloquence, and the respectability of his connection, there can be little doubt that if his political conduct had been dictated by a selfish prudence, he might have aimed with success at the highest honours of the bench—but such was not the case.

To those who are acquainted with the history of Ireland, it is unnecessary to describe the manner in which that ill fated country has been oppressed, from the invasion of Henry the second, down to the present time; suffice to say, that the Irish have experienced the treatment of a subjugated people, whose proud and distrustful conquerors were determined to do everything which lay in their power towards breaking their spirit, and prostrating their national strength. The Catholics have been in a peculiar manner, the objects of the severity and vengeance of the British Government—the Statutes of Elizabeth, iniquitous as they were, were but the commencement of the studied system of tyranny which they had to endure,—its completion was left to the authors of the British revolution—their most galling fetters were fastened upon them by the boasted preservers of English liberty.

It was natural to suppose that a majority of the Catholic population would rally around the standard of James the second, when deprived of his throne for his exertions in favour of that church, to which they were enthusiastically attached—they regarded him as a sufferer for the faith, and entered into his cause with zeal—the battle of the Boyne annihilated their hopes; the victory of William was complete and decisive—they were thrown into the power of a foe flushed with success and irritated at the daring resistance of those whom they considered and treated as rebels,—the arm of legislative oppression was raised against the whole mass of the Irish Catholics, and it seemed as if their subjection was to be ensured by stripping them of every vestige of political power or influence, and a general conversion to Protestantism to be effected by a series of the most offensive and degrading marks of inferiority. It was not to be expected that so ardent a people as the Irish would bear with patience this load of oppressive enactments—but they were too firmly riveted to be easily shaken off—insurrections of the populace only served to incense, and increase the severity of Government—the acts of atrocity which the pressure of want, or the spirit of revenge induced them to perpetuate, were visited with vindictive retribution, and were used as a pretence to show the inexpediency of abrogating any part of the penal code, whenever any attempt of that kind was made by those of rank and influence who mourned over the wretchedness of their native land, or those who in a sister kingdom could feel compassion for a people whose minds were abased, whose energies were dwindling away, and whose prosperity had departed under the depressing and disastrous operation of this arbitrary code. The Volunteers of Ireland who had associated for the noblest and most patriotic purposes might have raised the country from her state of humiliation, but they dispersed at the request of their leaders, at the head of whom was the Earl of Charlemont, without having done anything of importance towards it. The revolution of France hailed by the friends of liberty through-

*This is not strictly correct. Dr. Emmet did study law after the death of his elder brother, but before his brother died he had been for some time in successful practice of medicine, and for at least a year he held from the Government the position of "State Physician" in conjunction with his father.

out the British Empire, as the dawning of a new era—the tree of freedom which was there planted, they fondly hoped would thrive and spread until the remote nations of the earth should rest beneath its branches—it was not then foreseen how soon that sun, which rose so full of promise, should become obscured, and at length "sit in darkness and in night." While various associations were formed in England and Scotland, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain a reform in the House of Commons, a society was instituted in Ireland, called the Society of United Irishmen, whose great object was to obtain an adequate representation of the Irish people—of this society, which numbered among its members many persons of superior talents, Mr. Emmet became a member.

The leaders of the opposition in Parliament were inclined at first to approve of the confederacy, but their opinions changed when the society came out with a declaration of their principles, against Mr. Grattan, and in favour of annual parliaments and universal suffrage.

On the 28th of April, 1794, the Reverend Mr. Jackson, a member of the society, was arrested upon a charge of high treason—Mr. Emmet was retained as one of his counsel—Mr. Jackson died upon his trial, in consequence of some poison which he had taken. About the same time, Archibald Hamilton Rowan was arrested for some political publications—he made his escape from prison on the 1st of May following—he was a gentleman of excellent abilities, and had acted for some time as secretary of the society. The fate of these members so far from damping the spirit of the confederacy seemed to nerve their determination, and add vigour to their perseverance. In 1795, an union of the various branches of the society, a Directory was effected by Theobald Wolfe Tone, an ingenious, active, enterprising member—the test of association was then altered, and the views of the Society were no longer bounded by the prospect of a parliamentary reform—to use their own language, this test embraced both the republican and the reformer, and left to future circumstances to decide to which point the common strength would be directed, but still the whole body we are convinced would rejoice to stop at reform.

Mr. Emmet became a member of this united system in 1796, and was made one of the Directory. The aim of the society was now to attempt a revolution by calling in the assistance of France, and plans were laid, and negotiations entered into for that purpose—a stop, however, was put to their exertions by the treachery of a member.

One Thomas Reynolds, a mercer, whose wealth gave him considerable influence over his Catholic brethren was induced through the persuasions of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Bond, to attach himself to the cause—he was advanced to some important offices in the society, and admitted to the confidence of its chiefs—instigated either by avarice or fear, he made a conditional disclosure of the purposes of the society, for which he received a reward of five hundred guineas. In consequence of this development of their designs, the thirteen Leinster delegates were seized together with their papers on the 12th of March, 1798, and on the same day Mr. Emmet, Dr. Macneven, Mr. Bond, Mr. Sweetman, Henry Jackson and Hugh Jackson were arrested, and warrants were issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. McCormack, and Mr. Sampson. After remaining some time in prison Mr. Emmet, Dr. Macneven and Arthur O'Connor were examined before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords. During the long examination which he underwent, Mr. Emmet explained the objects of the Directory while he was a member of it, avowed an intention of separating from Great Britain, and of calling in the aid of France, and brought forward some arguments to prove that Ireland would prosper as a separate nation; he indignantly repelled the charge that any of those in power were to be put to death, and when he described the manner in which their opponents were to be treated, Lord Dillon remarked "Mr. Emmet, you have stated the views of the executive to be very liberal and very enlightened, and I believe yours were so." Mr. Emmet and some other prisoners were afterwards conveyed to Fort George, in the Highlands of Scotland; while confined there, repeated applications were made for months to the Irish ministry that Mrs. Emmet might be permitted to visit her husband, but in vain—the request was made at length to the Duke of Portland, who granted it upon condition, that

she should see him in the presence of a person in the service of the Government, and that care should be taken that no letters or papers were carried by her into, or out of the Fort. The favour with such a condition annexed to it, was properly declined. Mrs. Emmet and her children, were afterwards, however, permitted to reside with him. One little circumstance will serve to show the respect which was felt for Mr. Emmet, even by those whose political opinions were diametrically opposed to his, and who discharged in fact, the ungracious office of his gaolers. A fire broke out in one of the apartments of the Fort; as its magazine contained a quantity of gunpowder, the fire, as well may be supposed, occasioned no inconsiderable degree of alarm and apprehension among the imprisoned—it was extinguished, however, with little difficulty, and without having done any material damage, but a polite note to the following effect was sent to Mr. Emmet, that as the fear of a like accident must be peculiarly distressing to a lady, circumstanced as Mrs. Emmet was, the doors leading from Mr. Emmet's room shall in future be left unlocked.

After lingering out a tedious confinement of five or six years, the light of happier days shone around him; the portals of his prison were opened, and he was allowed to depart and reside in any country at peace with Great Britain.

Mr. Emmet went to France; while there the tidings of the unsuccessful insurrection, and the execution of his younger brother Robert, reached him—in deep affliction for the melancholy fate of an only and beloved brother, whose talents and noble feelings had commanded the admiration even of his enemies; ruined in fortune, and an exile from his native land, Mr. Emmet set sail for America.

When he arrived here he had prejudices to struggle against, and difficulties to contend with—for though his misfortunes had fallen upon him in consequence of his ardent attachment to republicanism, and though the two great parties that divided the country both claimed the appellation of republican, yet such was the abhorrence which was felt by one of them for everything that savoured of what were termed French principles, that many had not only beheld with complacency the war which was waged by Britain against the French republic, but had very nearly approved of those arbitrary measures of the former to repress all internal disaffection, discussion and attempts at reformation which called forth the bold and unqualified condemnation of the opposition members of the British Parliament. Mr. Emmet therefore as one who had rendered himself obnoxious to the British Government for his designs of revolutionizing Ireland, who had looked to France for assistance in the undertaking, they were little inclined to countenance. Another circumstance added to the gloom which hung over his professional prospects; consulting his feelings more than his interests, Mr. Emmet addressed a letter to Rufus King in which he charged that gentleman with having unfeelingly and unwarrantably interfered as American Minister to prevent his coming to America, and thereby occasioned an addition of some years to his imprisonment, and the loss of his brother who had intended to accompany him. This letter kindled a flame of resentment in the breasts of the friends and partisans of Mr. King, who were then very numerous in the city of New York, and among whom were some of the most eminent members of the legal profession. Mr. Emmet was attacked and abused in the public prints—and those in whom political hostility had stifled every liberal feeling, exerted themselves to shut him out from all participation in their professional business*—the consequence was, that the man who had refused the Solicitor-Generalship of Ireland, as the price of political apostasy, and who was destined to become the head of the bar of the State of New York, commenced his legal career in America by conducting a cause before a justice's court in the city of New York.—It was not long, however, before Mr. Emmet had an opportunity of displaying his powers before a more fitting tribunal, where his mental resources and commanding eloquence called forth the admiration and applause which they deserved—his gentlemanly deportment, and the conciliatory urbanity of his manners, disarmed the violence of polit-

*The writer is clearly confused as to the *post hoc* and the *propter hoc*. Mr. Emmet's letter defeated Mr. King in his election and brought him so many friends that he had no difficulty afterwards.

ical animosity; his business increased and at length there was hardly a case of importance brought before the Supreme Court of the State in which he was not retained as counsel; and he took his stand among the most distinguished lawyers at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States—great and varied as was his practice, his industry enabled him to make each case the subject of minute examination.

When turned of sixty he exhibited all the mental vigour and activity of a man in the prime of life—he was Attorney General of the State of New York from the 12th of August, 1812, until the 13th of February, 1813, from which time until his death he devoted himself exclusively and assiduously to his profession, without seeking or desiring any official station. His address to the jury in the great ejectment suit of Astor, which was the last he ever delivered, was one of his most powerful argumentative efforts—he spoke for four hours, and it was observed that his exertions were peculiarly great.

When he came into court the next day to discharge his duty as counsel in the case of the Sailors' Snug Harbour, he felt as well as ordinary. In the course of this trial he turned to the lawyer who sat next to him, and made an observation to him, but in such a manner as to be altogether unintelligible—he then put his hands to his eyes, and laid his head upon a book which stood upon the table at which he sat. He shortly afterwards raised his face and there was something so deathlike in the expression of his countenance, that the immediate impulse of the gentlemen near him, was to take him in their arms. As he had now become insensible, he was extended upon the carpet of the court-room and the most eminent of the medical faculty were immediately sent for—he was bled in the temple and in the arm and every endeavour was made to revive him; but in vain—he died at 12 o'clock in the night of the same day, November the 14th, 1827.

It is difficult to determine in what department of legal learning Mr. Emmet was the greatest proficient; he studied so faithfully and investigated so thoroughly every case which came before him that he completely mastered all its points, and was perfectly at home upon every question that arose—he was well versed in general science and scholastic learning, and had stored his mind with the choicest products of ancient and modern literature. His perception was quick, and his knowledge of mankind was very great. Few were better calculated to tear the visor from hypocrisy, to bring to light a hidden fraud, or to trace their course through the labyrinth of a complicated case.

The eloquence of Mr. Emmet was energetic and impassioned—he always spoke like a man in earnest and anxious to convince—his fancy was often vivid but always controlled by a clear and discriminating judgment—he sometimes appealed and most effectively to the feelings—he could excel in the pathetic, and his powers of wit and sarcasm were considerable; but he was peculiarly remarkable for his argumentative ability—his command of language was great, and his expressions were often refined and eloquent—but his style was in general more conspicuous for its strength than its floridity. His speeches are those of a powerful advocate and skillful logician, who is more desirous of gaining his cause than of amusing his audience. The manner of Mr. Emmet was forcible and impressive, his gestures were sometimes vehement and rapid, but often graceful and generally appropriate. Mr. Emmet was a man of an amiable and benevolent disposition, of warm and liberal feelings, and of high, honorable principles. In him his unfortunate and indigent countrymen ever found a friend and benefactor; he was ready to assist them with his advice and his purse was open to their wants. The rising members of the bar he incited and encouraged, and the elder members found him a brother upon whose faith and honour they could implicitly rely. No professional man was more generally esteemed and respected, and those who had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him, will long cherish the memory of one who was endeared to them by so many virtues.

J. B. S.

The name of the writer of this article is unknown, but it contains certain statements which are not strictly correct. These, however, are of minor importance, but their existence shows that the writer had not an intimate per-

sonal knowledge of Mr. Emmet's life abroad, and possibly he had but little in this country beyond that pertaining to his professional and general standing. He was in all probability of the legal profession and from certain peculiarities in spelling and punctuation, which were more characteristic at the time this was written than at the present, was most likely an American by birth. It is quite probable that he was in the court at the time of Mr. Emmet's seizure, for his description deals more with details, as if from personal observation. It is also a somewhat different version from any other to which access was obtained among the accounts found in the newspapers.

Until this work was written the public was unaware that Mr. Emmet had ever declined to accept the position of Solicitor-Generalship of Ireland, offered by the British Government as what "J. B. S." of Philadelphia has aptly termed "a bribe for his political apostasy". It is the writer's belief that it would be difficult to present an instance of any political prisoner suffering to a greater degree, or surviving what was inflicted on Mr. Emmet while at Kilmainham for refusing this bribe. Mr. Emmet never regarded the Government's effort to silence him as an honor or even a matter of importance, consequently it was soon forgotten, and but for this casual mention in the sketch quoted above the world would have never learned anything in relation to it.

It is a matter of interest to place on record that had Mr. Emmet accepted the office he would have been the successor of Toler, the Solicitor-General and a member of the Beresford faction which Lord Fitzwilliam, on becoming Viceroy, insisted should be removed. On Camden's becoming Viceroy, Pitt promoted Toler to a judgeship with a title, and he became the infamous Lord Norbury.

During a conversation having little bearing on Irish affairs, Judge Robert Emmet, about a year before his death in 1872, referred casually to this incident which the writer then learned for the first time. The judge was rather annoyed at being closely questioned on a subject which he had long forgotten and had never regarded as of importance. He clearly stated that it was only after the death of his father that he himself had been informed of the affair by Dr. Macneven, to whom also it had only been accidentally recalled, after having been for many years overlooked as a matter of trivial importance. It was not till more than a century had passed and the author, who had free access to the correspondence of many then in public life and had completed his work that the consequences of Mr. Emmet's refusal to become an English partisan became manifest to him.

During Mr. Emmet's imprisonment at Kilmainham he was made to suffer to the utmost under the care of Trevor, one of Castlereagh's tools. Mr. Emmet was just the kind of subject on whom Trevor would have gloried in administering every form of cruelty his brutal nature could devise, asserting, as usual, that he was acting directly under orders from Government. Mr. Emmet had no proof that he was peculiarly a victim of Castlereagh's cruelty, and if he had he would never have given the Irish Secretary any intimation of his suffering.

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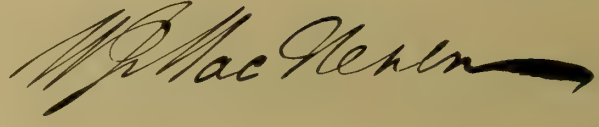

Castlereagh was in full power while Robert Emmet and St. John Mason were prisoners at Kilmainham, and Mr. Emmet having been released and in Paris, obtained accurate information of the treatment they received from Trevor as Castlereagh's representative and this he resented bitterly. Dr. Macneven on several occasions stated that he believed, that with the exception of Castlereagh, there was no man in Ireland at whose hands Mr. Emmet had suffered towards whom his enmity did not soften in time, giving place to a feeling of charity, but his hatred of Castlereagh seemed to increase in bitterness to the hour of his death.

Dr. Macneven also informed Judge Emmet that so little had Mr. Emmet given thought to the attempt made by the Irish Government to bribe him that he had never made any reference to the circumstances in after life and must have soon forgotten it; and the Doctor expressed the belief that at the time of Mr. Emmet's death there was probably no one living who had ever heard of the incident. The mystery then becomes the greater as to the time and manner whereby "J. B. S." could have gained knowledge of the fact that Pitt offered the position of Solicitor-General of Ireland, to Thomas Addis Emmet before he had reached his twenty-ninth year, and that Emmet had rejected with contempt the offer to gain his political apostasy.

It is scarcely possible that either Mr. Emmet or Dr. Macneven, who were the only persons in this country who knew anything of the circumstances, would have mentioned to another something the importance of which was never appreciated and had, in fact, been forgotten. It had certainly never been mentioned in Ireland, where it could only have been heard of from officials of Dublin Castle. But these officials were silenced, as Pitt had no desire to make a martyr of Mr. Emmet, whose influence among the Irish people was already too great. Pitt's enmity towards Mr. Emmet to the last was an unfortunate barrier to justice ever being done to his political course in Ireland. As shown by the official press of the day and by every public record, every means was taken to underrate or falsify the importance of each incident in connection with Mr. Emmet's course. The result is that the Irish people themselves, unless from personal experience, know less of Mr. Emmet's work than of that of any other leader. He has been represented as an honest, simple-minded man of no force of character, and the task of presenting evidence to the contrary is thus rendered more difficult.

In his letter accompanying the material sent to Dr. Madden to assist him in the memoir of his father, Mr. T. A. Emmet, Jr., wrote:

> With all the qualities that distinguish a humane, just, and generous mind, he had a bold, enterprising, active, and sanguine disposition. He knew his country's history too well to be in doubt as to the true causes of her misery, and he could not in silence brood over wrongs which by his exertions might possibly be redressed. In this he had no ambition to gratify, or individual benefits to obtain, but everything to risk on the troubled water of revolution, uncertainty and danger. He wrote many political essays, which can probably be better obtained in Ireland than here; there are none among his papers. The details of the part he took in the rebellion can also be better obtained from persons in

Ireland. It was a subject upon which he never conversed with his family, nor has he left any papers whatever relating to it.*

A sketch of Mr. Emmet's career cannot be given in more truthful terms than has been expressed by Dr. Madden in the following words:

The man who was deemed a traitor in his own land—who had been engaged in what was termed an unnatural rebellion, and is thought in England, even by men of great intellect, detestable treason; whom it was proposed in parliament to hand over, with his associates, to a drum-head court-martial, and to hang or shoot in a summary manner, for the benefit of society and the sake of the British constitution in Ireland, as the institution of Orangeism was then interpreted—thus died in America in such honour and renown as no language can exaggerate. It was not in one city or in one state, at his death, where expression was given to feelings of admiration for his great worth and virtues and noble intellectual gifts—of respect for the consistency of his patriotism and the solidity of his opinions on all public subjects—and of veneration for the memory of this great, good man—but throughout the whole Union these feelings prevailed; and this tribute was unanimously accorded to the departed worth and excellence of Thomas Addis Emmet.

In the "Memoir" of Peter Burrowes, a life-long friend of Thomas Addis Emmet, it is stated:

Thomas Addis Emmet was a man of uncommon promise. Possessed of a most powerful and comprehensive mind, his talents were of an order to command notice anywhere. Warm in his affections, unflinching in his adherence to his principles, he richly deserved the admiration of his friends. United by college and professional ties, they contributed a glorious celebrity to the proceedings of the College Historical Society. His splendid career at the American Bar reflects a lustre on his native land. Surrounded by a host of envious rivals, he soon eclipsed them all by the sole effect of his commanding genius. The labour of his intellect pressed forward to distinction, and men of high endowments and rare acquirements were forced back to make room for his reputation. He rose to the highest rank in his profession, and would have been elected to Congress had he so ambitioned. The honours paid to his memory are too notorious to require repetition here; suffice it to say that his funeral obsequies were as distinguished as those of either Washington or Franklin.

Charles Hamilton Teeling, a United Irishman, in his "Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion of 1798" (London, 1828) wrote:

Even now while my hand traces this page, I hear the death of Thomas Addis Emmet announced. The mournful intelligence has been conveyed to his country through the journals of the United States. Full of years and full of virtues, he has terminated an eventful but honourable life, and, in his death, one of the brightest links that united the suffering friends of benevolence, has been broken. If sentiments purely disinterested and unambitious ever influenced the breast of man, it was the breast of Emmet.

High-minded, generous, and sincere, he was a self-devoted victim for the preservation of others. Unrivalled in talent and unbending in misfortune, he won the admiration of a generous people, who were proud to estimate the qualities of the man whose virtues shed a lustre on the land of his adoption; and while the friends of freedom, in the old and the new world, shall mourn his loss, the life of Thomas Addis Emmet will be regarded as a model for the patriots of future years.

At a special meeting of the Medical Faculty of Geneva College, held on the

*Mr. Emmet had evidently forgotten what Dr. Macneven had published in "Pieces of Irish History" forty years before, and not a member of the family knew that there existed in the family possession at that time what has been published in this volume.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

From an original pen drawing of Dr. Sam'l Mitchell, made by Dr. J. P. Emmet in 1819 while the Professor was lecturing

1st of March, 1828, it was unanimously resolved that Professor Hosack and Doctor Macneven be a committee to wait upon Dr. Mitchell and request a copy of his Biographical Discourse, delievered on the late Thomas Addis Emmet, for publication.

The Discourse* was printed and from its pages we have been obliged to quote as from the only authority concerning Mr. Emmet's course while studying medicine at the university of Edinburgh, where he and Dr. Mitchell were fellow-students. The delivery of this memoir was a notable event. Dr. Mitchell had been called on by the city authorities, and the request strengthened by the petition of many of the most prominent citizens of the city. It was at first intended that the delivery should take place in the court-room where Mr. Emmet was stricken, but this project was abandoned, as the room was too small for the purpose, and the Governor's room, on the same floor and extending nearly the length of the front of the building, was selected. The court-room was situated on the northeast corner and directly across the entry from the Governor's Room. Mr. Emmet had fallen about ten feet to the west of the court entrance, with his back directly to the dividing entry wall; a mural tablet just above marked the spot for many years. At the time of the delivery of the address, every available space in which a chair could be placed, was occupied throughout the long and wide entry, the court-room and Governor's room, while the stair-way was crowded by others standing as far as the voice of the speaker could be heard. Such a dense throng of people has at no other time been collected in the building, nor was there an equal space under any roof in the city where so many could have been assembled.

The reader's attention is called to the sketch of Dr. Mitchell, probably as perfect a likeness as could be obtained at the time without the aid of photography; in fact it may be said to be better than a photograph, as the artist has caught a characteristic expression which the matter-of-fact camera often misses. It was drawn with a pen by the father of the writer, Dr. John Patten Emmet, who was at the time a student of medicine, and the sketch was made while the professor was lecturing, clearly showing the natural artistic talent of the Emmet family, which has been exhibited by some member in each generation for several centuries. Many years ago this drawing was borrowed and privately reproduced and the authorship attributed to another. The original drawing, with the inscription, which is in the possession of the writer, was vouched for by the older members of the family, who were familiar with its history.

In his address Dr. Mitchell confirms to a remarkable degree every statement made by others as to Mr. Emmet's character; his uniform kindness to the younger members of the profession, his remarkable literary attainments, natural talents, which reached a phenomenal degree of development, to repeat which would be a work of supererogation.

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*A Discourse on the Life and Character of Thomas Addis Emmet, pronounced, by request in the City Hall, on the First Day of March, 1828, by Samuel L. Mitchell, New York: Printed by E. Conrad, 11 Frankfort Street (New York) 1828.

He, however, stated:

It has been considered remarkable that a man who spoke so much, and frequently so well, should have written and printed so little; differing in this respect so materially from his countrymen, Curran and Phillips. I never heard any special reason assigned for such omission to publish. Every gentleman, however, who has been accustomed to speak in public knows that the labour of writing out a speech, is very considerable, whether the orator reduces it to manuscript before delivery, or performs that task afterwards. It is often a piece of heavy drudgery.

There are nevertheless several tracts, besides the medical essays before mentioned, which ought now to be noticed. He has left for example a composition which is entitled, "Part of an Essay towards the History of Ireland". It was published in a collection made by his friend and fellow-sufferer, the learned and accomplished James Macneven, at New York, in 1807, under the title of "Pieces of Irish History, illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the origin and progress of the political system of the United Irishmen, and of their transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government".

It commences with the ridiculous and contemptible character, as he terms it, of the Irish Parliament in 1789 and 1790, and terminates with the execution for high treason of Messrs. Weldon, Hart, Kennedy and others, 1795.

He states the condition of the religious sects consisting of Protestants and Catholics, the former divided into members of the Anglican Church and the Dissenters. The latter were the descendants of the primitive Irish, of those early settlers whom the Reformation had identified with the aboriginal inhabitants, while both the former had been in their origin, foreign colonists, introduced and enriched in consequence of long-continued massacres and warfare and various tyrannical and oppressive acts, by which the native Irish had been systematically dispossessed or extirpated, and the dependence of their country on another state, permanently secured. The inquirer, who seeks information concerning the associations called United Irishmen; the proceedings in Dublin and Belfast, their failure, and the exhibition of the grievances in London; the Peep-of-Day Boys, the Defenders, and the history of the various factions, clubs and conventions, up to 1803, when the French sent a confidential agent to Ireland, with the offers of succour, if it would attempt to liberate itself from the enemy, will find the proceedings very well sketched here. With the account of these matters is interwoven much of individual occurrence, and local detail. After relating the capital execution of Jackson and O'Connor, and proceeding to the point already noticed he seems to have become weary with the task, to have placed his pen in the ink-horn and never to have marked paper with it again, on that subject.

In the same volume is contained Mr. Emmet's letter to Rufus King, the late minister resident of the United States in London. This performance may be considered as a specimen of his polemic writing. It was mentioned before that the state prisoners of whom he was one were negotiating with the Government for a discharge on condition of departing for this country, and that leave was refused, in consequence of the interference of that public functionary. In 1807 Mr. King was nominated as a candidate for a seat in the Assembly of the State Legislature. Mr. Emmet considered Mr. King as being the author of so much injury to him that he felt a strong desire to defeat Mr. King's election. Accordingly the former wrote the latter a note asking an explanation of his interference with the British Government, respecting the Irish State Prisoners in 1798. To this no answer was given; on which Mr. Emmet wrote a formal letter to that gentleman, which was intended for public consideration. It was printed in the newspapers and was the subject of much notice at the time. It disclosed various events and occurrences relative to the suffering of himself and his friends, well worthy of perusal by the historian. And it

is replete with the indignant feeling which a person of sensibility might be expected to express, who had thereby been forced to waste four of the best years of his life in prison.

A fair example of his forensic eloquence is contained in the reported trial of William S. Smith, for an alleged misdemeanor in 1806 before the Circuit Court of the United States for the New York District. The stenographer was Thomas Lloyd; and as the publication was made, and no contradictions of its correctness offered by Mr. Emmet, the words may be presumed to have been correctly stated.

It has seemed good to give the reader Dr. Mitchell's view of the difficulty between Mr. King and Mr. Emmet, as he was socially a friend of each and was familiar with every circumstance. His remarks relating to the "Miranda" case and the trial of William S. Smith need not be given, as these matters have already been dealt with in as much detail as would be of interest to-day.

Dr. Mitchell continues with this theme:

It has been observed that Mr. Emmet has not made material addition to literature, nor important contributions to science. Had he adhered to medicine, it is very probable he would have been conspicuous as an author. But after abandoning his original pursuits and performing the labour of acquiring a new profession of a very different cast and character he almost necessarily separated himself from natural and physical science. When afterwards he became entangled in Irish politics and prosecutions, it could not be expected his mind should engage in philosophical investigation or learned research. Then again, the migration to the continent of Europe, the voyage across the Atlantic Ocean, and the exertions necessary for an establishment in a foreign land must necessarily have occupied a large portion of his attention. The serious duties of his profession seem to have superseded to a considerable degree, the cultivation of ornamental literature. Yet he may be commended for his general love of learning; for unceasing diligence; for his capacity to acquire in succession two arduous professions; for the firmness with which he bore political prosecutions; for his ability to establish quickly and firmly in the country of his adoption; for his amiable disposition; for his fidelity to his clients; and for his private and domestic virtues.

The manner in which distinguished men depart this life naturally attracts attention. As he was engaged in professional business in one of the courts of judicature, held in the City Hall, in apparently his usual state of health, he suddenly became apoplectic, and was carried home in a state of insensibility. The stroke was received in the afternoon; and he expired during the ensuing night, without having been roused from the stupor. He departed in a way which some persons think desirable, at that notice, and in the entire possession of mental and corporal power.

I must now relate to you a most singular occurrence in which my deceased friend made his appearance a short time since in a dream. This interview was distinguished by all the wildness and peculiarity of the somnial state. I will give the question I put to him, and his answer.

Why comest thou, visionary shade,
  Invading quiet night,
In natural form and garb array'd,
  Before my wond'ring sight?

I have learn'd, quoth he, where I repose,
  That through a firm decree,
Thou dost respectfully propose
  An Eulogy on me.

Of time, the dead no measure take
From which it well appears
One moment equal sum must make
To fifty thousand years.

And mark my words, it's just as true,
They're wholly deaf to Fame,
So chang'd they are, they can not view,
'Tis but an empty name.

Though friendship give the song of praise,
Which every heart endears,
In them no notice can it raise,
Nor penetrate their ears.

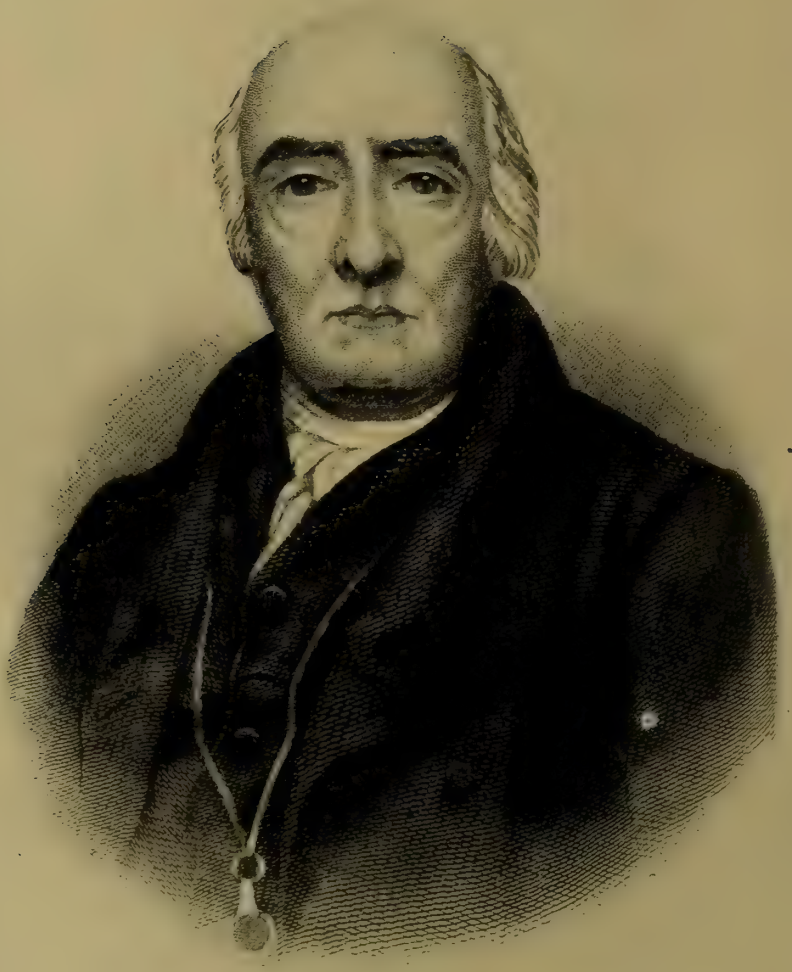
Remember then in what is said
I'm quite beyond thy reach,
And no attention will be paid
To thy intended speech.

Yet men alive, as once I was,
The words perhaps may strike,
And teach by well-bestow'd applause,
To emulate the like.

Then give to thy discourse a plan
Intelligent and plain,
And try how far thy efforts can
Instruct and entertain.

By the memorable Act 6th. Geo. I. the Parliament of England, with imperious despotism, sanctified all its past usurpations and recorded the high prerogative of strength to tyrannize over weakness.

T. A. Emmet.



Thos. Addis Emmet

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Where a people is constantly bound to the will, subservient to the interests and attached to the fortunes of another State, its character and conduct will invariably betray the vileness of its condition. *T. A. Emmet.*

Chapter XXXV

Mr. Haines' reminiscences of Thomas Addis Emmet, published only a short time before the death of the author—Mr. Haines' statement of particular value owing to intimacy which existed between the two men—Mr. Field's tribute—Letter of Justice Story.

HARLES G. HAINES was a young lawyer of promise practising in New York, and was also a Counselor of the Supreme Court of Washington, where he had a good practice at the unusually early age of thirty years. Mr. Emmet formed a warm friendship for Mr. Haines, which of itself is a voucher for his worth and reliability. As a remarkable circumstance in connection with their friendship, Mr. Haines so far gained Mr. Emmet's confidence as to become the recipient of a personal narrative relative to Mr. Emmet's political connection with Ireland, a subject upon which he maintained absolute silence with all others. Mr. Haines at the beginning of his memoir of Thomas Addis Emmet states:

As the name of Thomas Addis Emmet will hereafter be found in history, as he was intimately and very efficiently connected with the contemplated revolution of Ireland, and as he had told me many things of his life during our residence in Washington in the same house, while attending the Supreme Court, I will reduce some things thus told to form and shape, apprehensive that time and the pressure of other recollections of a more recent date may destroy them in my memory.

The narrative continues:

I have given a brief sketch of Mr. Emmet's life, or rather of its most leading incidents, so far as I have learned them from him and otherwise. I must now perform a more difficult task and speak of him as one of the great pillars and ornaments of the American bar.

Helvetius remarks that the sun of glory only shines upon the tomb of greatness. His observation is too often true, but facts and living proofs sometimes contradict it. Mr. Emmet walks on in life amid the eulogiums, the admiration and the enthusiastic regards of a great and enlightened community. Without the glare and influence of public office, without titles and dignities, who fills a wider space, who commands more respect than Thomas Addis Emmet? Like a noble and simple column, he stands among us proudly pre-eminent, destitute of pretensions, destitute of vanity and destitute of envy. In a letter which I recently received from a friend who resides in the western part of the Union, a lawyer of eminence, he speaks of

the New York bar—Thomas Addis Emmet, says he, is the great luminary whose light even crosses the western mountains. His name rings down the valley of the Mississippi, and we hail his efforts with a kind of local pride.

If to draw the character of Homer needs the genius of the immortal bard himself; if to portray the power of Demosthenes requires the gigantic intellect of the great Athenian orator, Mr. Emmet has nothing to expect from me. In presenting the features of his mind, I shall describe them from the impressions they make on me. I paint from the original. I catch the lineaments of the subject as living nature presents them.

The mind of Thomas Addis Emmet is of the highest order. His penetration is deep, his views comprehensive, his distinctions are remarkably nice. His powers of investigation are vigorous and irresistible. If there be anything in a subject he will go to the bottom. He probes boldly, reaches the lowest depth of his researches, analyzes everything, and embraces the whole ground. He may be said to have a mind well adapted to profound and powerful investigation. In the next place he has great comprehension. He sees a subject in all its various bearings and relations. He traces out all its various operations. He begins at the centre and diverges, until it becomes necessary again to return to the centre. As a reasoner, a bare, strict reasoner, Mr. Emmet would always be placed in an elevated rank. No matter how dry, how difficult, how repulsive the topic; no matter what may be its intricacies and perplexities, if any man can unfold and amplify it, he is equal to the task. The investigating talent is not, in my apprehension, peculiar to the Irish character; and among that constellation of talent exhibited by Ireland, but few men have appeared who were endowed with a strong reasoning power. Genius, fancy, fertility, variety, wit, enthusiasm,—these appear, and fall to the province of a long list of illustrious and celebrated Irishmen; the attribute first spoken of is rare and marked. Without wandering too far, I must here mention a fact relating to Mr. Curran, that has given me some surprise. Mr. Emmet informed me that Curran, with whom the former was on intimate terms, possessed a logical head. This I never before conceived. His printed speeches do not show it. However, it should be remembered that his every-day business, his contests in the king's bench of Ireland and his arguments in the Court of Chancery do not reach us. We only see him before a jury (except in one instance) moving the feelings, appealing to the sympathies and kindling all the better emotions of the human breast.

But to return to Mr. Emmet. I have spoken of his talent for deep and rigid investigation. I will now again recur to another feature of his mind, his talent for reasoning on whatever data or premises he relies on. All the illustrations and all the analogies which can well occur to the mind are readily and adroitly arranged in his arguments. He makes the most of his cause, and often makes too much, giving a front that is so palpably over formidable that men of the plainest sense perceive the fruits of a powerful mind, without being at all convinced.

Mr. Emmet is a lawyer of great and faithful legal research. He has consulted books with as much fidelity and perseverance as any man at the American bar. Perhaps he has not done this with so much system as appears in the study of many others; a constant pressure of business may have prevented study upon abstract principles, with bare views of gaining knowledge; but in his day he has spared nothing in the compass of his reading. He has gone back to the black letter and come down to all the modern works that weigh down the shelves of our libraries in the shape of reports and elementary treatises. In his arguments he calls up all the authorities applicable to his case; and that is of great consequence in the character of a finished lawyer. These authorities shed light on the subject matter of discussion. There are many advocates, and too many judges among us who now make a parade of their learning; who quote decisions without an accurate discrimination of what they tend to prove. . . . The law deals in general rules, all its axioms

are general. All its maxims are intended to be universal. Hence, when a principle of law is laid down in a case of collateral nature to the one under a particular discussion, it needs some judgment to ascertain its strict applicability to a given case. Mr. Emmet cites with accuracy, and courts very much rely on his discernment—a character, by the way, of immense importance to an advocate. Courts soon measure a lawyer's understanding. . . . Mr. Emmet is not fond of resorting to the civil law, the *corpus juris civilis*. He occasionally draws from this fountain, but reposes generally on the common law. The text of the civil law is in his library, and the work of most of the commentators on this text. But my apprehension is that he has only consulted this grand body of jurisprudence in extraordinary cases.

The subject of this memoir is not less distinguished for his knowledge of the theory of the law, than he is of the practice. As a special pleader, he has great experience and precision. And who ever looks through the decisions of cases in the New York reports, and those argued in the Supreme Court at Washington, where he had been concerned, will be convinced of the fact here asserted. As has been said, that while Erskine dazzled, charmed and astonished all who heard him in Westminster Hall, the hard head and watchful skill of the *nisi prius* lawyer was always perceptible. Mr. Emmet, while he displays wonderful powers of eloquence and indulges in bursts of lofty and noble sentiment, and appeals to the great moral maxims that must govern men in this world while we have laws, morals and obedience to order, never forgets the landmarks of professional watchfulness; he is still the well-disciplined lawyer contending for his client.

I must now mention another advantage that distinguishes Mr. Emmet in his professional career. His historical illustrations are numerous, pertinent, and happy. In this he excels any man whom I have ever heard. He was educated in Europe and was for many years not only a political man, but associated on intimate terms with the first men of the age. He not only read, but he heard and saw. In addition to what we find in the volumes of history, he collected many things which floated in the atmosphere of the times, well calculated to give a clue to the character of men and of transactions lost to the ordinary historian. Besides this, he collected a vast fund of anecdote from personal intercourse with great and knowing men. In the various changes of the British ministry, and during a great number of party conflicts, many interesting circumstances transpired, worthy to be treasured up by the moralist or to be lashed by the satirist. In arguing and in trying great causes, I have heard Mr. Emmet draw on his memory with great effect—calling up parallels and presenting striking contrasts.

As a classical scholar, but few men can stand before Mr. Emmet in point of attainments. He is familiar with the great writers of antiquity—the master spirits who have infused their genius and their sentiments into the popular feelings of ages which have rolled on long after the poet and the orator, the statesman and the historian have ceased to glow, to speak, to guide or to write. He has closely consulted those oracles of wisdom, those disciples of philosophy, those sons of the Muses, whose opinions, sentiments and effusions lighten the sorrows of human existence, inspire the mind with noble ideas, and cheer the ardent and persevering devotions of the student. The man of whom I speak is more intimately acquainted with the poets of Greece and Rome than with the prose writers; at least, such is the fact evinced in his speeches and conversation. Virgil and Horace are always on his tongue, and Juvenal is sometimes called to his aid. . . . The writings of British classics he has also consulted with a delight and advantage which often appear in his arguments. Shakespeare in particular, he often quotes.

One of the greatest charms of Mr. Emmet's eloquence is the fancy which he continually displays. He possesses an imagination boundless as the world of light, grandeur and beauty. Its flights are bold—its pictures soft, magnificent, or awful, as the subject may require. This power is greater in Mr. Emmet than in any other

lawyer whom I have ever heard. It enables him to shed a charm over every subject which he touches. To the most dry and meagre topic, he can impart interest and attraction. All his figures indicate taste and propriety. They are often bold and daring, and frequently show very great accuracy and precision of language. It falls to his province to impress on the mind of every hearer a recollection as lasting as life. No man who ever heard him for an hour can forget his figure, his face, his manner, and a great part of his very language. Some of his peculiar figures of speech would be well remembered.

I have already spoken of Mr. Emmet's readiness at retort. Whoever rouses his energies by a rude assault or a stroke of satire is sure to hear of it again, and generally has good reason to regret the ill-timed provocation. In 1815 he made his first appearance at the Supreme Court of the U. S. at Washington. He and Mr. Pinkney* were brought in contact. The latter closed the argument in an important case in which they were both engaged, and with his characteristic arrogance alluded to the fact of Mr. Emmet's migration to the United States. When he had concluded his argument, Mr. Emmet, being for the respondent in error, had no right to reply; but he nevertheless rose, and after correcting a trifling error in some of Mr. Pinkney's statements, he took up the mode and manner in which his opponent had treated him. He said he was Mr. Pinkney's equal in birth, in rank, in his connections, and he was not his enemy. It was true that he was an Irishman. It was true that in attempting to rescue an oppressed, brave and generous-hearted people he had been driven from the forum and senate-hall of his own native land; it was true that he had come to America for refuge, and sought protection beneath her constitution and her laws; and it was also true that his learned antagonist would never gather a fresh wreath of laurel, or add lustre to his well-earned fame, by alluding to these facts in a tone of malicious triumph. He knew not by what name arrogance and presumption might be called on this side of the ocean; but sure he was that Mr. Pinkney never accquired these manners in the polite circles of Europe, which he had long frequented as a public minister. Mr. Pinkney was not ready to retort, and he made no reply; but a few days afterward it so happened that he and Mr. Emmet were again opposed to each other in a cause of magnitude, and it fell to Mr. Emmet's part to close the argument, who was determined that his antagonist should be put in mind of his former deportment and expressions. Mr. Pinkney was aware of the thunderbolt in store, and took the opportunity of paying to Mr. Emmet's genius, fame, and private worth the highest tribute of respect. This respect was never afterwards violated. When Mr. Emmet rose out of his place, as before stated, Chief Justice Marshall indicated great uneasiness, thinking that something unpleasant might be the result. Mr. Justice Livingston reached forward his head and remarked in a whisper, "Let him go on; I will answer that he says nothing rude or improper". With this, as well as with the result, the Chief Justice was satisfied. Some years previous to this Mr. Emmet repaired to the county of Chenango to try an indictment for an attempt to procure the vote of a member of the legislature by bribery and corruption. He was then Attorney-General, and the proceeding excited strong party feelings. Elisha Williams and Mr. Foot, formerly an eminent counselor and advocate residing in Albany, were opposed to him. The latter had his task assigned him—he was to browbeat Mr. Emmet. In the discharge of his duty, he stated, among other things, that Mr. Emmet's promotion to the office of Attorney-General was the reward of party efforts, and that in conducting this prosecution, he was doing homage to that office. He gained nothing by his assaults. When Mr. Emmet came to this part of his speech, he stated the accusation as it had been stated by his opponent, and replied "it is false, and he knew it. The office which I have the honor to hold is the reward of useful days

*Mr. William Pinkney of Maryland.

and sleepless nights, devoted to the acquisition and exercise of my profession, and of a life of unspotted integrity—claims and qualifications which that gentleman can never put forth for any office, humble or exalted".

In 1822 Mr. Emmet was employed in a very interesting case in the Court of Errors in the State of New York. A man had died leaving a large estate, and a pretended wife claimed it by virtue of a nuncupative will. The estate was claimed by Irish heirs, and the legality of the will was disputed. Mr. Emmet appeared for the heirs, and it occurred that most or all the witnesses who sustained the illegality of the instrument in question were Irishmen. Mr. Henry of Albany, an able and sagacious advocate, attempted to invalidate the testimony of these witnesses, and indulged many rude hits on account of their national character. Mr. Henry being himself of direct Irish descent, and having made almost a direct attack on Mr. Emmet, roused all his fire. The arguments of the different counsel consumed several days, and when the great Irish orator drew to the close of his extraordinary efforts, which had consumed two entire days of the court, he broke forth into one of his master exertions. The nature of the testimony alluded to he had already examined; he now took up the reflection on Irish character. He carried the eye of the court over the land of his birth—the graves of her illustrious men—the monuments of her heroes, her orators, her statesmen, her poets, her philosophers; he then pictured her green fields, her beautiful shores, the genius of her people, the simplicity of her peasantry, and the dark and horrid gulf in which her liberties and her happiness were buried; he came down to himself, the scenes through which he had passed, and the honesty, the zeal and the integrity which he had found among his countrymen. And lastly he pointed to Mr. Henry. If he had a drop of good blood in his veins, it was Irish blood. When he beheld the successful efforts in that forum on the part of his learned antagonist, he felt that he was an Irishman! The whole scene was one of the most interesting that I ever witnessed.

Mr. Emmet's deportment at the bar is mild, urbane, dignified and conciliating. To the junior members of the profession, in particular, he is a model of obliging civility—always speaking favorably of their efforts and kindly of their exertions, however meagre and discouraging. To me he has given many sound lessons of advice. Let me see you do that again, has been his language of reprehension when condemning some particular habit or fault.

Mr. Emmet's appearance and manners are plain and simple in the extreme. His dress is wholly unstudied. Everything, however, shows the most perfect delicacy of feeling. Modest, unassuming, unobtrusive, and perfectly polite, he would alone attract the attention of a stranger by that amiable temper and obliging disposition that manifested themselves on all occasions. I do not consider him an eloquent or a powerful man in ordinary conversation. His remarks are generally appropriate, and well adapted to passing colloquial scenes. He speaks with sense and intelligence; but he discovers nothing of the man he is, unless called out by an occasion sufficient to awaken his mind and create excitement. In the circles of Washington, with Robert Goodloe Harper, John Randolph, William Wirt, and others of an equal rank in talents, I have heard him converse with uncommon interest on English history and the policy of European governments. I once heard him contrast and describe the characters of the most distinguished British statesmen who had shared in the confidence of the Government, from the days of Robert Walpole to those of Lord Castlereagh, a man whose heart he abhorred and detested; but how much more powerful and interesting would he have appeared on the same topics in the senate house!

Having never heard the speeches and arguments of Erskine and Curran, I am incompetent to compare Mr. Emmet with these great orators. Manner is one of the principal attributes of a great speaker; and Mr. Emmet's is excellent, and in many respects unrivalled. But if I might be permitted to compare Mr. Emmet's

speeches, as I know they would read if written out with Erskine's and Curran's, as they are reported, he would not fall behind his illustrious competitors. To Mr. Curran, I think Mr. Emmet superior—superior as a mere lawyer and superior as a logician; and exquisitely beautiful and truly eloquent as Curran really was in the defense of Rowan, I think Emmet would have made a more powerful and overwhelming speech in that great case. As a lawyer and an orator, I am not to say that he is superior to what Erskine was in the days of his glory; for I view that orator with a veneration that is never invaded or diminished. Mr. Emmet would not have excelled him in the case of Stockdale, in the case of the publisher of the Rights of Man, nor in any of the splendid efforts that marked the unrivalled career of the prince of English orators in the forum; but he would have been the competitor of Erskine in such cases, had he met him on equal terms at the English bar; and I might safely challenge the whole list of Irish orators for the superior of Thomas Addis Emmet. Mr. Emmet's style is always pure, vigorous and appropriate.

In his private character, the object of this memoir is without blemish. Generous, humane, obliging, and strictly honest; a heart open, frank and ardent; upright in all his dealings; rigid and austere in his habits; temperate and rational in all his enjoyments; liberal and free from prejudice upon every subject; kind and affectionate as a husband, a father and a friend; anxious to do good and diminish evil. Such a man is Mr. Emmet.

With all these qualities of intellect and of heart, Mr. Emmet has some defects; I mean defects of a professional description. His zeal sometimes clouds his judgment and obscures the perceptions of his mind. In the worst of causes—in cases where the merits were palpably against him, I have known him struggle with the same ardor and assurance as though he was perfectly persuaded of the justice of his suit. This has diminished his influence in our courts. They have imbibed a habit of listening to his legal doctrines with suspicion. I once heard him argue a point of law under Judge Thompson of the Circuit Court of the United States, with a great deal of animation and apparent conviction of the correctness of his grounds. When he had finished, Judge Thompson put a case to him to test the soundness of the counselor's position. He began by saying—suppose Mr. Emmet that ten years hence this case occurs, &c., describing the premises from which he wished Mr. Emmet to draw the conclusion. Mr. Emmet found himself in difficulty, and merely replied, that ten years hence his client might have other counsel, whom he would leave to answer the question. Perhaps the question was not altogether proper, for a lawyer must take cases as they come into his hands; he can not make them to conform to his inclinations. Still, he would be a little guarded how he commits his reputation for sound legal learning in sustaining doubtful or more than doubtful points.

I cannot follow my inclination in closing this little notice, without committing to writing some anecdotes which Mr. Emmet has related to me. I will mention two or three which reflect great credit on the fidelity of the Irish people. The first has a relation to the celebrated Mr. Rowan, already spoken of. It will be recollected that he was convicted in that celebrated trial where he was defended by Mr. Curran. He was cast into prison, and his sentence was hard and severe. While incarcerated in the cells of one of the dungeons of Dublin, Mr. Emmet and two or three others contrived a plan for his escape. It was successfully executed. A small vessel was to take him to France. It was an Irish schooner, manned by Irish sailors, who knew nothing of the person whom they were to transport to the Continent. His name, character, and everything were concealed. They agreed to take a person to Havre for a certain sum, and to go with all possible expedition. In the night time Mr. Rowan boarded the little vessel, directly from his jail. The wind changed and instead of sailing the next morning as it was expected, she was detained some

5 or 6 days in port. The Government discovered Mr. Rowan's escape the next morning subsequent to his deliverance from captivity. A proclamation was instantly issued and three thousand pounds sterling were offered as a reward for his detection. There were but 4 or 5 seamen in the whole crew of the Irish vessel. Mr. Rowan's situation may now be well imagined. All Dublin rang with the news of his breaking from prison. The sailors were daily on shore. The proclamations were posted up on the market cross and everywhere else, and scattered in the streets. The seamen picked up several copies and brought them on board their vessel, and read them aloud in Mr. Rowan's presence; for he had never left his place of concealment. At length one of the crew cast his eyes on Mr. Rowan, and quick as lightning comparing him with the description contained in the proclamation exclaimed: "You are the man! This is Archibald Hamilton Rowan!" Mr. Rowan, with that firmness incident to his character, replied, "I am the man; I am Rowan—and I am in your hands; act as you think proper". Instantly every one of the crew answered, "Mr. Rowan, you are safe. By us you shall never be given up. We have agreed to carry you to France, and there you shall be landed". The next day the schooner sailed and there Mr. Rowan was landed by these poor sailors. Let the annals of the world be consulted, let the noblest traits of human nature which ages have unfolded be displayed in their most comprehensive form, and where would a nobler instance of disinterestedness be found? The reward was great; to Mr. Rowan these poor men were allied by no political sympathy, nor by any other peculiar tie; they had never seen nor known him before. Their compensation to carry him to France was a mere trifle; he had made them no splendid offers of money, and yet he was protected by their generous feelings—their sense of humanity, honor and justice.

On one of the northern circuits, Mr. Emmet was retained to defend one of the United Irishmen indicted for treason. He entered the prison where his client was confined, and talked over his case. His defence consisted in the weakness of the prosecution. The prisoner said he must be acquitted, because the Government could produce no testimony against him. He said he was guilty enough, but it could not be proved. "But," said Mr. Emmet, "surely the United Irishmen in this quarter of the country are familiar with the overt acts of your treason; how do you know that you are not betrayed?" "God forbid," said the prisoner, "that such a suspicion should cross your mind. If United Irishmen are to prove treacherous, my life is in the hands of forty thousand men. Yes, Mr. Emmet, this day forty thousand witnesses know that I have committed treason; but mark my words, my life is safe". The trial ensued and the prisoner was restored to his family and to his country. Tacitus, the illustrious historian, I think, in his commencement of the life of Agricola, speaking of the dark and horrid scenes of tyranny and blood through which the Roman people had passed during his days, remarks with great sensibility and pathos, that amid all these trials and cruelties, many noble instances appeared honorable to the human heart. Fidelity often triumphed over all temptations and suffering; friends protected friends; and the most virtuous sympathies of the human soul were cultivated with unshaken constancy. There are facts in Irish history deserving the pencil of Tacitus.

It is not necessary to mention more than Mr. Emmet's case, who was for several years devoted in organizing the local societies of the United Irishmen all over the country. He must have administered the oath of initiation to thousands after it became a secret body. The Government resorted to every means of cruelty, as was her custom, to force prisoners through terror or bribery to obtain some evidence of Mr. Emmet's treason without the slightest success. He was held fully four years a prisoner simply on suspicion and there was no man connected with the movement the Government feared more or was more anxious to get out of the way than Emmet, but dared not bring him to trial.

The manuscript of Mr. Haines seems to have been brought to an abrupt end, in consequence of his last illness and sudden death, with the account of the trouble of the New York Irishmen and the Orangemen referred to in a previous chapter as described by Mr. O'Conor, and the following incident which seems to have been the last detailed by Mr. Emmet.

In one of the northern counties, a poor but respectable man was condemned to be hung for being concerned in the contemplated rebellion concerted by the United Irishmen. When the court sentenced him for execution, one of the judges read him a long moral lecture upon the enormity of his offence, the wickedness of opposing the British Government. After exhausting all the sources of his pathetic eloquence, he asked "and have you no wife and children to leave behind you?" "Yes, My Lord," said the poor man, "I have a wife and children; but I leave them in the hands of God, and they are willing to trust to Him after I am gone and buried. They rejoice in the glorious cause for which I perish."

The editor of Mr. Haines' Memoir of Thomas Addis Emmet entered upon his work of publishing two years and more after Mr. Emmet had passed away and he offers the following encomium to his memory:

Mr. Emmet was a diligent student. He confined himself to study and business more than twelve hours a day. After returning home in the evening, he would retire to his own apartment, and continue the investigation of any subject in which he was engaged till twelve or one at night. His constitution was vigorous, and his habits uniformly temperate, so that his devotion to study never seemed to injure his health. It was one consequence of this intense application that he was remarkable among his brethren at the bar for his perfect knowledge of the cases in which he was concerned. When Mr. Emmet came into Court he was sure to be familiar with every point of the testimony, and could not be taken by surprise. When not employed in solving some legal question, his reading was often discursive. He would sometimes amuse himself with mathematical calculations. He found leisure to make himself acquainted with all current news of the day. Yet he spent no time for the diversions of society, went into little company, and rarely appeared at public dinners. At home he was always gay and cheerful. He was utterly devoid of ceremony. His dress was good but he was very careless of it; if it rained, he was as likely to be seen without as with an umbrella. The furniture of his office was plain and ordinary. But while he was totally neglectful of these trifles, he was never inattentive to the feelings of others. High and low were sure of meeting from him a kind and courteous reception. Yet his was no studied politeness; it was the natural offspring of a good heart; and the full energies of his mind were devoted to the great and interesting topics which agitated individuals and nations. His appropriate sphere was active life; and he may well be pronounced fortunate since he filled the station for which nature and education peculiarly qualified him. Although the prime of his life was darkened by misfortune; although he was severely disciplined by the hardships of imprisonment and the bitterness of exile, yet he was trusted and revered in the land where he was persecuted as a rebel, and in the country of his adoption, where he arrived in the vigor of his manly strength, and held the erect attitude of an unbroken and unbending spirit, he readily obtained the confidence of all those who became acquainted with him, mingled largely in the transactions of important affairs, placed himself at the head of his profession without leaving one blot on his escutcheon for envy to point its finger at, and acquired a brilliant reputation as a lawyer and an orator. That nothing might be wanting to complete the happy fortune which Providence seemed to bestow upon his mature life, in some sort of compensation for the suffering of his early manhood, he did not waste away in the gradual decay of imbecile old age, but died in the fulness of his years, cut off in the

very field of his honorable triumphs. His remains were consigned to the dust by affectionate children, whom he had been permitted to see already filling a space in the public eye; and the community in which he had lived, paid a willing tribute of love and honor to his memory.

Mr. Henry M. Field of New York issued in 1851 "The Irish Confederates and the Rebellion of 1798," a remarkably well-written and complete rendering of the subject, especially by one who, from his name and social surroundings, must have been associated chiefly with those of English interests. At the same time he knew all the Irish leaders and their descendants who were his co-temporaries and living in New York. His book is therefore based upon hear-say and a good knowledge of that portion of Irish history.

We learn from Mr. Field that:

Mr. Emmet had every qualification for a great lawyer. His mind was quick. He saw the points of a case at a glance. And once entered upon it, his temperament led him to investigating the facts of a case. He was a hard student to the close of his life. Often after returning from a day of exhausting labor in the courts, he would retire to his room and continue the investigation of a cause until after midnight. Hence he came into court thoroughly prepared, and not to be taken off his guard. When necessary, he could make nice distinctions with the subtilty of a metaphysician. Yet the general character of his mind was comprehensive. He could enlarge or contract the lens of his mind so as to make it either a microscope or a telescope.

He was perfectly familiar with the details of statutes, yet he preferred to rest his cause on the broad principles of the common law. Clear in the statement of a case, lucid in the arrangement of the facts, it was in bringing forward the principles of justice which lie in the foundation of all law, that his power chiefly lay. His feelings became excited, and his countenance betrayed his emotions. At such moments he used much action, often gesturing with great violence. It was then in giving utterance to his indignation against wrong, and in his plea for right between man and man that he awed the assembly and made their blood run cold.

In common with the Irish orators he possessed a rich and exuberant imagination. But this faculty was perfectly under control. He knew when to use it, to enliven the dull details of law or to revive the attention of the jury. But it was never suffered to overload or obscure the subject. As was said of Erskine, that "while he dazzled, charmed and astonished all who heard him in Westminster Hall, the hard head and watchful skill of the lawyer were always perceptible", so Emmet, in the wide sweep of his imagination and the rush of his emotions never suffered the point of the verdict to escape him.

The speeches of Mr. Emmet abounded in illustrations, which were generally very happy. His life had been spent in the old world. He was familiar with its history. He had acted history. References to the actors of his own and other times were often introduced pertinently and with very striking effect. Especially in allusions to his country his voice swelled with indignation at her wrongs, and subsided into pathos, as he pictured her wretchedness which moved all who heard him.

The courage of Emmet, which had borne him through a stormy period of Revolution, was conspicious at the bar. He had an undaunted spirit. He was never cowed by an overbearing opponent. He indulged in no personalities, manifesting the utmost courtesy in debate. But if attacked, as was sometimes the case, his retort was always ready. Perhaps his most extraordinary power was that of instant and overwhelming reply. Attack aroused him on such occasions, his eye flashed fire, and pointing with his quivering finger to his assailant, he poured forth a vehemence of invective which taught his presumptuous adversary not to repeat the offense.

In other words the character of Emmet was apparent in all his speeches. He had the keenest sensibility for others who had suffered injustice. Hence he was led to take sides ardently with one who was wronged. This warmth of feeling sometimes betrayed him into error, as he was easily persuaded into a conviction of the justice of his cause.

Mr. Haines has been quoted in relation to the clash between Mr. Emmet and Mr. Pinkney of Maryland in the United States Supreme Court. Soon after Mr. Emmet's death Mr. William Sampson wrote to Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court Joseph Story and he received the following reply which is printed in the "Life and Letters of Joseph Story," edited by his son, William W. Story. (Boston, 1851, Vol. I, p. 555.)

WASHINGTON, February 27th, 1829.

TO WILLIAM SAMPSON, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:—I have the pleasure of receiving your letter yesterday. I should long since have complied with your request in regard to Mr. Emmet, if I could have found suitable leisure to sit down and make even a sketch of him, such as I thought him to be in character and attainments. Hitherto I have sought such leisure in vain.

It was in the winter of 1815 that I first became acquainted with Mr. Emmet. He was then for the first time in attendance upon the Supreme Court at Washington, being engaged in some important prize cases then pending in the Court. Although at that period he could have been but little, if any, turned of 50 years of age, the deep lines of care were marked upon his face; the sad remembrance, as I could conjecture, of past sufferings, and of those anxieties which wear themselves into the heart and corrode the very elements of life. There was an air of subdued thoughtfulness about him, that read to me the lessons of other interests than those which belonged to mere professional life. He was cheerful, but rarely if ever gay; frank and courteous, but he soon relapsed into gravity when not excited by the conversation of others.

Such, I remember, were my early impressions; and his high professional character, as well as some passages in his life, gave me a strong interest in all that concerned him at that time. There were too some accidental circumstances connected with his arguments on that occasion, which left a vivid recollection upon all who had the pleasure of hearing him.

It was at this time that Mr. Pinkney of Baltimore, one of the proudest names in the annals of the American Bar, was in the meridian of his glory. He had been often tried in the combats of the forum of the nation, and if he did not stand quite alone, the undisputed victor of the field (and it might be deemed invidious for me to point out any one as *primus inter pares*) he was, nevertheless, admitted by the general voice not to be surpassed by any of the noble minds with whom he was accustomed to wrestle in forensic contests. Mr. Emmet was a new and untried opponent, and brought with him the ample honors, gained at one of the most distinguished Bars in the Union. In the only cause in which Mr. Emmet was engaged, Mr. Pinkney was retained on the other side; and each of these causes were full of important matter, bearing upon the public policy and prize law of the country. Curiosity was awakened; their mutual friends waited for the struggle with impatient eagerness; and a generous rivalry, roused by the public expectation, imparted itself to their own bosoms. A large and truly intelligent audience was present at the argument of the first cause. It was not one which gave much scope to Mr. Emmet's peculiar powers. The topic was one with which he was not very familiar. He was new to the scene and somewhat embarrassed by its novelty. His argument was clear and forcible, but he was conscious that it was not one of his happiest efforts. On the other hand, his rival was perfectly familiar with the whole range of prize law, he was at home, both in the topic and in the scene. He won an easy victory and pressed his advantages with vast dexterity, and as Mr. Emmet thought with somewhat of the display of triumph.

The case of the "Nereide," so well known in our prize history, was soon after called on for trial. In this second effort Mr. Emmet was far more successful. His speech was greatly admired for its force and fervor, its variety of research, and its touching eloquence. It placed him at once by universal consent in the first rank of American advocates. I do not mean to intimate that it placed him before Mr. Pinkney, who was again his noble rival for victory. But it settled henceforth and forever his claims to very high distinction in the profession. In the course of the exordium of his speech he took occasion to mention the embarrassment of his own situation, the novelty of the forum, and the public expectations, which accompanied the cause. He spoke with generous praise of the talents and acquirements of his opponent, whom fame and fortune had followed both in Europe and America. And then, in the most delicate and affecting manner, he alluded to the events of his own life, in which misfortune and sorrow had left many deep traces of their ravages. "My ambition," said he, "was extinguished in my youth; and I am admonished by the premature advance of age, not now to attempt the dangerous paths of fame." At the moment when he spoke, the recollection of his suffering melted the hearts of the audience, and many of them were dissolved in tears. Let me add that the argument of Mr. Pinkney was also a most splendid effort, and fully sustained his reputation. From that period, I was accustomed to hear Mr. Emmet at the Bar of the Supreme Court in almost every variety of causes; and my respect for his talents constantly increased with the close of his life. I take pleasure in adding that his affability, his modesty and unassuming manner, his warm feelings and his private virtues gave a charm to his character, which made it at once my study and delight.

It would ill become me to attempt a sketch of the character of Mr. Emmet. That is the privilege, and will be (as it ought) the melancholy pleasure of those who were familiar with him in every walk of life, to whom he unbosomed himself in the freedom of intimacy, and who have caught the light plays of his fancy, as well as the more profound working of his soul.

That he had great qualities as an orator can not be doubted by anyone who had heard him. His mind possessed a good deal of fervor, which characterizes his countrymen. He was quick, vigorous, searching and buoyant. He kindled as he spoke. There was a spontaneous combustion, as it were, not sparkling, but clear and glowing. His rhetoric was never florid; and his diction, though select and pure, seemed the common dress of his thoughts, as they arose, rather than any studied effort at ornament. Without being deficient in imagination, he seldom drew upon it for resources to aid the effect of his arguments or to illustrate his thoughts. His object seemed to be not to excite wonder or surprise, to captivate by bright pictures and varied images and graceful groups and startling apparitions, but by earnest and close reasoning to invoke the judgment or to overwhelm the heart by awakening its most profound emotions. His own feelings were warm and easily touched. His sensibility was keen, and refined itself almost into a melting tenderness. His knowledge of the human heart was various and exact. He was easily captivated by the belief that his own cause was just. Hence his eloquence was most striking for its persuasiveness. He said what he felt, and he felt what he said. His command over the passions of others was instantaneous and sympathetic. The tones of his voice, when he touched topics calling for deep feelings, were themselves instinct with meaning. They were utterances of the soul as well as of the lips.

Yours affectionately,

JOSEPH STORY.

Terror and coercion being introduced as the principles of government, every part of society is filled with danger and suspicion; the insulation of thought is destroyed; the intercourse of life is poisoned; all expression of the public wish, the surest guarantee against secret conspiracy, is unwisely prohibited.

T. A. Emmet.

Suppose the trade of England curtailed or annihilated, her resources wasted, her power and influence deprest; you must sink in her downfall. . . . What shall Ireland then become? A nursery, a draw-faem of men and beasts, for the use and accommodation of England; an immense pasturage, an universal barrack.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXXVI

Letter from William Sampson to Archibald Hamilton Rowan—Reference to the death of Emmet—Meeting of writer with Abram S. Hewitt in 1897-98—His recollections of Mr. Emmet—Burial place of Mr. Emmet—Finding of his remains—Canon O'Hanlon's introduction to Mason's "Antiquity and Constitution of Parliament"—Castlereagh "his own executioner"—Funerals of Castlereagh, Clare and Emmet compared by Madden—The high appreciation of Emmet—Driven from his native land by its alien rulers as a traitor—Death in honor in the land of his exile—Monument to his memory raised by his Catholic fellow-countrymen—A "barrister rebel" become an "honored citizen"—Victim of Orange malignity—Reflections raised by contemplation of his monument—"His inflexible integrity commanded the respect even of his enemies".

ROWAN'S Memoir contains in the Appendix a copy of a letter received by him in 1827 from William Sampson, the well-known Irish exile, in which after expatiating on Mr. Rowan's "honorable principles", on Mrs. Rowan's kindness to Mrs. Sampson and on the state of Irish politics, he continues thus:

You have, I persume, heard of the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, and probably of the extraordinary honors paid his memory; how a monument was voted by the Bar of New York which has since been established in the Court-room where he fell. A eulogy was also voted which DeWitt Clinton, Governor of this State, had undertaken to deliver, and by the same resolution I was requested, as an incentive to the younger members of the profession, and as a model for their imitation, to write a history of his life. I could not refuse a task so honorable, and I accepted of it. But I was soon after seized with an aguish complaint, which returned from time to time, and so far debilitated me that I was unable to make any strenuous exertion. I had besides the affliction of losing my son-in-law, Captain Tone, son of one that you knew well, and husband of my daughter, now my only surviving child. This obliged me to lay aside the work, but with returning health I have now resumed it. I was greatly disappointed also in applying to the family of my deceased friend, in finding that I could not have the least assistance from any of them. Mrs. Emmet, who loved her husband most tenderly, and did him honor whilst he lived, was affected by his death in such a manner that she cannot speak upon the subject of his early life, and his children were too young to know anything of it; several of them, indeed, were born here. That portion of Emmet's life passed in this city, affords little incident. It was entirely absorbed in the duties of his profession and in a course of unexampled industry. He was looked upon with admiration

for his abilities, learning, and eloquence, and universally beloved for his virtues and his manner of living, and great as was the tribute paid to him, he deserved it all. He was a shining honor to his country. There exists amongst all here the greatest curiosity to know the particulars of his former life, and indeed, everything concerning him. I have been trying to make arrangements for the publication of the work in London. You were one of the men Emmet most esteemed, and now that the events of those days are matters of past and useful history, I should request of you to assist me with some account of him and his family, his father, his brother Temple, his early studies, travels, first entry into public life, and to point me out where such details are to be looked for. You, it is true, had nothing to do with the *rebellion* in Ireland, nor do I expect anything of that kind from you; but any letter of his, however trivial or familiar the subject, may go to satisfy the friends under whose commission I act. I shall, if I can find one, send you a copy of the eulogy upon him by Dr. Mitchell, whose name, probably whose person, you must know. Mr. DeWitt Clinton, late Governor of this State, one of the most distinguished of our statesmen had undertaken to fulfil the vote of the bar, and would have delivered a eulogy upon him, but he was called upon to pay his great debt before the day appointed; and it is urgent with me to discharge this duty before a similar casualty should put a bar to my performance forever. I owe much on my own account to my professional brethren here, as you will see by an article which I forward to you, containing their kind and affectionate adieus, when some years ago, after the marriage of my daughter, I went to reside in Georgetown, D. C. Since my son-in-law's death I have again fixed my residence in this city. I have seen a book advertised, called the history of the leaders of the rebellion in 1798. Is there anything in it that could help me in the biography of Emmet? There never yet was fair play nor justice shown to the sufferers in that unhappy struggle. I often wonder how I myself, and other men given to peace entirely, should have been driven from less to more, by mere feeling for others, to desperation, and almost to self-devotion, for I was always among the least sanguine and backward, till no neutrality was left, and then, even then, there was nothing to warrant any part of what was done to me latterly.

I had, indeed, taken my ground, but if law was to be had, and I was willing to chicane, I should have as good actions of false imprisonment as ever man had. But now I am for truth, and no other revenge. It is so long since I have encountered any hostility or ill office, or envious or angry words from any man, that I may truly say I live in charity with all mankind, in which blessed spirit, etc., as they say at the end of all sermons, may we all live.

Your sincere and obliged friend, W. Sampson.

New York, April 29th, 1820.

Mr. Sampson was never able to undertake the writing of Mr. Emmet's life, for from about the period of writing the above letter his health began to decline, and after passing several years as an invalid he died December 28, 1836, in the seventy-second year of his age.

In placing on record the testimony of different individuals, for this story would be but partly told if a different course were followed, some repetition is unavoidable.

During the winter of 1897-98 the writer met the late Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, ex-Mayor and for many years a member of Congress from New York City, at a dinner, and had the good fortune to be placed alongside of him. The writer is able to fix the date as he was passing his book, "The Emmet Family", through the press at the time. A mention of the work led Mr. Hewitt to speak of the writer's grandfather, Thomas Addis Emmet, of whom he had a clear recollection, and of the day of his death and funeral. Mr. Emmet then

lived at No. 30 Beach Street, facing St. John's Square, near the southeast corner. The Hewitt family lived in the neighborhood where Mr. Emmet passed on his way to and from his office, always carrying a green baize bag filled with his law papers. As he passed the house of Mr. Hewitt, who was a very intelligent man, Mr. Emmet always stopped to speak a few words with him, while he sat at the window of his shop at work. He was a dealer in hard woods and probably was in addition a wood carver of newel-posts for staircases, of mantel-pieces, and the trimmings of doors and window-frames. Without being able to recall his authority the writer is of the impression that Mr. Hewitt's father was an Irishman whom Mr. Emmet had known in Ireland. Hewitt stated that the day on which Mr. Emmet died was impressed on his memory, for, noticing the quiet of the street and the absence of people, he managed to slip out to learn the cause. Thereupon his mother opened the door and called him in, and as he passed her, she said: "Be careful and make no noise, for Mr. Emmet is dead". From what he told of having heard his father describe at the time, a description which the writer has corroborated by contemporary newspaper accounts, he is led to believe there has never been a similar private funeral in New York, nor one in which so large a proportion of the inhabitants took part, while the whole business of the city was suspended for several hours. It was thought that every one in the town knew Mr. Emmet at least by sight, and probably no other citizen ever commanded the love, veneration and respect of so large a proportion of the people.

The Board of Aldermen (then composed only of gentlemen and men of position) met, passed a resolution of condolence, and resolved that all the affairs connected with the city should be suspended during the time of the funeral and that the city officials should attend in a body. The same action was taken at a meeting of all the United States officials in the city. The courts all adjourned after the judges had eulogized the dead, and the Bar met to arrange for attending the funeral. The officials, professors and students of Columbia College took action to attend in a body. As Mr. Emmet had at one time been a physician in practice, all the physicians of the city and all the professors and students of the two medical schools were in attendance. The flags on every vessel in the harbor were at half mast and the bells on every church were tolled during the progress of the funeral. It took place from Grace Church, then on the block above Trinity, and the procession proceeded to St. Mark's Church in the "Bowerie," now at Ninth Street and Second Avenue, where the body was to be deposited. It appears as if every able-bodied man in the city, rich and poor, and many with their well-grown sons, showed their respect by taking part in the obsequies. At the time the head of the procession with the body reached St. Mark's Church the people were still falling in line below Grace Church about Wall Street, and the whole procession was several hours in passing the front of the church, after the body had been laid to rest and each individual passed with uncovered head.*

*After the funeral of Mr. Emmet his remains were temporarily deposited in the vault of his friend Chancellor Jones, in St. Mark's Churchyard, and from a series of circumstances they have been left

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

ST. MARK'S CHURCH IN THE BOWERIE
Before the streets were opened

The noted Irish scholar, the late Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon of Dublin (in the Introduction to his "Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliament" by Henry Joseph Monck Mason, etc.), wrote:

Castlereagh, the curse of his own country and the enemy of every other, who like another Judas, despairing of forgiveness for his multiplied transgressions, became his own executioner in the midst of his pride and power.

Of whom Byron wrote:

So Castlereagh has cut his throat! The worst
Of this is—that his own was not the first!
So he has cut his throat at last! He! Who?
The man who cut his country's long ago!

Shelley, in his "Masque of Anarchy," wrote:

I met murder on his way,
He had a mask like Castlereagh.

The name of Castlereagh was the only one connected with the Irish politics of his day which Mr. Emmet could never refer to without showing the utmost loathing and disgust.

The Very Rev. O'Hanlon, in the same work, wrote of Clare:

Clare, the unfortunate Clare, who broke his heart for having bartered the independence of his country to please the deceitful statesmen of England.

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undisturbed until recently. After some difficulty in finding the minutes of the vestry meeting, at which the permission for burial was obtained, the vault could not be located, as the writer wished to do for a special object. At length every difficulty was overcome through the effort of the writer's eldest son who ascertained that ten was the number of the vault. All the remains of the Jones family were found together on one side of the vault, and on the other those of Mr. Emmet alone. Everything but the bones and a few screws had disappeared. There was nothing to identify the remains, but the official record of their being placed there, and the appearance of the skull, which yet retained every feature which gave so pronounced an individuality to his head while living, and which no one else ever possessed. The condition of the teeth sockets showed that he must have lost all his teeth some years before his death.

No anatomical fact is now better understood than that the prolongation of life depends more on the condition of the teeth than on any other single circumstance. The writer had well approached his eighty-seventh birthday before this book passed from the hands of the printer, and he is yet the happy possessor of some portion of nearly every tooth he had the use of in his youth. The only bodily defect from which Mr. Emmet ever suffered was apparently due to the condition of his teeth, and this was doubtless owing to some remedial cause. The luxury or necessity of a tooth brush was unknown or not fully appreciated during the greater portion of Mr. Emmet's life. From infancy the writer was taught the importance of taking care of the teeth, yet he recalls at least one school of his childhood where he was the sole possessor of a tooth brush, and was laughed at to the end for his perseverance in its regular use.

With Mr. Emmet's otherwise perfect bodily condition, the knowledge of the dental surgery of the present day could have prolonged his life beyond the span of one hundred years. Considering the frugal life he had led from his youth he would never have lost his life from apoplexy, which is caused by a degeneration of the arteries from want of proper nutrition and circulation in the small vessels. Before closing this diversion, the writer will place on record the fact that Mr. Emmet's remains were carefully boxed and marked. This was done with the hope that at some future time they may receive the honor justly due to his memory for services to his native land, and not lie hereafter neglected in what to the world at large will prove an unknown grave.

The remains of Thomas Addis Emmet with those of his devoted wife should be placed under his monument in St. Paul's Church. The same should be done with the remains of Dr. Macneven, that they may lie under the monument erected by his grateful countrymen in recognition of his services to his native land. But the recognition is incomplete to the credit of either of these illustrious men. The remains of Dr. Macneven and the writer believes of Mr. Sampson lie in the old Riker family burial ground on Bowery Bay, which in all probability has passed out of the hands of the original owners, and must inevitably in a few years be built over and its site forgotten. This work can only be fittingly done by the United Irish Society of the country as a national action. The occasion should be made a commemorative one, in full accord and recognition of the unappreciated services rendered by many of the Irish people in every walk of life, for the mental and physical development of the country, which is greater in the aggregate than that rendered by all other races collectively. Stupid bigotry and unpardonable ignorance have from the beginning overshadowed the truth. A tolerated existence unknown to the law of the land, is no longer the condition even in Ireland, and the Irishman has but to step to the fore and take what has become his birth-right throughout the world. No other race possesses more brains or brawn. As this word is written the writer recalls the fact that the original meaning of the word *brawn* was the flesh or muscle of the wild boar, the strongest animal in the world in proportion to its size. The term "wild Irish" was also at one time a common one, but like the word *brawn* its application has changed, though so strong is prejudice that with many the most accomplished Irishman will always seem a *bore*.

Highest Honors Well Bestowed

Dr. Madden in his "Lives of the United Irishmen" describes the remarkable demonstration made at the funeral of the "rebel" Thomas Addis Emmet in New York and throughout the United States; and also incidentally refers in contrast to the funeral of the most "loyal" of Irishmen—Clare and Castlereagh:

When the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland—the celebrated Lord Clare—went to the other world, the 28th of January, 1802 (within less than one year and a month of the achievement of the Union—of that measure to which all his efforts had been devoted for many years), no such honor was paid to his memory. We read indeed, on the day of his funeral, of seven hundred lawyers and legal functionaries, and seventy lords and other notabilities of the country, walking after his hearse to the graveyard of St. Peter's Church; and in the face of the seven hundred lawyers and legal functionaries, we are informed, no sooner was the coffin of the late lord chancellor deposited in the place prepared for it, than the grave was desecrated, and dead cats were thrown on the coffin by the assembled populace.

When Lord Castlereagh paid the debt to nature in August, 1822, the State indeed and its functionaries did honor to his memory. His remains were buried in Westminster Abbey. Great personages walked after his coffin, in procession, holding the pall; but the people shouted at the porch. A witness of that terrible manifestation of popular feeling, I can answer for it there was no expression of sorrow or respect in that shout. Most assuredly the feelings it indicated were in unison with those of the great mass of people of England and Scotland, as well as those of Ireland, on that occasion.

When George IV, the sovereign of the largest dominions of any empire in Christendom, and, in the language of his panegyrists, "the first gentleman in Europe," departed this life, there were funeral pageants on a grand scale of regal magnificence, and the horses that bore the hearse from Windsor Castle, and the solemn mutes who walked beside it, wore "the trappings and the suits of woe"; but there was no mourning for the deceased monarch, we are truly told by Lord Brougham, and no attempt to mimic sorrow, for there were no hearts saddened by his death.

It was reserved for the people of America, by their conduct on the occasion of Emmet's death, to teach a great lesson to the nations of the old world—namely, that the highest honors that a State can afford to departed greatness are well bestowed when they are given to the memory of a citizen eminently good and virtuous.

In all probability, in modern times, in the whole range of European history, there is no instance on record of private worth, honor, and integrity—of professional talents not devoted to military pursuits or to party purposes, and rendered illustrious by signal triumphs and successes—receiving such honors at the hands and from the hearts of a whole people, as were paid to the memory of T. A. Emmet throughout the United States of America.

The last chapter of this memoir will afford ample confirmation of the truth of the above assertion.

Thus died, in a distant land, in honor and renown on the 14th of November, 1827, the Irish exile, Thomas Addis Emmet, in the 64th year of his age.

The man who was deemed a traitor in his own land—who had been engaged in what was termed an unnatural rebellion, and is thought in England, even by men of great intellect, detestable treason; whom it was proposed in Parliament to hand over with his associates to a drum-head court martial, and to hang or shoot in a summary manner for the benefit of society and the sake of the British constitution in Ireland, as the institution of Orangeism was then interpreted—thus died in America in such honor and renown as no language can exaggerate. It was not in one State or in one city, at his death, where expression was given to feelings of admiration for his great worth

and virtues and noble intellectual gifts—of respect for the consistency of his patriotism and the solidity of his opinions on all public subjects—and of veneration for this great good man—but throughout the whole Union these feelings prevailed; and this was unanimously accorded to the departed worth and excellence of Thomas Addis Emmet.

The monument erected to the memory of Emmet is worthy of it. It stands in view of Broadway, the great thoroughfare of the city, in the cemetery of St. Paul's Church. It is a marble monolith of thirty feet elevation. . . . The expense of this monument was partly defrayed by the contributions of his countrymen in the United States, and partly by the application of the funds in the hands of the treasurer of the American Catholic Association. When the Relief Bill of 1829 was carried, the receipt of money under the name of Catholic Rent was prohibited by that statute. The American society then thought the best application of the remaining funds, namely $1,006 raised for Catholic purposes, would be to the erection of a monument to the memory of one of the early advocates of Catholic Emancipation, who devoted his splendid talents to its cause and sacrificed for its interests the brightest prospects. He did not live to see the promised land of toleration, but he did more, with the exception of Tone, than any of his cotemporaries towards the consummation so devoutly to be wished for.

That monument was never looked on by the author without feeling that its existence in America was a subject for meditation of strange and melancholy interest. And often as he gazed on that splendid sepulchre—which his countrymen in the new world had raised to the memory of "the banished rebel," who had become in another land an honored citizen, "whose private life was beautiful as his public course was brilliant"—he could not help asking, was justice never to be done in his own land to the memory of one who had been held up in his own country, by the unmitigated malignity of Orangeism, to obloquy and odium? To what generation yet to come were the memories of such men as Macneven, Sampson, and Neilson to be consigned? Did they, like the younger enthusiast in his cause, when the "lamp of life was nearly extinguished," when the grave was opening to receive him and he was ready to sink into its bosom, bid no man dare to write their epitaphs, but left the charge to other men and to later times to do justice to their memories? When was that era to arrive? Where were the men to be looked for to inscribe their tombs? Was the marble to be sought in the quarries of America that was to perpetuate their name, their devotion to their country, and their unhappy fate?

Was the writer of the biographies of these men to seek amongst strangers respect for the talents or sympathy for the suffering of his countrymen? Must he be reminded elsewhere that their enterprise was unsuccessful, and must therefore have failed from their faults or that it had originated in their crimes? If their impatience of their country's wrongs, their hatred of oppression was "too rash, too unadvised, too sudden," shall we be told that their patriotism was but the brilliant flash of a transitory passion—"too like the lightning that doth cease to be ere one can say it lightens"? Are the trails of heroism or the traces of love of country displayed in their struggle so easily to be forgotten, that there is no fame for them with whom fortune was not? Is the need of a generous sympathy so narrowly confined, that there is no pity for the faults which render the very intensity of the love of liberty and enthusiasm in its cause unpropitious to the fate of those, who feel perhaps more than they reason at the outset of the struggle; and as they become deeper and deeper engaged in it, overlook the difficulties by which it is beset and overrate the strength and nature of their own resources? But is no patriot to be honored but the successful rebel? Has liberty no champion to proclaim but those who have escaped exile or the scaffold? Has Ireland no victims to lament, no lost defenders to bewail, but those whose bones are laid under the sands at Clontarf, or the green sod at Aughrim, or the Boyne? Has Ireland no devoted children to boast of among those who died in exile or who retrieved the errors of a lofty enthusiasm on the scaffold and poured out their young blood in defence of their opinion of her rights;

no sons of whom the memory is dear except those who adopted other and happier modes of seeking the same objects which were sought, in vain, by their predecessors?

Great as were the talents of the men who stood beside him in the early struggle for reform and rational liberty, the pre-eminence may be claimed for him; for, while the profoundness of his judgment and the justice of his views entitled him to the respect of his associates, his inflexible integrity commanded the respect even of his enemies.

Savage in his "Ninety-eight and Forty-eight" (New York, 1856), says:

How well his [Emmet's] various attainments were appreciated by this country to which he came as an exile, contributing to her the richness of his manhood in return for the shelter insured him, may be seen by the testimony raised to his memory and his merits in the judicial halls of the chief city of these American States; and by the monument which, near that raised to the valor of his illustrious countryman and defender of American liberty, General Richard Montgomery, under the portico of Saint Paul's, first meets the eye of the stranger as he wanders from the Battery up one of the most populous and opulent thoroughfares in the world. It is at once a high testimony of American recognition to the European outcast and a guide to all worthy of American citizenship. A voice speaks from the cold marble. There is a sermon in that stone, a sermon that preaches straight to the hearts of men. It says: Here Freedom has a home —here truth and genius are the only divine rights acknowledged under God. Come and do likewise as this dust has done, and make yourself immortal.

Such were the reflections which the tomb of Thomas Addis Emmet called forth, and which even merged for a time the recollection of his sufferings in those of the still "deeper calamities of his kindred", though no remembrance of his brother's noble qualities could supersede, for an instant, the conviction of the superior powers which pre-eminently qualified Thomas Addis Emmet to lead the people, and, had the qualities of any one man sufficed for the attainment of that object, to conduct their cause to a successful issue.

New York "Truth Teller", July 15, 1843.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

Bust of Thomas A. Emmet, made by his son Dr. John Patten Emmet, about a year before Mr. Emmet's death

What are fifty, nay, a thousand slaves, to the nerve of a single arm that strikes for liberty.
T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXXVII

Mural tablet erected by the New York Bar to the memory of Mr. Emmet—The bust copied from a plaster bust taken by Dr. J. P. Emmet—A movement of the Irish people for erecting a monument to Mr. Emmet's memory—Macneven's address at the meeting—Inscriptions in Latin, English and Irish.

SHORTLY after Mr. Emmet's death the Bar Association of the City of New York erected to his memory a mural tablet with an appropriate inscription. This, together with Mr. Emmet's bust, was placed on the wall of the court-room in the City Hall, close to the spot where he was stricken. This room was subsequently altered to be the place of meeting of the Board of Aldermen for Greater New York. The mural tablet was then removed and erected in one of the rooms of the Court House, on the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street. The bust, furnished by Browere, and used with some slight alteration, by the artist Giovanozza for his monument, was a copy of the one mentioned in Chapter XXVI, which was taken a little more than a year before his father's death by his son, Dr. John Patten Emmet, professor of chemistry in the University of Virginia. The family of the late Judge Robert Emmet, the eldest son of Mr. Emmet, possesses a marble replica of the bust placed on this tablet.

This white marble bust and mural tablet are now on the west wall of Part 15, Supreme Court, in the west centre room on the third floor of the County Court House. The bust is placed in a niche with a hood four feet in width, with the effect of the bust resting on the top of the mural tablet, which is six feet in width and three feet high. The lettering on this slab is given with bronze letters in Roman text, each separately secured to the face of the tablet. The inscription is as follows:

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET
VIRO
DOCTRINA JURIS SCIENTIA ELOQUENTIA
PRESTANTISSIMO
INTER HÆC, SUBSELLIA ET OFFICII MUNERA
SUBITA MORTE CORREPTO
SOCII FORENSES POSUERUNT

Translation: To Thomas Addis Emmet, a man most Eminent For Learning and knowledge of Law, and for Eloquence, seized by Sudden Death while seated in this Place and Exercising the Duties of His Profession His Legal Associates have erected this Memorial.

Before either the bust with the mural tablet or the monument had been erected, the following letter was published in the New York "American," Friday evening, March 20th, 1829:

To the Editor of the American:

It is probably not unknown to you that many of the friends and admirers of the late Mr. Emmet, are exceedingly dissatisfied with the inscription for his monument, which a few weeks since was published in your paper, and which the committee of the bar, it is understood, have adopted. That the style of this inscription is classical, and the latinity faultless, is not to be disputed; but its brevity, considering the occasion and the subject, is deemed a fatal objection. When an individual to whom a monument is erected is illustrious by actions which History is sure to consecrate, or by literary productions that have the stamp of immortality, it is proper that the inscription should be simple and brief. In such cases brevity is the truest, the most effective eloquence, and elaborate praise fails of its object, and is even felt to be impertinent. The name alone of Washington, or Milton, inscribed on a monument, revives, in the mind of the spectator, a train of delightful associations, and excites emotions more varied and vivid than the poet or orator could hope to raise; and he who has the truest sense of the powers and limits of his art, on such an occasion, would refuse to exercise it. It is plain, however, that these considerations do not apply to the case of Mr. Emmet. It is only a small and comparatively unimportant portion of his life that belongs to history, and he has left no writings by which the evidence of his extraordinary genius and attainments can be transmitted to posterity. It is not extravagant to say that it is by the very memorial which the Bar proposes to raise that the fame of Mr. Emmet will be chiefly perpetuated. It is this which ought to be the witness to future ages of the estimation in which his paramount talents were held by his contemporaries. It is due, therefore, to the reputation of Mr. Emmet, to the honor of the bar, to truth and justice, that the inscription should be ample in the delineation of his character, the qualities of his mind, the extent of his attainments, and the powers of his eloquence, and should thus assign to him, distinctly and fearlessly the rank to which his genius and learning entitle him. Without such an inscription, the monument is useless. It is neither *honoris signum* nor *incitamentum gloriæ*. It can neither honor Mr. Emmet, nor provoke others to emulate his example. It is a mere mass of chiselled marble, producing no regrets, exciting no hopes, connected with no associations, intellectual or moral.

Were I a son of Mr. Emmet, I would much prefer that the monument, beautiful as it is as a specimen of art, should be broken to pieces, than that, when erected, it should bear the inscription, which in letters of brass, we are told is now engraved. What is the impression that this inscription will make even a few years hence, when those who knew and heard Mr. Emmet (*qui ipsam audivere*) shall have passed from the stage? Barely this—that he was a man of considerable eminence at the bar who, happening to die in the court-room (*inter hæc subsollis*), while engaged in some professional duty (*officii munera*), arguing a motion perhaps, or disputing a bill of costs, his associates of the bar (*Socii Forenses*) had thought it decent to commemorate his death by a suitable monument, and as a matter of course, had bestowed upon him that vague and customary praise (*ingenii, juris scientiæ eloquentiæ*) which, in an inscription, no matter to whose memory, everybody expects to find, and nobody is fool enough to believe. I may seem to have spoken with levity, but it is my serious belief that this, or something very like it, is the impression that will be produced, if the inscription is suffered to remain, and if this be so, I ask of you, the bar, and the public, is it right that it should remain?

Whatever others may think, I do not imagine that to you, the opinion which I have formed, and am about to express, of the character and abilities of Mr. Emmet, will appear extravagant. It was my fortune to know him from his first arrival in this city, and to hear him I think, in a majority of the important cases in which his talents were most successfully exerted. I know too that my opinion is unbiased, since, from peculiar causes, there were no relations between us beyond those of mere civility. Thomas Addis Emmet, in head, and in heart, and in no vulgar sense of the term, was a great man; and as an orator with the single exception of Burke, not surpassed by any that his country has produced. Superior in judgment, in taste, in the extent and variety of his learning, in argumentative power, in persuasive skill, in chastened fervor, and in true pathos, I do not say to Phillips (whose effusions are the scorn of every man of sense), but to Curran, to whom, notwithstanding his innumerable sins against good sense and good taste, the praise of eloquence of a very high order cannot certainly be denied. I add, on reflection, and with a full knowledge of the hazard to which I expose myself, superior to Grattan, if our judgment of him must be formed from his speeches, as published. The abilities of Mr. Emmet were never displayed on their proper theatre. His large and philosophic views of society, government, and law; his ample stores of knowledge, his unrivalled promptitude and invariable self-command; his eloquence, flowing, copious, rapid, unlimited in the range, most fortunate in the choice of language; his brilliant imagination and ardent feelings, when most excited, disciplined to obey the suggestion of his reason, but when put forth, resistless; and above all, that *imperatorial* tone (if the phrase be allowed), which his superior genius enabled him, without affectation, to assume, in a deliberative and popular assembly, would have combined to invest him with a controlling sway. Had his country known him, or had his own political opinions taken a different direction, it is in the Parliament of Great Britain that Emmet would have contended for the mastery with Pitt and Fox, Channing and Brougham.

The lines now enclosed for publication will, at least, serve to show what the inscription on the monument of Emmet, in the judgment of his friends, and I should think of the impartial public, ought to contain. They are not offered to the immediate adoption of the committee of the bar. Possibly they may be unworthy to be received at all, but, at any rate, they are doubtless susceptible of amendment, and may probably be subjected with much advantage to a process of compression. Some care and labor have, however, been bestowed on their composition, and they are in fact the result of repeated efforts, some of which have passed, not unscathed, through the ordeal of criticism. This is mentioned for the sake of some who may be tempted to criticise what they will not study or can not understand, and who, deceived by their usual helps of grammars and dictionaries, while condemning the ignorance and blunders of the writer, may find themselves engaged in an unconscious warfare with Virgil or Horace, Cicero or Livy.

To real scholars the attempt is submitted with unfeigned diffidence; and their objections and even doubts will be listened to with great respect.

I will only add, that the inscription it is understood is to be placed immediately below the bust; and the whole monument, in the room where Emmet fell, according to his own prediction, "with his harness on his back." U. S. F.

As the proposed changes to be made in the inscription were not accepted by the committee they have not been given.

The New York "American" for August 13th, 1828, contained the following:

Monument to Mr. Emmet:—It will be seen by the report of the proceeding of the Common Council, that the Bowling Green is recommended as a proper spot on which to erect the monument, which the countrymen and the descendants of the countrymen amongst us, of the late Mr. Emmet have subscribed for.

The communication of "A New Yorker" which we publish this evening, objects to this appropriation of that piece of ground, and for, as it appears to us, the very decisive reason that it should be reserved for a memorial of some distinguished public event, or public man of our own country. Mr. Emmet was a private man, a very eminent and

estimable one indeed, but still a private man, and therefore not entitled to the public distinction, contemplated and implied by such a step, as that of yielding up for a monument to him what a New Yorker justly calls "the finest site in this city for a public monument".

We regret that the proposition has been made, but having been, and objections, if any, being invited, we have felt it right to say this much, and must throw ourselves upon the candor of our readers, that we may not be misunderstood.

We have just received two other communications on the same subject as that of "a New Yorker" and taking the same objection to the proposed appropriation of the Bowling Green. This notice of them will, we presume, be sufficient.

To the Editor of the American:

SIR:—It is with some surprise as well as regret I observe that the Committee of the Corporation to whom was referred the somewhat singular application of the gentlemen charged with the erection of a monument to the late Mr. Emmet, have reported in favor of granting the Bowling Green for that purpose.

No man has a higher respect for the talents and amiable domestic qualities of the person in question than myself, and none is more ready to do them ample justice. He was a great advocate, and an honest man, and as such deserves the respect of his native and adopted country. But, I doubt his claims to such a high testimony of the public gratitude, as the one recommended by the committee. General Hamilton was certainly Mr. Emmet's equal in all respects; add to which he was a conspicuous actor in our revolution, as well as in the scenes which succeeded. Yet his friends and admirers were content with a monument in Trinity churchyard, among his fellow citizens. The Bowling Green is the finest site in the city for a public monument, it should be consecrated to the memory of some great public event, or public benefactor, and not to one, who, whatever may have been his merit, is neither identified with our history or our fame. It is enough that his friends and countrymen have decreed him a monument, and it is for them to select a site for its erection. The Bowling Green belongs to Washington. I know that in these wretched party times my motives will be misrepresented by men who feel that I am right, but I appeal to the sentiment of my fellow-citizens. A NEW YORKER.

A marble obelisk brought from Vermont in a single piece, before the days of railroads, was in time erected to Mr. Emmet's memory in St. Paul's churchyard, by a committee, of which Dr. Macneven was the chairman. The money for this monument was raised by subscription throughout the United States. The monument is three feet six inches square at the base, lessening gradually upward to the height of thirty feet, where it is two feet, two inches square. From thence it is drawn abruptly to a point and forms a small pyramid at the top. It stands on a plinth of the same material, almost an entire block, seven feet square and eighteen inches deep. On the face of the obelisk, toward Broadway, near the top, is a medallion likeness of Emmet in bas-relief, of colossal size.

Dr. Macneven called a public meeting and made the following remarks:

Among those who first taught how to overthrow the misrule of Ireland, who exposed its cause and prepared its cure, Emmet is distinguished. He had great influence on the adoption of those measures which are still at issue between Ireland and her foes, and which, in part obtained, in part withheld, are determinative of her future happiness, as they shall finally fail or be signally successful. He espoused the unqualified emancipation of the Catholics when that measure had but few supporters out of their own body. He brought to that cause virtue and talents, and he and a few more influential members of the Protestant Church redeemed the error of their predecessors. It is due to their

memory to record that their vigorous interference broke the religious bonds which the Protestants of a former period had bound. They were accessible among the first in Ireland to the liberality of the age. Emmet, with the aid of his standing at the bar and of his commanding eloquence, exerted upon every befitting occasion, strenuously advanced those principles and policy for which we now do honor to his name.

The New York "Courier," 10th December, 1832, published the following report:

Emmet's Monument:—At 12 o'clock, on Friday last, Dr. Macneven made a public report to a numerous assembly at the City Hall, in relation to the monument of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, now nearly completed, at the cemetery of St. Paul's church. After a statement of such particulars as were proper to be exhibited to the contributors towards the work, he embraced the occasion to give an outline of Mr. Emmet's character and genius, and a brief sketch of his life, as connected with the great cause of civil and religious freedom generally, and particularly with the history, principles, and objects of the Society of United Irishmen. The enterprise for which that society was organized, though unfortunate in its immediate results, and long stigmatized by the odious term of rebellion, must take its place in history, as it already has in the estimation of the world, as a struggle in one of the holiest causes that ever animated the heart of man. No one living could do greater justice to such a theme than the venerable author of this address, who was among their most distinguished leaders, and could say of their doings and sufferings, *"Quæ ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui."*

At the conclusion of Dr. Macneven's address the monument was uncovered by him.

Judge Wm. A. Duer said:

It was my fortune to have known him [Mr. Emmet] from his first arrival in this city, and to hear him, I think, in a majority of the important cases in which his talents were most successfully exerted. I know too that my opinion is unbiased, since, from peculiar causes there were no relations between us beyond those of mere civility. Thomas Addis Emmet, in head and in heart and in no vulgar sense of the term, was a great man; as an orator, with the single exception of Burke, unsurpassed by any that his country has produced. Superior in judgment, in taste, in the extent and variety of his learning, in argumentative power, in persuasive skill, in chastened fervor, in true pathos, the abilities of Emmet were never displayed on their proper theatre.

As but a small portion comparatively of Emmet's life belonged to history, and as he left no writings* by which the evidence of his extraordinary genius and attainments would be transmitted to future times, it was the more necessary for his reputation, for the honor of his admirers, for truth and justice, that the inscription on his monument should be ample in the delineation of his character, of the qualities of his mind, the extent of his learning and the powers of his eloquence; and should thus assign to him distinctly and fearlessly the rank to which his compeers and judges thought him entitled. Without such details there would be no witness of the estimation in which his paramount talents were held by his contemporaries. Without them there would be neither *honoris signum* nor *incitamentum gloriæ.*

Gulian C. Verplanck was selected to write the English inscription on the monument, which is as follows:

*At this period it was unknown or had been forgotten how much Mr. Emmet had written in the way of historical material. This volume, it is believed, contains all his writings that are obtainable, and these are now given to the public for the first time as a whole. Mr. Emmet was fond of contributing from time to time to the public press on different subjects of interest to him, with the object of moulding public opinion, and he always wrote anonymously. The late Charles O'Conor was the writer's authority for this information, which he probably obtained from his father, who was a very warm friend of Mr. Emmet, and was connected with some newspaper in New York for many years. How much of Mr. Emmet's work in this line has been lost can never be known.

English Inscription

IN MEMORY OF

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,

WHO

EXEMPLIFIED IN HIS CONDUCT,
AND ADORNED BY HIS
INTEGRITY,
THE POLICY AND PRINCIPLES
OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN—
"TO FORWARD A BROTHERHOOD
OF AFFECTION,
A COMMUNITY OF RIGHTS,
AN IDENTITY OF INTERESTS,
AND A UNION OF POWER
AMONG IRISHMEN
OF EVERY RELIGIOUS PERSUASION,
AS THE ONLY MEANS OF IRELAND'S
CHIEF GOOD,
AN IMPARTIAL AND ADEQUATE
REPRESENTATION
IN AN IRISH PARLIAMENT".
FOR THIS
(MYSTERIOUS FATE OF VIRTUE!)
EXILED FROM HIS NATIVE LAND.
IN AMERICA, THE LAND OF FREEDOM,
HE FOUND A SECOND COUNTRY,
WHICH PAID HIS LOVE
BY REVERENCING HIS GENIUS.
LEARNED IN OUR LAWS,
AND IN THE LAWS OF EUROPE,
IN THE LITERATURE OF OUR TIMES
AND IN THAT OF ANTIQUITY
ALL KNOWLEDGE
SEEMED SUBJECT TO HIS USE.
AN ORATOR OF THE FIRST ORDER,
CLEAR, COPIOUS, FERVID,
ALIKE POWERFUL
TO KINDLE THE IMAGINATION,
TOUCH THE AFFECTIONS,
AND SWAY THE REASON AND THE WILL.
SIMPLE IN HIS TASTES,
UNASSUMING IN HIS MANNERS,
FRANK, GENEROUS, KIND-HEARTED,
AND HONORABLE,
HIS PRIVATE LIFE WAS BEAUTIFUL
AS HIS PUBLIC COURSE WAS
BRILLIANT.

ANXIOUS TO PERPETUATE
THE NAME AND EXAMPLE OF SUCH A MAN,
ALIKE ILLUSTRIOUS BY HIS
GENIUS, HIS VIRTUES, AND HIS FATE;
CONSECRATED TO THEIR AFFECTIONS

BY HIS SACRIFICES, HIS PERILS,
AND THE DEEPER CALAMITIES
OF HIS KINDRED,
IN A JUST AND HOLY CAUSE:
HIS SYMPATHIZING COUNTRYMEN
ERECTED THIS MONUMENT AND
CENOTAPH.

BORN AT CORK, 24TH OF APRIL, 1764.
HE DIED IN THIS CITY,
14TH NOVEMBER, 1827.

The Latin inscription was the composition of Mr. John Duer:

M. S.
THOMÆ ADDIS EMMET.
QUI
INGENIO ILLUSTRI, STUDIIS ALTIORIBUS
MORIBUS INTEGRIS,
DIGNUM
SE PRÆSTABAT LAUDIBUS ILLIS,
ILLA REVERENTIA, ILLO
AMORE
QUÆ SEMPER EUM VIVENTEM
PROSEQUEBANTUR;
ET SUBITA ILLO EREPTO, MORTE,
UNIVERSÆ IN LUCTUM CIVITATIS
SE EFFUDERUNT.
QUUM RARO EXTITIT VIR
NATURÆVE DOTIBUS, DOCTRINÆVE SUBSIDIIS
OMNIBUS ILLO INSTRUCTIOR;
TUM ELOQUENTIA, ALTA ILLA ET VERA
QUALEM OLIM MIRABANTUR ROMA
ANTHENÆQUE,
PRÆCIPUE ALIOS ANTEIBAT:
GRAVIS, VARIUS, VEHEMENS, FERVIDUS
OMNES ANIMI MOTUS SIC REGERE NOVIT.
UTI EOS QUI AUDIRENT, QUO VELLET
ET INVITOS IMPELLERET.
HIBERNIA NATUS,
DILECTAM SIBI PATRIAM DIU SUBJECTAM
ALIENO, SERVIS TANTUM FERENDO, JUGO,
AD LIBERTATEM, AD SUA JURA VOCARE
MAGNO EST AUSUS ANIMO;
AT PRÆCLARA ET CONSILIA ET VOTA
FEFELLERE FATA.
TUM INFELICIS LITTORA IERNÆ
RELIQUIT,
SPE, NON ANIMO, DEJECTUS
NOBILIS EXSUL:
ET HÆC AMERICANA LIBENS RESPUBLICA
ILLUM EXCEPIT, CIVEMQUE, SIBI
GRATULANS ADSCIVIT;
DEIN HÆC CIVITAS ILLI DOMUS,

HÆC PATRIA FUIT,
HÆC GLORIAM ILLI AUXIT, HÆC
SPIRITUS ULTIMOS
RECEPIT.
MÆRENTIUM CIVIUM VOLUNTAS
HOC EXEGIT MONUMENTUM.

The Right Rev. Dr. England, the Catholic Bishop of Charleston, wrote the Gaelic inscription:

DO MHIANNAICH SE ARDMÁTH
CUM TIR A BREITH
DO THUG SE CLU A'S FUAIR SE MOLADH
AN DEIG A BAIS

The translation of the Irish inscription is: He contemplated invaluable benefits for the land of his birth; he gave *éclat* to the land of his death; and received in return her love and admiration.

On the western side of the base, just above the ground, is an inscription establishing the astronomical position of the monument on the surface of the earth.

A steady resolution to consume only the manufactures of our own country, is the sole means of restoring bread and industry to the poor.

T. A. Emmet.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

EMMET MONUMENT
St. Paul's Churchyard, New York

Emmet Monument

[Reprint of a small pamphlet issued for the occasion]

At a Meeting of the Subscribers to the Emmet Monument, convened by public advertisement at the Bowery House, the 29th of March, 1833, Thomas O'Connor being called to the chair, and Michael Burke appointed Secretary, it was

Resolved, That the accounts of William Macneven, Treasurer, be now audited, and that the same, together with his Report, be published.

New York
Printed for the Subscribers
1833

The industry of man arises not from the mere impulse of instinct; the industry of man arises from instinct and reason, from feeling and from experience, from a sense of duty and a love of fame.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXXVIII

Report of Dr. Macneven—Verses by Mrs. Lenox-Conyngham—Despard on T. A. Emmet.

E assemble to receive the report of the measures which have been adopted for completing the noble monument raised within view of this spot. You are all aware that we had lately among us a person of extraordinary endowments, one whom we knew intimately, whom we loved affectionately. Nor was it only for his bland manners and firmness in principle; his character had also an elevating influence on the fame of his country. He ranked among the highest of its gifted sons who display its fertile genius and its social spirit, who introduced the name of Ireland to the respect of the world. Commensurate with his value to relatives and friends, and to this his long adopted home, was the appalling sensation that pervaded our city on the sudden occasion of his lamented death. Thomas Addis Emmet fell unadmonished by previous illness in the midst of his forensic achievements, in this hall, in this field of his renown. It happened not inaptly to the tenor of his course, that he began his advocation at the bar of New York as counsel for the Manumission Society, vindicating the rights of man in the person of the African; and that he closed his brilliant career while defending a most humane bequest to superannuated seamen; having commenced and concluded his transatlantic life in the service of liberty and charity.*

Emmet was moulded in Nature's happiest combination to fit him for his destined service. He possessed the physical qualities necessary to an accomplished speaker, with high intellect to master and employ knowledge; with imagination and feeling to sway the passions and the heart, and with the power of incessant labor to collect, discipline and perfect the varied materials of his argumentative and impassioned oratory. When we see a man thus favored by natural talents, and thus accomplished by education, we behold one of Nature's rarest, finest works. It is not surprising that his removal in one unexpected moment from his busy life's vocations to the oblivious silence of the tomb should produce, as it did, a general burst of sorrow and a common sense of bereavement. This feeling speedily showed itself in a meeting of citizens convened by public advertisement on the evening of the 21st of December, 1827. It was there resolved "That a subscription be opened for erecting a monument to the late Thomas Addis Emmet, commemorative of his virtues and genius".

The resolution then adopted stands accomplished in the monument close by, which

*Mr. Emmet volunteered his gratuitous service to the trustees in defence of Mr. Randall's will and probably but for his long-continued efforts the "Sailors' Snug Harbor" of Staten Island would never have been created. He died in this special service; he was stricken just after the verdict had been gained, and yet, so far as the writer has ever been able to ascertain, this now wealthy corporation has never shown their obligation to Mr. Emmet, either by resolution, memorial tablet, or any other acknowledgment. It is supposed that it was not even represented at Mr. Emmet's funeral.

will evermore throw a melancholy grandeur on the cemetery of St. Paul's church.* It is a marble monolith of thirty feet elevation. It is inscribed on three sides and in three languages. That part of the English inscription beginning with the words "In America," and ending with the word "Brilliant," was written by Gulian C. Verplanck, a representative from this city in the Congress of the United States. The entire Latin inscription is from the classic pen of John Duer, counsellor of law; and the few lines of Irish were furnished by the Right Rev. Dr. England, Bishop of Charleston. These compositions, so chaste and beautiful were spontaneously offered by gentlemen not intimately connected in friendship with the deceased, nor liable to the bad taste of flattery; but being superior themselves in genius and learning, they freely gave to merit the generous applause which it is most rare of receiving from kindred desert.

In the first moment of enthusiasm, the subscription was injudiciously limited to a small sum for each subscriber, but as the idea of a more noble work soon suggested itself to persons of taste, it was seen that more ample means than the first contributions would be necessary. At this juncture a new impulse was given to the subscription by friends and clients of the deceased, and by public-spirited individuals who wished to encourage the adoption of the present beautiful and costly obelisk.

While inquiries were being made for estimates and suitable material, news arrived of the so-called Catholic Relief Bill having passed the British Parliament with spiteful prohibition against receiving any more Catholic rent under pain of forfeiture to the crown. On all this being known to us here, the Friends of Ireland dissolved their association and turned over to the monument fund the sum then remaining in the hands of their treasurer.

Mr. Sampson, who moved for this appropriation, observed that "while we rejoiced in the triumph of civil and religious liberty, and paid due honours to the living patriots, it might be well to remember those who are no more. In doing so we should act worthily, and give to those who may have to sustain at some future day, the same great cause at the peril of life and liberty, in defiance of the tyrant's vengeance, to feel and hope that though their sufferings may be great, yet that they will not be forgotten; that at the hour of death, or in the dungeon's silent gloom, when no friendly voice can reach their ears, no friendly step approach them, no other consolation than the proud consciousness of virtue bear them up; yet that if they live and die faithful, uncorrupted and unsubdued they will not be left forgotten in a neglected grave. It may be difficult," continued the eloquent speaker, "where multitudes have devoted themselves with equal magnanimity, to distinguish or select, but sometimes occasions will present themselves when the honoring of one is the honoring of all, and where for the sake of all, the opportunity should not be lost".

The net sum in the treasurer's hands was one thousand and six dollars and sixty-six cents; the Friends of Ireland in Brooklyn added to it all that accrued with them since the last payment of rent, twenty dollars; the Friends of Ireland in Charleston, South Carolina, sent one hundred dollars, and those in Savannah one hundred and twenty-four dollars and twenty-five cents to aid the same patriotic purpose.

All felt that these moneys originally raised to subserve religious liberty in Ireland, though they could not any longer be applied to that particular object, remained nevertheless appropriated to the cause of Ireland, and would now be well employed in doing honour to the enlightened policy of the United Irishmen, and to the national character abroad. So conspicuous a memorial of what this is capable of exhibiting in its best form, is what no Irishman can behold without emulation, and no American can look on without respect.

Those who would lightly asperse the Irish, or without due allowance for their unhappy position at home, would exaggerate their faults, we will beckon to this monument, and it will disarm their censure, perchance it will touch their hearts for a noble people,

*As part of the history of the Emmet monument the writer will place on record that the first site selected by the committee was Bowling Green at the foot of Broadway, where before the Revolution the equestrian statue of George III stood, which was melted to obtain bullets needed for the defence of New York. What prompted the change to St. Paul's church-yard is given elsewhere.

suffering long adversity, without debasement, and who never in all their thraldom had the meanness to be reconciled to their oppressions.

This affecting memorial will also bestow on our countrymen a universal education; the rapid education of example, the happy inspiration of what is just, noble and beautiful in morals and conduct, which transforms the character at a glance, and which, like divine grace, received in an instant, purifies the affections and actions forever. Of the thousands upon thousands who have emigrated, and who will emigrate, to this blessed land, how many, under the pressure of English misrule, have lost the advantage of a good education? We see the finest materials in the world, the best heads and the best hearts running to wild and unprofitable luxuriance, like our own rich prairies of the West, for want of due cultivation. I wish, for the love I bear my native country, that her sons would venerate the genius of their ancient land, and that keeping ever present in their thoughts the noble instances it affords of talent, probity and honour, they would so revere themselves as never to swerve from the dignity of their origin. It is not to our commemorated countryman alone that this monument is devoted; it is not his excellence alone that it records, but it turns the mind back in melancholy contemplation upon those national virtues which he eminently exhibited; a love of liberty for all Irishmen, a love of independence for all Ireland, that neither time nor exile could diminish, that violence could not intimidate, and disaster could not subdue.

It is the historical fate of patriotism, when exerted in advance of general intelligence to attract the vengeance of alarmed power, while it receives only the timid assent of hesitating friends. Persecuted on one side, unsustained on the other, the monumental fame of genius alone survives, and like the splendid ruins in the Palmyrene desert, gains a solemn sublimity from the surrounding desolation. Must prudence then hold patriotism back until all are duly prepared for the exercise of their rights? Until they learn without a preceptor to remedy their wrongs, and to use their strength with advantage, unaided by the counsel or guidance of a friend? Tyranny would never blush at redress so long deferred, which no man could hope to see in his own day. For all good works there must be found fortitude to begin, and the messenger of truth has to preach the way of salvation though martyrdom were in its train. It was not to remain forever unemployed that the defensive feeling which surges against oppression was planted by Providence in the human heart. We are the instruments in its hands for purposes we do not see; but this much we know: that when it permitted the tyrant it ordained the patriot, and that the antagonistic powers which preserved the health and sympathy of our physical frame are repeated in our intellectual nature, and given to repress the growth of moral evil. Whether we fall on severe or stormy days imports everything to our individual happiness; but even in our sufferings we may be establishing the right of our country.

Forty summers have closed around the United Irishmen since they made Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform the leading measures of their policy. They found all the Catholics of Ireland, the great majority of its population, reduced by the operation of the ferocious penal laws to the condition of slaves, in all things but being vendible, to the very meanest of their Protestant countrymen. Not only did the British Government embrace every severity that could waste the vigour of the nation, but all the rights of humanity and every duty of life were sacrificed to its direction or convenience, so this would promote the self-interest or gratify the rancour of the favored party.

There was a law of discovery by which a man who betrayed the confidence of his friend if he was a Catholic, possessed himself of that friend's estate. There was a law which disabled the Catholic father to be guardian to his own child, or to educate him. There was a law which made the disobedience and apostasy of the Catholic child the means whereby to disinherit his father. There was a law for robbing a Catholic of his horse on the highway, if when interrogated he confessed his faith. There was a law to prevent the education of Catholic children, and to punish Catholic teachers as convicts, to banish the Catholic clergy, and to hang them if they returned. To prevent Catholics from purchasing or inheriting landed estates. From having arms for their defence. To

debar them from the profession of the law. To prevent them from holding any office of trust, honour, or emolument, voting at elections, or sitting in parliament.

The United Irishmen found their country under the government of these laws, and of perhaps a hundred more, all conceived in the same spirit, and all elaborated with consummate skill to rob, harass, and insult a defenseless people. These statutes, without parallel, for their inhumanity, were framed against Christians, under pretence of securing the Protestant religion. They were enacted by Irish Protestants, political Protestants, than whom no sect has cried more loudly against persecution when Protestants were the martyrs. For all this the Protestant religion is not persecuting in its nature. When true to its origin it is necessarily tolerant and acts against its proper spirit whenever it coerces conscience, or compels uniformity of worship through means of disabilities, or subscription to its articles of faith by force of the secular arm. What indeed, would be more inconsistent than to profess the right of every man to judge of Scripture for himself, and then to punish him for having done so? The crimes of the dominant party are not justly chargeable upon the Protestant religion, though committed in its name. They were bitterly deplored by the United Irishmen of all religions, and by none more than the patriot whom we commemorate; himself a member of the Established Church, but no abetter of its injustice.

Through all this long persecution the conduct of England wore a visor of hypocrisy. It was not the conversion of the Irish it desired, but their spoliation, division and subjection. If united in religion, they might unite for their worldly interests, and a means of weakening them by dissension would be lost. The English mission never had the merit of even being honestly fanatical, it was coldblooded and crafty. Its conduct was not feebly palliated by the mistaken sincerity of blind zeal, which time might soften and philosophy assuage. It had the more terrestrial motives of insatiable rapacity, the appetite for plunder and the desire of fattening on the green pastures of Ireland. This is the eating canker which neither time nor reason ever curbs and which is now as devouring as in the beginning.

After the laws had disfranchised four-fifths of the population, all the emoluments of office, all the wealth of the richest church in the world, all the distinctions of power, all the pomp, circumstances, and advantages of dominion fell into the lap of the favoured few. These men never sought the conversion of their helots by any means that ever made proselytes to any cause.

The domestic spoliation of the Catholics was the share of the Irish Protestants in this wholesale robbery. The spoliation of the Irish nation was the part of England in the boundless plunder; she took the whole trade, prosperity and independence of Ireland, which the Irish Protestants fully surrendered for the license of pillage and tyrannizing at home. These wrongs inflicted and endured begot mutual hatred and frequent collision, and will account for the little union among Irishmen and the ferocity of character to be found in those districts where the adverse parties came oftenest into conflict.

The barter of a nation's rights for the lucre of a faction is what was called the Protestant ascendancy in church and State. It was also called the Blitish constitution. Against that impious combination of treachery within and tyranny from without, the United Irishmen pointed their oath to union—"To forward a brotherhood of affection, a community of rights, an identity of interests, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion"; it was this oath, embracing the precept of "Love one another", that the British Government prosecuted as a felony of death, and for which it sent frequent victims to the scaffold. It was made treason by that Government for Irishmen to love one another, to bury religious feuds in charity, and to promote as brothers the welfare of their native land.

Emmet did not live to behold the triumph of the Catholic cause, that happy accomplishment of one of the great measures to which he devoted fortune and life. It was in 1829 that various circumstances, domestic and foreign, among which the threatened aspect of the Catholics, their perfect union, improved knowledge and the publicity given to their

case throughout the civilized world, with the strong sympathy of America in their behalf, induced that Irish Government to compel the church party in Ireland to relinquish its ascendancy over them, rather than risk the loss of its own dominion over the Irish nation.

But the subjection of conscience to those cruel inflictions was itself only incidental to a greater evil, and this one the United Irishmen aimed above all things to remove. It was the root of every other calamity, and until corrected no good could be permanent, no security could be lasting, improvement was hardly possible. This master grievance was partly the want, partly the perversion of a national representation. In the parliament of a people adequately represented, its interests are prosecuted with its consent and confidence. A knowledge of all the ameliorations in government, in the science of politics, in commerce, arts, trades, and manufactures, in everything that affects a nation's welfare, is concentrated there with the power of applying it to the public good. The discordancy and the tumultuous impulse are there harmonized into peace and order, and commotion and rebellion are unknown where voters are competent to decide instead of swords. It was this fruitful blessing which the United Irishmen sought first of all to obtain for their country.

Down to the period of 1782, English Acts of Parliament were suffered to bind Ireland. Misgovernment and poverty, the neglect of agriculture, the prohibition of commerce, the abandonment of manufactures were, during that period, the portion of Ireland. But toward the end of the American war the Volunteers emancipated their country from this bondage, and gave it the means of being independent. The example of America was before both parties with all its omens; hence the demands of the Volunteers were prudentially conceded, and the glorious revolution of 1782 was accomplished without the loss of a drop of blood. The happy consequence was the immediate liberation of the commerce of Ireland from English restrictions. Her ensuing prosperity seemed miraculous—so prompt, so general, so enriching; and her aptitude to prosper by a free trade became known at the same time to her rival and herself.

But the Volunteers could not be always in arms, and Ireland had no representative assembly to foster her prosperity during peace. Hers was, alas! a borough-parliament, composed solely of the dominant faction, representing but a small portion of the inhabitants, and not feeling as the nation, nor as the majority. Every one perceived that all measures for relief would be insecure, nay illusory, unless preceded or accompanied by a reform in this parliament. The Volunteers saw it and endeavored to reform, but they excluded the Catholics from parliament, and did not see (unhappy effects of the ignorance of the times!) that this alone would defeat their plan, that they could not erect an edifice of freedom on a foundation of monopoly. Warned by these errors, the United Irishmen altered the system of reform fundamentally. They extended their base, and established their plan upon three simple principles necessarily dependent on each other, and containing the disease, the remedy, and the mode of its attainment.* The excess of English influence was the disease, a reform in parliament the remedy, and the inclusion of the Catholics the mode of its attainment.

Theobald Wolfe Tone had of all others the greatest part in effecting, in the beginning, this change of sentiment among the Protestants, to whose communion he belonged. He wrote the original declaration for the first society of United Irishmen of Belfast, and his powerful writing brought the Presbyterians of the north very generally into the system. I was among the earliest of the Catholics who joined in Dublin, and there I first knew Emmet, and there I often heard him in strains of pure and forcible eloquence expand, inculcate, and apply, for the benefit of his beloved country, the political principles of the United Irishmen.

Wherever men had no means of legitimate redress, we have seen them become their own avengers, the worst government being always marked by the greatest commotions. If there be not an impartial administration of justice, the stiletto takes the place of jury, and for want of government restricted and accountable in Ireland, insurrection and civil

*"Life of Tone", Vol. I, p. 492.

war were the resource of an exasperated people. Left without the protection of a national parliament, Ireland was always tyrannically ruled, the frame of society dislocated and broken, and her numerous insurrections were the throes of an agonized nation.

But from the moment Protestant reformers recognized the principle that no reform was practicable, efficacious, or just, which should not equally include Irishmen of every religious persuasion, the measure was feasible. It received the assent of the whole nation, save only the Established Church and the other dependents of the British Government. Its principle recommended itself to the common sense of mankind, and the authority of America proclaimed its benefits.

In a short time its way was so far prepared by public opinion that even its interested opponents anticipated its final success. They determined, therefore, upon the desperate expedient of leaving no parliament in Ireland for reform to better. They hastened to buy from the borough-holders that which a truly Irish parliament would not sell; its own existence, and the nation's independence. They hoped to extinguish in the abolition of the parliament every chance and effort to peaceful and constitutional improvement. They conspired to transport it for life, mutilated and captive, into the British House; to imprison it beyond the sea, in the abyss of English supremacy, where its languishing, nerveless remains, doomed to live in a perpetual minority could nevermore bring to its ill-fated country the blessings of liberty, good government, or commerce.

By the measure of a legislative union, Ireland reverts again to the same wretched state as when bound by acts of the English parliament. On the misery of that state the ablest men who ever advocated her course, even other than United Irishmen, have exhausted eloquence and invective, and the brightest page in her history is the one which records the extorted renunciation of that usurped power, and her plenary right of self-government. The pitiful representation of Ireland in a foreign land can but little avail her for her own benefit. She is there in a minority of one to six. The six give the law to the one, and with that one they have nothing in common. They have other constituents who are a different people, who have clashing interests, who have national antipathies, and who may well feel contempt for the substitute of that parliament that traitorously sold its country. Such are the legislators who now bind Ireland in iron fetters.

The consequences are the same as before; discontent and remonstrance, and a proclamation to all Europe, showing how easy it would be to dismember the United Kingdom. No loyalty will reconcile rational beings to preserve an evil which they can exchange for good; so that they who make Ireland poor and enslaved set before her above all other men the advantages of separation. What can create a desire for this remedy but ill-treatment? and as long as this treatment lasts, how shall that desire discontinue? They stand in the relation of cause and effect, and will forever go on, or cease together.

It was the opinion of Emmet that the legislative union was a measure more suited to facilitate the despotism of the ministry than to strengthen the dominion of England. Since the abuse of power has ever followed its excess, no less in nations than individuals, a restraint upon human actions is salutary for all parties, and the impediment that shall stop the career of ministerial tyranny will be found to work best for the stability of the connection. If this operate to the good of Ireland, she will observe it for its utility, an Irish parliament being then its best preservative. If, on the contrary, it be made, as at present, to sacrifice the many to the few, it will be viewed as a curse by the Irish people, who have in all cases most power and, in this, will have least reason to sustain it.

It presents, we see, these reasons why they deny a parliament to Ireland on which to rest her peace and happiness, self-poised and self-protected; we see them sedulous to change the state of the question, and to misrepresent the repeal of the legislative union as a schism in the government. They would limit us entirely to England for benefits—whence then have come our wrongs? An Irish parliament, on the contrary, would be a bond of liberal connection; it would settle every question of domestic policy at home, prevent strife and recrimination between both countries, secure to the affairs of Ireland a degree of attention which, however necessary, they do not and cannot obtain among the

weighty concerns of a different people, in a foreign legislature. It would remove the old, opprobrious evil of legislation without representation; for wherever this is partial and foreign, it is inadequate; as relates to Ireland, it is worthless mockery. Why was a borough-constituency vicious, but because it sent men to make laws for the people who did not represent the people, who were returned by a different body, and intent only upon serving themselves and their employers. In the same way the parliament is vicious which makes laws to rule Ireland by men not chosen by Ireland, who do not represent her people, who do not know her wants or wishes, and who must be often biased by an adverse interest.

The attributes of genius are not rare among the Irish and American countrymen of Emmet, and time here is constantly developing the resources of mind. The labours of intellect press onward for distinction, while names of high endowment are forced back to make room for new reputations. They alone will be long remembered who have acted with an impulsive power on the destinies of their country and kind. Among those who first taught how to overthrow the misrule of Ireland, who exposed its cause and prepared its cure, Emmet is distinguished. He had great influence on the adoption of those measures which are still at issue between Ireland and her foes, and which, in part obtained, in part withheld, are determinative of her future happiness, as they shall finally fail or be signally successful. He espoused the unqualified emancipation of the Catholics, when that measure had few supporters out of their own body. He brought to that cause virtue and talents, and he and a few more influential members of the Protestant church redeemed the error of their predecessors. It is due to their memory to record that their vigorous interference broke the religious bonds which the Protestants of a former period had bound. They were accessible among the first in Ireland to the liberality of the age. Emmet, with the aid of his standing at the bar, and of his commanding eloquence, exerted upon every befitting occasion, strenuously advanced these principles and policy for which we now do honour to his name. The adversaries of Ireland's freedom laboured to calumniate her best friends, and to hold up the United Irishmen especially as wanton rebels, as if indeed there had been any lawful authority in the way. We hold them up in their deeds as benefactors to their country, as opposed to religious persecution, and the tyrannical rule of a foreign government. Let their solemn oath, for which they suffered exile and death and the martyrdom of calumny upon their fame, decide between them and their enemies. It stands emblazoned before the world upon that pillar, from which the hand of rancorous power cannot erase its purport, where malice cannot belie its truth, where the sons of Erin may ever read the principles and policy that point their way to freedom.

By this monument the countrymen of Emmet, sympathizing in his personal and family misfortunes incurred for the liberty of Ireland, and being justly proud of his character and genius, determined to give them a more lasting tribute than sighs and tears could be expected to afford. Fortunately for his fame, the delineation of his character was given by members of his own enlightened profession, with whom he lived in daily intercourse for twenty-seven years. They were too liberal to lessen, too discriminating to exaggerate his qualifications; their testimony is as impartial as it is favourable, and I adopt it as the surest mode of fulfilling, according to my desire, the pious offices of patriotism and friendship.

It was justly observed by an eminent member of our bar "that as but a small portion, comparatively, of Emmet's life belonged to history, and as he left no writings by which the evidence of his extraordinary genius and attainments would be transmitted to future times, it was the more necessary for his reputation, for the honour of his admirers, for truth and justice, that the inscription on his monument should be ample in the delineation of his character, of the qualities of his mind, the extent of his learning, and the powers of his eloquence; and should thus assign to him, distinctly, fearlessly, the rank to which his compeers and judges thought him entitled. Without such details there would be no witness of the estimation in which his paramount talents were held by his contemporaries. Without them there would be neither *'honoris signum'* nor *'incitamentum gloriæ'*." "It was my fortune," continues Mr. Duer, "to know him from his first arrival in this city,

and to hear him, I think, in a majority of the important cases in which his talents were most successfully exerted. I know too that my opinion is unbiased, since from peculiar causes, there were no relations between us beyond those of mere civility. Thomas Addis Emmet, in head and in heart, and in no vulgar sense of the term, was a great man; and as an orator, with the single exception of Burke, unsurpassed by any that his country has produced. Superior in judgment, in taste, in the extent and variety of his learning, in argumentative power, in persuasive skill, in chastened fervor, in true pathos; the abilities of Emmet were never displayed in their proper theatre. His large and philosophic views of society, government and law; his ample stores of knowledge; his unrivalled promptitude and invariable self-command, his elocution, flowing, copious, rapid, unlimited in range, most fortunate in the choice of his language; his brilliant imagination and ardent feelings when most excited, disciplined to obey the suggestion of his reason, his powers of sarcasm and irony, rarely exerted, but when put forth, resistless; and above all, that *imperiatorial* tone (if the phrase be allowed) which his superior genius enabled him, without affectation, to assume, in a deliberative and popular assembly, would have combined to invest him with controlling sway".

"The amenity of his manners", as it was said by another member of the bar, Mr. Charles Patterson, "the urbanity of his deportment, the excellence of his heart, and his kindness to the younger members of the profession, all rendered him a model for imitation, and are forever engraven on the hearts of those with whom he was associated. Of that bar he might well be called the father *'Et Decus et Tutamen.'* He devoted his whole soul to his profession, midnight vigils too often followed the severe labours of the forum, and no client ever complained that the merits of his case had not been perceived and sustained. His knowledge was profound, his researches to his last moment unremitting. He possessed a mind of extraordinary comprehension, and the strongest and most extensive powers of analysis, he enjoyed the secret of identifying himself with his case, and adding a sort of personal interest to his professional obligation. Endowed with a brilliant imagination, fortified with accurate and discriminating views of English history, enriched with all the fruits of various knowledge, and blessed with a noble enthusiasm, he appeared before the bar the very model of a learned, accomplished and eloquent lawyer."

Here follows the inscription on the monument which has already been given.

At the public meeting which convened on the 21st of December, Dr. George Cumming* was called to the chair, and on that and every subsequent occasion while he [Dr. Cumming] lived, his zealous services were not wanting to promote our common object. They were such as might have been expected from his sincere attachment to his deceased friend, and to the honour and cause of the United Irishmen. After some progress had been made in the collection of subscriptions, a plan was submitted to a public meeting for its decision. It represented an antique obelisk of a single piece, a monolith thirty feet high, as most durable, most simple and least expensive of any form possessing so much grandeur. The meeting approved and adopted it; upon which proposals were called for through the public prints for its erection. The Messrs. Kain offered to complete it for $3,200: their proposal, being the lowest, was accepted. It was, however, obvious that some extra expense would arise, for which it would also be necessary to make provision. On comparing the amount received with the cost to be incurred, the latter, it was seen, would outrun the former considerably, whereupon one thought of constructing the monument of several pieces; another of reducing the size, in order by this or that means to bring the expense within the compass of the collection. But a person was found to assume all the responsibility sooner than suffer the noble plan already adopted to be either marred or abandoned; trusting to the same good feeling which furnished the first subscriptions to supply the deficiency, when the work should be finished. Whereupon Dr. Macneven was appointed a committee for that purpose.

Persons friendly to this national memorial had undertaken as soon as it was set on

*Believed to have been the fellow-prisoner at Fort George of Mr. Emmet, Dr. Macneven and the other Irish leaders, from the similarity of name and the friendship which existed for many years between these men. Dr. Cumming died shortly after Mr. Emmet.

foot to receive subscriptions in the different wards, and they made their returns to Mr. Dennis McCarthy. Their names, with those of a few othtrs are preserved in the following list:

Dr.

EMMET MONUMENT with D. McCARTHY, ESQ., Treasurer.

Dr. George Cumming	$53.50	Francis Henrietta	$24.50
Miles Riley	9.00	Charles Caherty	3.00
James Ballagh	10.00	Doctor Cumming	12.00
John T. Dolan	3.00	Doctor Cumming	13.00
Doctor Cumming	9.00	D. H. Doyle	57.00
Miles Riley	8.00	Bryan McKenna	4.00
Doctor Cumming	20.00	Hamilton Wilson	20.75
James Ryan	13.00	Peter Remson	25.00
Arthur McCartin	32.00	Joseph Kernochan	20.00
Doctor Sweeney, John	.	James Brown	20.00
O'Neil and John Fagan	39.00	John White & Co.	50.00
Miles Riley	5.50	Edward Ennett	86.50
Doctor Cumming	10.00	Tighe Davy	22.75
Col. Stevens	10.00	Arthur McCartin	5.00
Capt. Peter Davey	20.00	Peter Davey	6.00
Doctor Cumming	10.00	John Jacob Astor	100.00
Mrs. Colden	10.00	George Bowen	12.00
Doctor Cumming	20.00	Archibald McIntire	100.00
Doctor Cumming	24.00	Doctor Cumming	20.00
Rev. Mr. Feltus	80.00	John Caldwell	12.00
Bernard McKenna for Rev. John Power	5.00	John Gibson	20.00
		Michael Muldon	25.00
Rev. Edward Mitchell	40.00	Francis and James Kain	9.00
Doctor Macneven	38.00	Owen Smith	19.00
John T. Gannon	13.12	Charles Smith	9.00
Lewis Cronly	18.00	James W. Lent	5.00
William Gamble	10.00	John Lozier	5.00
Miles Riley	7.75	John Ridden	38.00
James Ballagh	1.00	George McKay	10.00
William James, Jr.	62.00	Dr. Macneven, a draft from Savannah	124.25
Michael Muldon	43.00	Peter Duffy	16.62
William Edmonds	30.00		
Lawrence Murphy	5.00		
Andrew Fallon	10.00		$1,595.24

EMMET MONUMENT with D. McCARTHY, ESQ., Cr.

By cash paid Arl. Cregier, per order	$ 109.77
By cash paid Doctor Macneven, as per receipt	1,435.10
	$1,595.24

Dr.

EMMET MONUMENT with WM. J. MACNEVEN, Treasurer.

By cash from Dennis McCarthy.	$1,435.10	Wm. James, of Albany	$100.00
Amount received from the "Association of the Friends of Ireland"; being balance in hands of the Treasurer, by vote of that body	1,006.66	From Belfast, Ireland	93.33
		A. McCann, Hamburg	3.00
		Rev. James Smith, N. Y.	5.00
		John T. Wymbs	3.00
		Hugh Wilson	10.00
Amount received from Friends of Ireland, Charleston, S. Ca.	100.00	Thomas E. Davis	25.00
		Rev. Wm. Powell	25.00
Amount received from Friends of Ireland in Brooklyn, N. Y.	20.00	Dr. Maurice Power	6.00
		B. Birdsell	5.00

John Keefe, Philadelphia	$ 5.00	John Quinn	$5.00
Andrew Brady	5.00	Patrick Tully	5.00
John T. Dolan	5.00	Anthony Kerr	5.00
William James	10.00	Patrick Rice	5.00
Michael Burke	10.00	William Kain	5.00
John Chambers	5.00	William O'Connor	5.00
By Robert Dillon from Augusta, Ga.	20.00	John R. Skiddy	5.00
John Kennedy	2.00	Joseph B. Benson	5.00
Wm. S. Reddin	5.00	John Foot	5.00
Robert McKeon	2.00	Joseph Kernochen	5.00
Jacob Harvey	5.00	George D. Strong	5.00
Abraham Bell	5.00	Francis O'Brien	5.00
John Brown	5.00	Christopher Bant	5.00
Daniel H. Scully	3.00	Dr. Rhinelander	3.00
James Matthews	3.00	John Darley	5.00
Mathew O'Brien	3.00	John L. Dillon	3.00
Edward Mathews	3.00	Thomas Lynch	20.00
Robert White	5.00	Philip Burrows	5.00
James Campbell	5.00	Samuel Neilson	2.00
James McBride	5.00	Gregory Dillon	5.00
Thomas Suffern	10.00	Gideon Lee	20.00
John Wilson	3.00	John Doyle	5.00
Thomas Gough	10.00	John Toomey	5.00
James Kerrigan	10.00	Bernard Graham	5.00
Jadah Hammond	10.00	Francis Kain	50.00
Andrew Kerregan	5.00	Campbell P. White	10.00
James Ryan	10.00	James Sweeney	5.00
Daniel Kearney	5.00	Mr. Walsh	2.00
William Nixon	5.00	Charles O'Conor	5.00
James Shea	10.00	Eber Wheaton	10.00
Rev. Thomas C. Levins	3.00	George Bowen	10.00
Michael O'Shannessy	10.00	James Shaw	5.00
Robert Donaldson	5.00	Charles F. Grim	5.00
Miles R. Burke	10.00	William James Macneven	67.00
Mrs. H. Pyne	10.00		
			$3,426.13
Total cash of Monument			$3,535.90

EMMET MONUMENT with WM. J. MACNEVEN, Treasurer.

To Messrs. Francis and James Kain on their raising the obelisk and in its unfinished state		$2,500.00
Andrew Brady, for iron railing round the Monument		155.00
Advertising in the public prints, and issuing circulars		23.38
Woodcut by Mason		6.00
Hire of rooms for public meetings		14.75
Messrs. Harper's bill for printing report, and list of subscribers		12.00
Gratuity to Mr. Preece, for extra services		15.00
Messrs. Francis and James Kain balance in full of $3,200 amount of contract		700.00
		$3,426.13

The undersigned have examined the above account, and the vouchers thereunto belonging, and find them correct.

(Signed) M. O'SHANNESSY,
JAMES SHEA, Auditors

THE MONUMENT OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

DESCRIPTION

The monument stands a few feet within the railing of St. Paul's cemetery in one of the most conspicuous places in the City of New York.

The foundation is laid six feet deep in the natural earth and encloses a hollow square, in which is deposited a large glass bottle, hermetically sealed, containing various documents. It is covered by a plinth, in one block of white marble, seven feet square, and one foot, six inches thick.

The surmounting obelisk is thirty feet, one inch high, viz. from the base to the frustum twenty-seven feet, three inches; thence to the apex of the pyramid, two feet, ten inches. It is three feet, six inches square at the base, and two feet square at the frustum. It consists of one piece of white marble.

One-third from the top is a fine medallion likeness from a model by Mr. Ingham. It was sculptured by Mr. Preece, and is well executed. Below this is the English inscription; immediately after is a device representing the American eagle, supported by an American and Irish hand, clasped and crossing over the Irish harp unstrung.

The whole weight of plinth and obelisk is 21 tons, 14 cwt., 2 qrs., 15 lbs.

On the back of the obelisk is inscribed the latitude of the spot, 40° 42′ 40″ N. also the longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, 74° 03′ 21″.5.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

WM. JAMES MACNEVEN, Committee.

This Vermont stone of which the monument is constructed, when first taken from the quarry, is brilliant in its appearance of purity, and compares well with the beautiful white marbles of Ireland and Italy.

But unfortunately the stone contains iron as an impurity in its composition, and this oxidizes from exposure, forming a fine powder soluble in water. The rain water of winter washes this out, staining the stone, and occupying the numerous little cavities, it freezes and when the ice melts the face of the stone is broken off, making this process of disintegration continuous with the exposure.

This shaft was erected in 1832 and since that time the lettering became so indistinct that it was necessary to recut the lettering once, and twice to repaint it. As a repetition of the relettering must eventually destroy the surface of the monument, it has been left for some years past in its present condition as the lesser of two evils. A plan suggested by the writer has been objected to from an artistic point of view, but unfortunately there exists no alternative save the destruction of the stone, if the lettering is again to be made.

The proposal was to cover from the base below to the beginning of the pyramidal extremity above, with an ornamental bronze hood, formed by the plates covering the four sides and riveted together at the corners and showing the lettering on each side in raised letters of bronze. Such a cover lowered from above would reach a point in its descent where the upper edges of the four-sided hood would bind the stone surface and by its weight the entrance of rain water would be excluded. The large profile on the Broadway side could be shown through an opening in the bronze cover, and with a frame which would protect the marble surface. The sides of the pyramid above are but little injured as they slope sidewise at such an angle that the water cannot remain long on its surface. The Catholic Cathedral and Grace Church at Broad-

way and Eleventh Street are built of this stone. Here the dark staining of the stone and its wear gives an appearance of antiquity to the buildings.

The obelisk in Central Park, after being exposed for several thousand years to an Egyptian climate, having this impurity in its composition, has, in some twenty years, lost all the figures, and at least an inch of its surface from the exposure in this climate. It could easily be moved and should even now be placed under cover in the Museum of Art, close by.

WRITTEN AT THE TOMB OF THOS. ADDIS EMMET

(From the "Galway Vindicator") 1841.

In a strange land doth a pilgrim stand by the grave of the honoured dead,
And his spirit droops, as he sadly stoops o'er the patriot's narrow bed;
For his thoughts, I ween, flung back have been to the morn of a brightsome day,
Like a dawn in June, alas! how soon in storm to pass away!
Yet his pulses throb, mid each frequent sob, as he proudly scans the name,
For never before, another wore the garb of a purer fame;
And none may read, though far he speed, a scroll more glorious than
A Freeborn Race hath cared to trace for the exiled Irishman!
Oh, it is a pride, whatsoe'er betide, to know of our brethren's worth;
That the nations of earth love the land of our birth, for the hearts she has sent forth;
Though our eyes must still with the tear-drops fill, for the mother's sorrowful story,
May we not rejoice when the alien voice peals the note of her children's glory!
Carved on this stone is the name of *one*, alas! I may not tell
'Till the hour shall be, he had yearned to see, how a mightier champion fell;
Firm did they stand for a trampled land, abiding chains and death,
And now with the blest *both* spirits rest—for 'tis Emmet sleeps beneath.

M. G. Conway

Mrs. Lenox-Conyngham published in her volume of poems the following to the memory of her uncle, Thos. Addis Emmet, written previous to 1833:

To the Memory of T. A. E.

οἳ πατρίδα τήν ἀρετήν ἡγηοάμενοι*

Died he an exile from his country?—No!
For virtue was his country; and Earth's power
Had all been vain to make that man forego
His virtue, though in secret, for an hour.

It was his fate through many a land to roam;
To pass in prison many a tedious year;
But his unshaken spirit had a home
Too strong for grief,—impregnable by fear.

Yes! virtue was the country of his soul,
Whence it could not depart. Change nature's course,—
Arrest the planets God ordained to roll;
Then from their virtue souls like Emmet's force.

*A quotation from "Lysias," in English:
"We who established the virtues of the Fatherland."

She also wrote in relation to her uncle, Mr. Emmet:

THE RIGHTEOUS PERISHETH

"The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart: and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come." Isaiah, c, 57, v. 1.

The righteous perisheth; and o'er his tomb,
Warm tears are wept—deep sighs bewail the doom
Of that good man, whose virtues had not power
To stay the progress of life's parting hour.

This for a season:—but the sigh, the tear,
Soon cease,—brief tribute to the dead and dear;
New loves and fresher interests efface
Past, pious sorrow's faintly lingering trace.

The righteous perisheth:—his fleeting breath
Is borne away upon the blast of death
Of all who watch that fleeting breath depart,
How many lay the solemn scene to heart?

None. No! not one; the merciful, the just,
Is laid to mingle with his parent dust:
Men meet to mourn above the senseless sod,
And they forget his spirit is with God.

Not one considereth that from the day
Of coming evil he was snatched away;
Not one reflecteth that in saving love,
His Maker called that righteous man above.

In 1867 Mrs. Eliza Greatorex, a native of Ireland and an artist in pencil drawing of considerable ability, as well as an etcher, published a work "Old New York from the Battery to the Bloomingdale." The text was furnished by her brother, Mr. M. Despard. The author knew Mrs. Greatorex and as a collector furnished her with many original drawings of old New York by Robinson and others. A bond of interest was established on learning from her that she was a granddaughter of Col. Edward Marcus Despard, a young Irishman who was executed for treason in London in 1803, and generally supposed to have been connected with the movement of Robert Emmet, but there is no evidence that they had any personal knowledge of each other. Despard was an officer in the English army, who had seen service and already had gained quite a reputation as a military man.

He was hung after a hasty trial, and as many thought at the time on inefficient evidence given by an informer, with no proof of his having committed any treasonable or overt act. Before Pitt became Prime Minister it had not been considered treason to criticize the acts of the government in Ireland, but by Pitt's order thousands were put to death in Ireland for saying and doing what was tolerated in London in an Englishman.

The following is taken from Mrs. Greatorex's book, from the pen of Mr. Despard:

Mr. Despard's Sketch

The Emmet Monument

within the old wall of St. Paul's.

The simple record of the life of a good man must be the most eloquent panegyric that can be pronounced on him. No eulogistic epitaph, no tribute of praise or admiration, brought by loving friends or approving judges, can so endear the name of Thomas Addis Emmet to every true heart, every noble soul, as the story of his life with its struggles, its wrongs, its sufferings and unselfishness. After reading it we wonder much at the tyranny which could crush such a life, but more at the undying sweetness, the almost divine patience, that could rise from such bitter experiences into new deeds of love, new efforts for the good of his fellow-men.

The history of the early years of Emmet, spent in the long unequal conflict for the freedom of his country, impresses us so painfully, that we turn from it most willingly, to follow him in the career which opened before him in the fair, free New World, whose paths of honorable endeavor, pure integrity, and generous helpfulness are brighter and fairer since they were pressed by his steps. It was surely some benign spirit of compensation which gave to Emmet for the first-fruits of the exercise of his wisdom and his eloquence, in the New York courts of justice, the freedom of a slave. As sure as the lightning is attracted by steel, his sympathies and aid flew to the down-trodden and the wronged. To the individual, and to the State, his efforts were devoted when injustice and oppression assailed. Emmet was released from prison, only to be banished from his native Ireland. Leaving for ever behind him his whole past life, he came to America in 1804. Dr. Francis, in his historical sketch of old New York, thus speaks of him:

"Emmet was profoundly learned as a physician; and upon his arrival in this country deliberated whether to enter upon the practice of medicine, or enter the courts of law. In all cases of death that came before Emmet requiring medical testimony, an examination of the brain he made a prerequisite."

He almost immediately found in the legal profession a worthy arena for the exercise of his great powers. Never did a more brilliant galaxy of names adorn any profession than that which gave lustre to the New York Bar at the beginning of this century.

Hamilton, Maxwell, Hoffman, Burr, Harrison, Brockholst, Livingston, Martin Wilkins, Colden, Slosson, Pendleton, Wells and many names equally noble live in history. When Thomas Addis Emmet came among them, this illustrious circle recognized him as a peer. Alexander Hamilton had just perished in the fatal duel with Burr, and it was soon felt that Emmet was destined to fill his place.

In a few years the threatenings of the war of 1812-14 overclouded the land and the aid and counsel of Emmet were sought and given. He wrote for De Witt Clinton, then Mayor of the city, the letter in which he offered to Governor Tompkins his personal services in the field. He took part in the fortifying of the city, in organizing the militia; he raised the tone of public spirit; and as the precious metal is found when the turbid water has been drained from it, or when separated from the common clay which hid it, the pure gold of Emmet's character was the residuum, when the excitement of political dissension had passed away, and the conflicting feelings of parties were sifted from patriotic actions.

On the private life of Thomas Addis Emmet we must touch reverently. As husband, father and grandsire he was always and in all "noble, tender, and true." After the execution of his younger brother Robert in Dublin the name of Ireland was never mentioned in the household. For him the music of that name was the emblematic harp of his unhappy country, the lightest touch on its broken strings could waken only a dissonant wail or trembling sigh. Had he lived two years longer, some reward for his heroic self-sacrifice might have come to him in the accomplish-

ment of one of the great measures to which, although he was a member of the Protestant Church, he had devoted fortune and life, the Catholic Emancipation Bill, which passed the British Parliament in 1829. But in 1827 the great jurist, the pure patriot, the faithful citizen was suddenly summoned from his life of noble toil. While defending the bequest of the Randall estate for worn-out seamen, in the very height of his splendid eloquence he was stricken with death. The court was immediately closed, his mourning friends and colleagues crowded around his dwelling, following him to his grave, and in token of their love and their admiration erected, a short time after his loss, the monument which, close to the venerable church of St. Paul's, rising from amidst so many illustrious names, commemorates so eloquently in the English, the Latin and the Irish tongues, the heroism, the gifts, and the virtues of Thomas Addis Emmet.

With no evidence to the contrary it is assumed Mr. Despard was also the author of the following poetical tribute to Mr. Emmet's memory:

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET

Do mhiannaich se ardmáth
Cum tir a breith
Do thug se clu a's fuair se moladh
An deig a bais.*

Across the ocean wild,
Far from the land defiled
By fierce oppression, drenched in patriots' gore,
Victim of power unjust,
With high hopes laid in dust,
The exile came, grief laden, to our shore.

He bore the heavy cross
Of unavailing loss,
The piercing thorns of ineffectual strife,
Against the bigot sway,
Th' imperious armed array,
The iron heel that pressed down freedom's life.

His ordeal of fire
Annealed the pure desire
And pitying love that stirred him for th' oppressed;
No bitter scar of wrong
Defaced that spirit strong,
Whose chrism of woe but sanctified and blest.

Ere on his ear had died
Poor Erin's wail, that cried
Loud from her desolated homes to Heaven,
He, the High Priest of Right,
Flashed down on Slavery's might
Lightnings of scorn, and lo! the chains were riven.

*He aspired at (to) great good
For the land of his birth,
He brought a reputation, and was praised
In the land he died in.

Through all his years mature
He stood, a beacon sure,
A ray of white and perfect spotlessness,
That shone through mist and cloud
O'er vexing waves that flowed
Around the land he lived to serve and bless.

Well might they raise this stone
Strong, upright and alone,
Asking from earth but place to reach the skies;
So lifted he the front
That tyrants could not daunt;
So from this sacred grave his sainted name shall rise.

We shall not mourn as vain
The struggle and the pain
That crushed the petals of his splendid soul.
A deathless flower, it wreathes
Fair Freedom's brow, and breathes
Immortal fragrance while the ages roll.

The power of the British merchant, manufacturer and mechanic multiplied the wrongs, perpetuated the dependence, and aggravated the mortifications of Ireland. The Irishman and the negro were enslaved on the same principle.

T. A. Emmet.

To increase the commerce of England seemed sufficient motive and justification for the foulest injustice and most licentious despotism towards other nations and its own dependencies.

T. A. Emmet.

Chapter XXXIX

The writer's early recollection of his Grandmother Emmet—His long walks with her—He the only person with whom she would ever speak in relation to Ireland—Her disposition as a mother—Her relation to society life—Mrs. Graves' statement as to the unity of the Emmet family—Few letters written by Mrs. Emmet late in life—Copy of the only one known—Dr. Madden's tribute to Mrs. Emmet—Her death and place of burial—A last portrait once in the possession of her brother—Two painted by her daughter Elizabeth, afterwards Mrs. Le Roy—Her children and those living at her death.

HE writer's recollection of his grandmother, Mrs. Emmet, dates from only five or six years after the death of her husband, and after she had given up the cares of housekeeping. She had her room in each establishment and passed her time with one or another of her children. Her second daughter, Margaret, who remained unmarried, had lived with Mrs. Graves a number of years and being free from the cares of house-keeping became the constant companion of her mother until, finally, that this relationship might be fully preserved, Mrs. Emmet also became a permanent member of Mrs. Graves' household. During the summer months, when the writer had accompanied his parents north on a visit to the family, he was frequently called upon by his grandmother to be with her. She had but just passed middle life and was unusually vigorous and fond of a long tramp in the country. The writer was always invited to accompany her and it was during their long walks that he gained from her lips his first knowledge of Irish history, relating to that portion in which her husband was prominent, where she herself played her part in sharing with him the privation attending years of imprisonment. This privilege he could not appreciate fully as a boy nor the fact that he was the only individual to whom she ever made the slightest reference to Ireland. It would seem as if by instinct she realized she would be sowing seed on a soil, which at some time would bear good fruit, so far as the recipient had the ability for its development.

Mrs. Emmet was noted for being a good mother and one who fully appreciated her duties to her children, to her household matters, and her husband, and in each she had excelled to a remarkable degree. As a hostess she was

noted among the gentlemen who were attracted to her house by the charms and accomplishments of her daughters. She lived for her family and to discharge her duty to every member. She always had a large number of female friends who maintained the friendship by seeking her company, for she seemed to ignore every social obligation outside of her domestic circle. She had neither the strength nor the time to discharge both.

The only light on Mrs. Emmet's daily life at this time is given by Mrs. Graves in a letter dated December 1st, 1842, and written to her aunt, Mrs. John Patten, after her return from a visit to Ireland. During her absence her brother, Dr. John Patten Emmet, the writer's father, had died, and she was writing abroad an account of his illness and death.

Unless you had once looked into our family circle, and seen how free it was from all the little jarrings and jealousies that so often disturb that union, I could not describe to you the delight of being once more among them. There was not even one loving face missing, for my dear brother John, from his delicate health, had for years been obliged to separate from us, and reside at the South, and therefore the void was not so perceptible to the eye, though the heart must ever feel it. Mamma had gone through much fatigue, for she had watched as a Mother, and such a Mother, only can watch, the sick bed of a dear child.

She has, however, now quite recovered her looks, and is, I think, as well as she has been for years. What delight she took in asking me questions about Clonmel, and all about Mrs. Colville's place, where she used to spend her holidays. I had particularly observed many things that I thought must have been there when she lived there, among others the nut tree in the garden at Anerville, which the moment I mentioned she exclaimed: "How well I remember racing over the whole place to find John, and tell him there were nuts on it". I have not yet allowed her to move in from the country. The weather is delightful, and she rambles for miles through the fields, which is very good for her. Margaret is out of town with her, but I have been obliged to remain with Mr. Graves, who is endeavouring by hard work to struggle against the hard times.

To Uncle John and young John [Patten] give our kindest love. Mr. Graves has been anxiously looking out for some pamphlets which were to have reached us at Liverpool. He begged me to remind Uncle John about it.

Believe me, my dear Aunt, as ever your affectionate niece,

MARYANNE GRAVES.

Not a letter written by Mrs. Emmet was found among the family papers, although she wrote frequently to her husband while he was absent in Albany during the sitting of the courts. We have seen from the letters written to Mr. Emmet while in prison at Fort George that Mrs. Emmet even then, as a young woman, had a great disinclination to letter-writing, and as she grew older this dislike increased, so that she seldom, if ever, wrote to the other members of the family.

From the fact that none of her letters have been preserved it is not improbable that she herself destroyed those she had written to her husband. The only letter written by her known to exist is given by Dr. Madden in his Life of her husband. This was written to her brother, Mr. John Patten, in Ireland, at some time after her emigration to this country. Mrs. Emmet, it is said, also

REPRODUCTION BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

MRS. JANE [PATTEN] EMMET
From an oil portrait by Mrs. Elizabeth [Emmet] Le Roy about 1842

had a peculiarity of seldom dating or signing her letters; fortunately this one has her name attached to it:

New York [no date].

After the hopes I had indulged in of seeing you, I commence my letter with feelings of regret not easily spoken of. The prospect of your being an inmate in our family has long been cherished as an event that, of all others, could afford us the greatest happiness. We now feel the disappointment doubly.

In urging you to come to America our own gratification is not the first object, as that would be defeated if you were not happy here; but I am well convinced the exchange would every way add to your comfort.

I know the effect that painful recollections produce upon the mind, and I often think that were I obliged to remain in Ireland my life would be miserable. A day cannot pass that some event—some object—is not likely to renew a train of unpleasant ideas. Are you then to look for cheerfulness there? Does not health depend on ease of mind? Indeed, my dear John, you can enjoy neither where you are.

A change of scene, not among strangers, but in the midst of a large and affectionate family, so nearly related and tenderly attached to you, what different feelings would it not excite! Of Mr. Emmet, I need say but little. You know his disposition, it remains unchanged—always diffusing happiness among his family and friends.

In his society you would seldom feel weary. Thank God, his health is now invariably good and his reputation such as to leave no wish ungratified. The young people I know you would like. I can answer for their hearts and their feelings towards you. It would be the first object of their lives to contribute to your happiness.

When you write, mention is Mrs. Riall still living and what has become of the Jacob family?* Do not wonder at my asking these questions. The people I knew early in life oftener recur to my mind than any others. Write to me soon, my dear John, and write to me without reserve. Next to having you here, that will be the highest gratification of your truly affectionate sister— Jane Emmet.

No better tribute could be offered to Mrs. Emmet's memory than is given in the words of Dr. Madden:

Mrs. Jane Emmet,

The widow of Thomas Addis Emmet, the sister of the venerable John Patten, of Dublin, survived her beloved husband eighteen years. She had shared his sorrows and his sufferings,—had been his companion in imprisonment in Kilmainham gaol, and in captivity in Fort George—not for days, or weeks, or months, but for years. She had accompanied him in exile to the continent and to the land of his adoption, and there she shared his honours, and in the felicity of his later years.

The woman who had encountered so many privations and trials as she had done, who had been accustomed to all the enjoyments of a happy life, and

"Had slept with full content about her bed,
And never waked but to a joyful morning"—

when deprived of all ordinary comforts, of the commonest appliances of these to the humblest state of life, during the imprisonment of her husband in Dublin; and was subjected necessarily to many restraints during the weary imprisonment at Fort George—seemed even to those who were the companions of her husband's captivity as "one who, in suffering all things, suffered nothing".

*The Rialls were landholders in County Tipperary and probably of Huguenot descent, coming into Ireland with William of Orange. The Jacob family was from Wexford and descended in all probability from Sir Robert Jacob, who settled in that county during Queen Elizabeth's reign.

She fulfilled with heroic fortitude the duties of a devoted wife towards her husband in all his trials in his own country; was the joy and comfort of his life in a foreign land, where the exiled patriot, honoured and revered, in course of time rose to the first distinction in his profession; she died far away from her native land—but her memory should not be forgotten in Ireland.

This excellent woman, full of years, rich in virtue, surrounded by affectionate children—prosperous, happily circumstanced, dutiful and loving children to her, worthy of their inheritance of a great name, and of the honour that descended to them from the revered memory of her truly noble husband—thus terminating in a foreign land a long career, chequered by many trials, over which a virtuous woman's self-sacrificing devotion, the constancy and courage of a faithful wife, the force of a mother's love eventually prevailed. The portrait of this lady is in the possession of Mr. John Patten.*

The time may come when this intimation may be of some avail. Ireland has its Cornelias, its Portias—matrons worthy of association in our thoughts with Cato's daughter, the mother of the children who were the jewels of her heart—with the wife of Russell, of Lavalette—but Ireland has no national gallery for the pictures and busts of her illustrious children—no literature for a record of the "noble deeds of women" of her own land.

Mrs. Emmet died in New York, at the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Graves, on the 10th of November, 1846, in the seventy-second year of her age. She was not buried with her husband, but her body was placed in the vault of Mr. Graves in Second Avenue, above Second Street, New York, and not in the Marble Cemetery, Second Street, in the same neighborhood, which, being shut in, is often mistaken for the latter, as few persons know of its existence.

The following children were alive at the time of Mr. Emmet's death: Robert, Margaret, Elizabeth, John Patten, Thomas Addis, Jane Erin, Mary Anne, William Colville. Christopher Temple Emmet, an officer of the United States Navy, died before his father.

*Nothing is now known of this portrait. The one here given was painted by her daughter, Mrs. Le Roy, and was a perfect likeness as she appeared towards the close of her life.

A vile aristocracy, courted, flattered, paid and despised, calumniating the country which it plundered, had converted the new legislative power of the Irish Parliament into a source of private revenue.

T. A. Emmet.

To subvert the tyranny of our inscrutable government, to break the connection with England, the never failing source of our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country:—these were my objects.

Theobald Wolfe Tone.

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Too long we fought for Britain's cause,
And of our blood were never chary;
She paid us back with tyrant's laws,
And thinned the Homes of Tipperary.

But never more we'll win such thanks;
We swear by God and Virgin Mary,
Never to list in British ranks;
And that's the vow of Tipperary.

Davis.

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